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ADVERTISEMENT.

The writer of the Historical Part of the Edinburgh Annual Register is informed by the Publisher, that the Public may require some explanation why his volume so greatly exceeds that of the former year in extent, and why its publication has been so long delayed. The year of which the annals are here presented was fertile in important affairs both at home and abroad, almost beyond any other of modern times; the contents of the volume will therefore account for the bulk, and the bulk for the lateness of its appearance. It is, however, necessary to observe, that a work of this kind, if executed as it ought to be, cannot possibly be completed, even in ordinary years, much earlier than the present volumes. One year ought to elapse before the History of the preceding one is committed to the press; otherwise, if events were to be chronicled as fast as they occur, newspapers would be the sole authority of the chronicler. There must be time allowed for the appearance of Parliamentary Papers, for obtaining documents from abroad, and for the publication of works for which we are indebted to travellers and to military men, whose Memoirs are happily becoming every year more numerous, as the exertions of the country become greater in this inevitable

and righteous contest. The annals of a less eventful year may be published fifteen months after its conclusion,—that is, as early as April; earlier, the present Writer could not perform what he has undertaken, in a manner consistent with the respect which he owes to the Public and to himself.

He has neither spared diligence in collecting materials for his task, nor industry in arranging them. For that portion, especially, which relates to the affairs of Spain, he has been favoured with ample and authentic documents from sources which (if it were proper) he should feel himself honoured by acknowledging. Many circumstances are now for the first time brought before the English reader; some have never before been made public. A few subjects of importance, which the reader may perhaps expect to see treated in the History of 1809, *are reserved for that of the following year: they might with equal propriety form part of either, and the arrangement was therefore merely a question of convenience. A General View of the Conduct of the Supreme Junta is one of these subjects; the Rise and Progress of the Guerilla System is another. This is mentioned, that the omission of these and other topics may not be imputed either to oversight or neglect.*

JULY 27th, 1811.

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THE

HISTORY OF EUROPE,

1809.

LIST of the CABINET MINISTERS and CHIEF OFFICERS of the CROWN, 1809.

Earl CAMDEN, ...	President of the Council.
Lord ELDON, ...	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl WESTMORELAND, ...	Lord Privy Seal.
Duke of PORTLAND, ...	First Lord of the Treasury.
Lord MULGRAVE,............	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl CHATHAM, ...	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Lord HAWKESBURY, ...	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Mr CANNING, ...	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord CASTLEREAGH, ...	Secretary of State for War and Colonies.
Mr PERCEVAL, ...	Chancellor, and Treasurer of the Exchequer.

Mr R. DUNDAS, ...	President of the Board of Controul.
Earl BATHURST, ...	President of the Board of Trade.
Mr ROSE, ...	Treasurer of the Navy.
Lord C. SOMERSET,...... Mr LONG, ...	Joint Paymasters.
Earl of SANDWICH, ... Earl of CHICHESTER,...	Postmasters General.
Mr HUSKISSON, ... Hon. Mr WELLESLEY,	Joint Secretaries of the Treasury.
Sir WILLIAM GRANT,......	Master of the Rolls.
Sir VICARY GIBBS, ...	Attorney-General.
Mr PLUMER, ...	Solicitor-General.

HISTORY OF EUROPE,

1809.

CHAP. I.

Meeting of Parliament. Debates on the King's Speech, and on the Overtures from Erfurth.

Jan. 19. PARLIAMENT met before the issue of Sir John Moore's campaign was known; but it was known that his army was rapidly retreating, or rather flying toward the coast, and intelligence was hourly expected, with more of anxiety than of hope. The king's speech was in a tone suited to the times. He had given orders, he said, that copies of the proposals for opening a negociation, which had been transmitted from Erfurth, and of the correspondence which thereupon took place, should be laid before both houses; and he was persuaded that they would participate in the feelings which he had expressed, when it was required that he should consent to commence the negociation by abandoning the cause of Spain. He continued to receive from the Spanish government the strongest assurances of their determined perseverance in the cause of their lawful monarchy, and their national independence; and so long as the people of Spain should remain true to themselves, so long would he continue to them his most strenuous assistance and support. He had renewed to them, in the moment of their difficulties and reverses, the engagements which he had voluntarily contracted at the outset of their struggle against the usurpation and tyranny of France: those engagements had been reduced into the form of a treaty of alliance, which, as soon as the ratifications were exchanged, should be laid before parliament. Concerning Portugal, he said, that while he contemplated with the liveliest satisfaction the atchievements of his forces in the commencement of the campaign, and the deliverance of the kingdom of his ally, he most deeply regretted the termination of that campaign, by an armistice and convention, of some of the articles of which he had felt himself obliged formally to declare his disapprobation. He relied on the disposition of parliament

to continue the aid afforded to the king of Sweden; a monarch who derived a peculiar claim to their support, from having concurred with Great Britain in the propriety of rejecting any proposal for negociation to which the government of Spain was not to be admitted as a party. Means of providing the supplies for the year, would, he trusted, be found, without any great or immediate increase of the existing burdens upon the people; and doubtless it would be satisfactory to them to learn, that notwithstanding the measures resorted to by the enemy, for the purpose of destroying the commerce and resources of the kingdom, the public revenue had continued in a state of progressive improvement. His Majesty, it was added, had called them together in perfect confidence that they were prepared cordially to support him in the prosecution of a war which there was no hope of terminating safely and honourably, except through vigorous and persevering exertion; and he especially recommended to them, that, duly weighing the immense interests which were at stake in the war then carrying on, they should proceed, with as little delay as possible, to consider of the most effectual measures for the augmentation of the regular army, in order that he might be the better enabled, without impairing the means of defence at home, to avail himself of the military power of his dominions in the great contest in which he was engaged; and to conduct that contest, under the blessing of Divine Providence, to a conclusion compatible with the honour of his crown, and with the interests of his allies, of Europe, and of the world.

The address was moved by the Earl of Bridgewater. Lord Sheffield, in supporting it, observed, that there was no hope of safety but through a vigorous and persevering prosecution of the war, of which, (said he,) the great mass of this country is perfectly convinced; and it must be highly consoling to all Europe, to learn that his Majesty is determined strenuously to support the cause of Spain. It is our own cause; it is the cause of Europe and of the world. We cannot but concur in applauding the resolution of the Spaniards, to persevere to the last extremity in the contest for their liberty—a resolution worthy of that noble nation. We cannot but admire their spirit, when we reflect on the completely-disorganized state into which they were thrown by the treachery of an usurper. If they should not in every instance act according to our notions of what was expedient, or even if prejudice should prevent them from receiving assistance in the way which we might think advisable; if their communications, both among themselves and with us, should not be so prompt and perfect as might be expected from a country whose government, and every thing derived from it, had not been recently overthrown; if we should observe among them some traces of party spirit, or struggles for power, was it to be wondered at under such circumstances, or were we ourselves free from blame? Their general conduct was still to be respected and admired; and even though great reverses should take place, there would be yet no reason to despond. From our own troops we might expect every thing which could be done by men: they had the highest confidence in their general, whether he should advance or retreat; and we might be satisfied that whatever happened, a British army, so command-

ed, would not disgrace the character of its country. He then adverted to the state of trade: Great, he said, should be our exultation, to hear that it had not diminished. The export of certain manufactures had decreased for a time, but not very considerably, nor by any means so much as was supposed. Buonaparte threatened to subdue us, by ruining our commerce. We might thank him for having made the experiment; it had relieved us from all apprehensions on that head; for it was now proved, that neither decrees nor embargoes could materially affect us, and that the flourishing state of our finances enabled us to carry on this expensive war without any considerable loan or new taxes.

Earl St Vincent rose to oppose the address. "That part of it," he said, "which declared a determined hostility to the common enemy, all must approve; but when he adverted to the manner in which our opposition to him had been conducted on the Spanish peninsula, it was wholly impossible not to perceive that it was the greatest disgrace which had befallen Great Britain since the revolution. The convention of Cintra could not be contemplated without feeling alarm, as well as astonishment and indignation; the more especially, upon observing that cold-blooded treaty, which gave up a contest with the ships of an enemy, upon a compromise so unworthy the character of England. There was a time when such old-fashioned words as *sink*, *burn*, and *destroy*, were understood and exercised; but now we were to negociate to be ships' husbands,—to take possession by bargain and barter, instead of by battles, by bravery, and by balls,—to hold ships in trust by contract, and not in right by conquest. Great merit, it seemed, was to be attributed to ministers for the speed with which they had provided transports for conveying our army to Portugal. There was not a tittle of merit in the case: It was only going to market, and offering a little more than the market price, and transports were to be obtained in abundance." Earl St Vincent might here have represented the wasteful improvidence of employing transports, instead of embarking troops in our ships of war; a mode of conveying them infinitely preferable in every respect, and which would save lives, as well as expence to the nation. "And what," he continued, "was the important service to which these transports were eventually applied? Why, truly, it was to convey the rascally ruffians whom Junot commanded, to that part of France which was nearest the boundary of Spain, that they might as speedily as possible be again brought into action, with more effect against our own soldiers; so that, said he, they are at this moment harassing the rear of our retreating army. Meantime there had been a disgraceful delay before we sent a man of our own troops towards Spain. In fact, it appeared as if ministers had not even a geographical knowledge of the country through which they were to pass, insomuch that they ought to go again to school, to make themselves masters of it:—They had sent an army to traverse a wild and inhospitable country, at the very commencement of the rainy season, to drink new wines, and to be overwhelmed with disease, as well as fatigue."

One part of Earl St Vincent's speech was singularly remarkable. "We had princes of the blood," he said, "all of whom were bred to arms:—For what purpose, if they were not to be employed? Why

were not some of these illustrious personages, who had made the science of war their study from their childhood, appointed to lead our armies?"—The ministry past over this question without reply: in fact, it was not worthy of reply. Earl St Vincent must have known, as every man in England knew, what the general feeling had been, when it was reported that the Duke of York was to have the command in Spain;—he must have known that such an appointment would have been not less unpopular than improper;—and, disciplinarian as he is, he ought to have known that no man should be entrusted with command, who may not be called to a strict account for misconduct in it. He asked also, why Earl Moira had not been employed; a person who possessed the confidence of the people, the love of the soldiery, and the esteem of the king. The reason, said he, was evident: it was because management prevented it. But was it to be supposed, that because a court of inquiry had deemed no farther investigation necessary into the conduct of those generals who had been employed, that therefore there ought to be no investigation? Whenever he heard of councils of war being called, he always considered them as cloaks for cowardice. So said the brave Boscawen, and from him he had imbibed the opinion, which time and experience had completely confirmed. We gained a victory at Vimiera; and in the moment when our soldiers were flushed with conquest, recourse was had to a council of war. Such a measure could only be necessary, or indeed apologized for, in the moment of defeat: and upon what principle it was resorted to on this occasion, he, for one, accustomed to other methods, could not account:—they only who acted in it could explain. Just the same opinion he entertained of the court of inquiry:—it was a shield to ward off investigation from the ministers themselves; but he trusted that the House would not be prevented from making a scrupulous investigation of it in their own way. He knew the character of the Portugueze well: excepting the rabble of Lisbon, they were as brave a people as any upon the continent of Europe, and, under British officers, would have presented an undaunted front to the enemy. Why had not these people been called into action? Ministers ought to have known their value; and if they did not, their ignorance was inexcusable. If that House did its duty, they would immediately proceed to the foot of the throne, and there tell the sovereign the bold truth, that if he did not remove them, he would lose the country. These were the sentiments of his heart, and he delivered them as a solemn duty, which he found himself bound to discharge. It was probably the last time he should trouble that assembly; "and with that," said he, "I wish your lordships a good night." At these words he walked out of the house.

Lord Sidmouth's speech was in a lower tone, but in that spirit of candour which has obtained for him the good opinion and the confidence of the people, beyond all other public men. At no period, he said, within his memory, was there so much spirit, so much loyalty and zeal in the country, and yet at the same time so much dissatisfaction. It was a dissatisfaction not arising from a turbulent disposition in the people, nor from any marked reverses, nor from the pressure of the public burdens;

but it was produced by a feeling most honourable to them, and it was proportioned to their zeal and their expectations. It was not content either with the extent of the exertions which had been made to aid the Spaniards, nor with the manner in which they had been directed. Some statement, he trusted, would be made to allay this very laudable feeling. Without committing himself to the full extent of the address, he should give his assent to it, as concurring in that part which recommended a vigorous prosecution of the war, and which expressed a determination to assist Spain, so long as Spain should prove true to herself.

This language was consistent with the uniform tenour of Lord Sidmouth's conduct; a man who in no instance has suffered party feelings to prevail over the natural fairness of his mind. Lord Grenville spoke more in the spirit of a party leader. He said, it had been the constant practice, till the present administration came into office, to refrain, both in the speech and the address, from calling upon Parliament to deliver any decided opinion in approving of past measures, the documents relating to which were not in the possession of the House; or expressing a determination "to support any future system, the details of which had not been communicated." Having thus objected to the general character of the address, he proceeded to scrutinize all the points upon which it touched, and first the affairs of Spain. "Of the base and treacherous, the atrocious and cruel invasion of the Spaniards," he said, "there was but one opinion in the country,—but one opinion as to the cause in which they were fighting against the tyrant who unjustly and cruelly attacked them; but there had been no prospect that ought to have induced any reasonable men to send a British army into the interior of Spain. I am anxious not to be misunderstood upon this point. I do not mean to apply my observation to naval co-operation, to the mode of sending fleets with troops on board to annoy particular parts of the coast, to keep the enemy in a constant state of alarm, and obtain partial advantages, which may be of essential service. I confine myself to the policy of sending a British army into the interior of Spain; and I contend, that there was not that prospect which ought to have induced reasonable men to have so sent an army. Nor were there any circumstances which could justify the sending a British army, large, it is true, as a British army, but small, as an army acting on the continent, to meet the whole disposable force of France, without having any of the great powers of Europe as our auxiliaries. With the Pyrenees unlocked, and the road between Paris and Madrid as open as that between Paris and Antwerp, there was nothing which could justify our sending into the interior of Spain 30 or 40,000 British men, to meet an army of 500,000. I can only compare such a measure to the far-famed march to Paris, to which it is fully equal in wildness and absurdity."

It was not a little curious to hear Lord Grenville thus sneering at the projects with which the anti-jacobine war commenced. He pursued, "it must rest with the Spanish people themselves to maintain their independence, and without that spirit among them, no army that we could send would be of any avail. The junta of Seville had arranged a plan

of defence adapted to the country, and calculated to wear down an invading enemy, by a continued system of partial attack, without the risk which must necessarily attend a pitched battle with veteran soldiers. This excellent system we forced them to abandon, by sending a British army into the interior of Spain: It then became impossible for the Spaniards to leave our army to fight their battles by itself; and thus they were compelled to engage in pitched battles, with regular troops, whilst the British army, too small to cope with the great superiority brought against it by France, can only retreat. In this way, the sending a British army into Spain has been actually injurious to the cause of the patriots.—It may be said that there was a time when a British force of 30 or 40,000 men might have driven the French beyond the Pyrenees. Allowing it to be so, how had this been taken advantage of? One might have supposed that to make the proper use of so favourable a conjuncture of affairs, our troops would have been sent to the port nearest the scene of action, and from whence they might be marched in the shortest time to the spot where their services were most wanted. But instead of the nearest port, the farthest seemed to have been chosen, and the troops were sent to Lisbon. They were there employed in compelling the French to evacuate Portugal; who could not have held it if Buonaparte could not conquer Spain, and who must get possession of it if he does; and afterwards remain there for two months before they march to join the Spaniards. The moment was urgent, the occasion was pressing, every thing depended upon promptitude of action, and taking advantage of a small portion of time; and yet two months pass away before the army is even put in march to join the Spanish troops: and the general who commanded in chief, in giving an account of his conduct, says, that no arrangement was determined upon for putting the army in motion. The transports which ought to have conveyed our troops are used to convey the troops of the enemy; our army, compelled to make a long march over land, is too late for any effective purpose, and the enemy triumphs in the capital of Spain. The Spanish people may truly reproach us, 'You promised us protection and assistance; you induced us to engage in the dangerous warfare of pitched battles, quitting our more desultory mode of warfare, but more secure to ourselves, and more harassing to the enemy; and now the oppressor lords it in our capital, plunders our property, and puts to death our nobles, whilst not a single British musket has yet been fired.' Shame that such a reproach should truly attach to us!"

Lord Grenville then proceeded to those disgraceful treaties by which the campaign in Portugal had been terminated. "The speech," he said, "had touched upon the convention of Cintra and the armistice which preceded it,—an armistice of which the House knows nothing, a convention of which the House knows nothing. It was with no small surprise I heard moved, as part of the address, an expression of our regret that such an armistice and convention should have been entered into. What! my lords, pronounce judgment before investigation! condemn a transaction before we are made acquainted with the details of it! I have now heard, for the first time, that his

Majesty has found it necessary to express his disapprobation of some of the articles of that armistice and convention, and from that circumstance it will of course form a future subject of discussion in this house, but at present they are not regularly before us. It is true that the public have had those transactions before them, and have pronounced their condemnation: the people of England have complained of those transactions at the foot of the throne; and I cannot applaud the tone of the answer which was returned to the address of the city of London. It being, however, contrary to the principles of British justice to pronounce judgment without investigation, what must we expect, after unequivocally condemning the armistice and convention, of which we know nothing, neither the documents, nor any details respecting the transaction being before us;—what must we expect, upon going to the foot of the throne with an address containing such an unequivocal condemnation without examination, or the means of examination? We must expect to be told, 'You, the parliament, have forgotten the first principles of British justice, in pronouncing judgment without investigation, in condemning a transaction with the details of which you are unacquainted.'

"The armistice and convention have, it is known, been referred to a Board of Military Officers, who have reported that no blame attaches to any of the generals employed on that occasion. That Board has abstained from giving any opinion respecting the conduct of ministers; but from the displeasure expressed by his Majesty, it is evident that they alone were to blame; for the Board having declared its opinion that no blame attaches to the generals, and his Majesty having subsequently expressed his displeasure at the armistice and convention, that displeasure must needs apply to the conduct of ministers. The generals may allege the want of cavalry, they may allege the want of artillery,—all which must arise from the neglect of ministers. This must of course form a part of the inquiry, when the subject comes regularly before the House.

"The Board has also very properly abstained from giving an opinion upon the naval part of the transaction. I do not mean to convey any censure upon the admiral who agreed to the convention, or to insinuate that he stands in any other situation than that of the generals, to whom it is decided that no blame attaches; but when, instead of that phraseology to which we have been accustomed in the transactions of our navy, that of *sunk, burnt, and destroyed*,—when, instead of taking prisoners of war, a convention is entered into, by which the fleet of an enemy comes into our ports with a stipulation that it shall be delivered up at the conclusion of peace, it becomes a subject which demands inquiry and investigation. That investigation will, I trust, take place, and then our decision will follow regularly and formally; but to applaud or to condemn without investigation, conveys neither approbation nor censure. —There is one most important topic which I think it my duty to press upon the attention of your lordships, though no notice is taken of it, either in the speech or the address; I mean the present state of our relations with the United States of America. In the month of July last, it was proposed by the government of the United States, that the embargo, in

as far as it regards us, should be taken off, provided our orders in council were rescinded. From that time, therefore, a new era commenced, at which the embargo began (if it was not so before) to be the effect of our own choice; and so far from its being a measure advantageous to this country, I am prepared to shew, when the proper time for the discussion arrives, that instead of being advantageous, it is extremely injurious to our interests, and will prove still more detrimental than past experience has shewn it to be, if it is continued. But even the interruption which it has occasioned to the commercial intercourse between the two countries, though a great and serious evil, is not the only nor the worst mischief with which it is pregnant. The wish to maintain mutual relations of peace and amity, is, I believe, the prevalent sentiment among the people, both of this country and America; but I am afraid that the government of neither of the two countries corresponds with the popular sentiment. I am ready to acknowledge that the government of the United States has, in more instances than one, manifested a considerable partiality to the side of France. But I cannot, on the other hand, acquit the British government of a want of fairness in its proceedings toward America. The people of this country, I am firmly persuaded, desire nothing more than to live at peace with America; but I am as firmly persuaded, that the intention of the king's government is to drive things to extremity with America. I know that there are some persons among us who are mad enough to believe that a rupture between the two countries is an event rather to be desired than deprecated. They think, that, were such a case to happen, we should sweep every ship from the seas, and monopolize the commerce of the world. Wild imagination! Who does not know that commerce is most desirable when the advantages of it are mutual, and that it can only thrive by reciprocity? But supposing that it was desirable that we should engross the whole commerce of the world, are we likely to attain our object by compelling other nations to renounce the use of our manufactures, and to refuse to supply us with their commodities? I say I believe it to be the intention of government to force matters to a rupture with America; for, if this were not their intention, would they have neglected, as they have done, the opportunity which occurred of effectting a complete and cordial reconciliation? But instead of embracing this opportunity with eagerness, in the insulting and sophistical answer written by his Majesty's foreign secretary of state, a principle is laid down, still more objectionable than any which they had formerly professed, and which is no other than this—that whatever acts of injustice may be committed by the enemy, they give us a right to commit acts of injustice equal in degree and extent, under the pretence of retaliation—a principle in itself so horrible and absurd, that there is nothing so criminal or extravagant that it would not sanction. The proposition of America, it ought also to be recollected, went farther than to hold out a prospect merely of repealing the embargo. It went so far as to say, that if you would rescind your orders in council, not only should the embargo be taken off, but the American government would, in the case of France refusing to follow your

example, have made common cause with you against the common enemy. And you have rejected all the advantages of commerce, peace, and alliance, rather than retract an act of injustice of which you have been guilty? I cannot omit the present opportunity of entering my protest, in particular, against that part of the address which thanks his Majesty for renewing his engagements with the Spanish government; for to this hour I did not know that any engagements did exist. I was willing to give ministers credit for at least avoiding, in the present precarious situation of Spain, to tie themselves down by any stipulations by which our policy might in future be embarrassed. It is therefore with the most poignant grief that I find, not only that such engagements have been entered into, but that they are to be ratified by a solemn treaty. Upon the negociation it would be premature to deliver any opinion till the papers containing the correspondence are before the House. I must, however, be permitted even now to observe, that his Majesty's declaration is at variance with the speech, respecting the ground upon which the correspondence was broken off. In the declaration the rupture was ascribed to the refusal of Buonaparte to abandon his views upon Spain; and in the speech it is attributed to the resolution of the British government not to abandon its ally. All I shall now say is, that the demand was unreasonable for either party to make. But let me not be misunderstood. I do not mean to say, nor do I think, that peace was at all attainable; and from the time that the first propositions arrived from Erfurth, I was uniformly of this opinion. If the *uti possidetis* was proposed as a basis of negociation, such a basis was, under all the circumstances, most absurd; for at that very time it implied that we should retain possession of Portugal, of which we were then in possession, and that Buonaparte should keep those provinces which were occupied by his army. Peace, therefore, was impracticable, except, which was not to be expected, that he should renounce what he had conquered, or that we should leave the Spaniards to their fate, and thereby become parties to a measure of most wanton violence and horrible oppression. The only question to be considered was, whether the negociation was conducted by the British government in such a way as to leave matters on the best possible footing.—In that part of the address which relates to the character and conduct of our army, I most sincerely and heartily concur. No language can be too strong, or too glowing, when applied to its deserts; and if the country is to be saved at all, I am convinced that its salvation can alone be effected by maintaining our military force upon a scale commensurate with the increasing dangers of our situation. Measures of vigour also will be necessary; but these measures ought to be adopted under the guidance of wisdom and prudence, and care taken not to waste our resources in Quixotic schemes which it is impossible to accomplish, and where failure is pregnant with calamity. Our army, brave, and well disciplined, and capable as it is of doing every thing which men can be expected to perform, will, in these times, find ample employment in securing our own defence. Impressed with this opinion, it is with the deepest pain that I reflect upon the actual situation of so large a proportion of the

military force of the country wantonly committed in a hopeless contest, in which success cannot be the reward of valour, however eminent, and where a safe retreat is all that the most brilliant exertions can reasonably be expected to effect.—I have thus felt it my duty to state my sentiments upon those topics which will afterwards form the subject of full and distinct discussion. It will be matter of future inquiry, how it comes that all the assistance which you have given to the Spaniards is to turn your back upon them; what were the causes which led to the armistice and convention, of some articles of which his Majesty has declared his disapprobation; whether a war with America be or be not avoidable; and, above all, whether the plan of continuing to send troops into the heart of Spain is to be persevered in? The last-mentioned subject I conceive to be of so great magnitude, that all other questions are, in comparison with it, of very subordinate importance. I have no hesitation whatever in declaring it to be my most decided opinion, that if the system hitherto acted upon be farther pursued, and the whole armed force of the country sent into the interior of Spain, the destruction of this monarchy is inevitable; and that we shall soon be reduced to the same condition with Prussia and the conquered states of the continent. It is admitted upon all hands, that our navy alone is not adequate to our national defence; and if we lose our army, the strong arm of our protection, we may, indeed, replace it with numbers, but not with soldiers."

Lord Grenville's speech was more in the manner of a lawyer than of a statesman,—hunting out flaws and informalities, and making distinctions where there were no real differences. It was answered in a manly spirit by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, who by his father's death was now become Earl of Liverpool. "With regard to Spain," he said, "the address only went to give his Majesty a general assurance of support in maintaining the cause of the Spaniards as long as they proved true to themselves. In what way that support had been given, or how it was in future to be administered, would be a subject of distinct and detailed consideration. All that they were now called upon to do, was to record a public avowal of their determination not to desert that cause which the government and the country had espoused; and that they would not be so far dismayed by those reverses which had been experienced, and which were from the beginning to be expected, as to renounce that system of support to which both his Majesty and the nation were most solemnly pledged, and in which it was, in consequence of those reverses, become even a more sacred duty to persevere. They who, from the disasters which had already happened, inferred that the cause was desperate, reasoned upon a most contracted and imperfect view of the contending parties; and he entreated those who were inclined to despond, that they would call to mind the lessons of history. There it would be found, that nations, after maintaining struggles for ten or twenty years, in the course of which they had been almost uniformly worsted in battle, had eventually, in spite of the triumphs of their adversaries, succeeded in securing the object for which they strove. It was difficult to conceive any situation which would better warrant hopes of ultimate success, than that of Spain at that day. The people

were unanimous in their resistance to the invader; and it was the only instance since the French revolution, in which a whole people had taken up arms in their own defence. The territory of Spain was as large as that of France within its ancient limits, and the country possessed many local advantages for defence,—advantages, the value of which the Spanish history in former times ought to teach us duly to appreciate. The cause itself was most interesting to the best feelings of the human mind: it offered the last chance of salvation to the continent of Europe; and if it were considered in a selfish and narrower point of view, our own immediate security was in some degree involved in its fate. Was there then nothing to be risked in support of a generous ally;—nothing for the re-establishment of the general tranquillity;—nothing for our own safety and independence?

"With regard to the measures already adopted by ministry, when the period came for discussing them, he was prepared to vindicate them, both in whole and in part; but he could not even now suffer Lord Grenville's statements to go forth to the public, without making some observations upon them. That noble lord seemed to be of opinion that our military assistance given to the Spaniards ought to have been confined to sending detached expeditions to particular points of the coast. Was it not therefore a little extraordinary that he should object to the policy of the expedition to Portugal, which was almost the only point of the coast that at the time was in possession of the enemy?—It was the general sentiment of the people of England, that the aid of government ought not to be confined to supplies of arms and money, but that succours in men also should be sent in support of a cause wherein every individual felt the strongest interest. A large force had been made ready with unexampled expedition; and in its application, ministers had not only taken the advice of military men of high reputation at home, but had also consulted the Spaniards themselves, who, both in the north and south, recommended the reduction of Junot's army, as the most acceptable service which it was in our power to perform. This alone would justify them in their disposal of that force: nor was it to be denied that the consideration due to our most ancient and faithful ally, who was then groaning under a foreign yoke, had considerably influenced his Majesty's ministers in undertaking the deliverance of Portugal.

"It had been argued," he continued, "that that army, which had thus, in accord with the wish of the Spaniards, and the claims of our old ally, been employed in Portugal, might have acted with greater advantage in the north of Spain; but the road from Paris to Madrid was just as open at that time as at the present, and the French were in possession, not only of the passes of the Pyrenees, but of a large district in the south. That army had been most serviceable to the Spaniards; for it had delivered them from a large force in their rear, which might have embarrassed and impeded all their future operations. There had not been one moment's unnecessary delay in its march from Portugal. If it did not proceed immediately to Spain after the convention was concluded, it was because no central government had then been established, and it was impossible to arrange any plan with the provincial juntas. With respect to the Cintra

convention, there were some articles in it which his Majesty disapproved, but they were not of a military nature; and no information should be withheld by ministers, which could be deemed necessary to a full and fair discussion of that or any other measure. Lord Grenville had laid much stress upon the conduct of this country toward the United States. There was no disposition on the part of the British government to irritate America; on the contrary, every thing was done in the tone of conciliation, as far as the interests, the honour, and the rights of the country could allow; and those were things which no considerations should prevail upon us to impair. On the vindication of them depended all our strength and national dignity and importance; and surely they were not to be sacrificed to America, at the very moment when America had betrayed so decided a partiality in favour of France."

Lord Liverpool was answered by Earl Moira, who dwelt particularly upon the convention of Cintra. "He," he said, "had concurred with his colleagues in saying, that no farther military proceedings were necessary on that matter; and he had emphatically made use of the word *military* on the occasion. As far as the officers concerned in the transactions were engaged, he would repeat that they had behaved with unquestionable zeal and firmness. An error in judgment might perhaps have been imputed to them, but it was not such as fell within any infraction of the articles of war: it was rather imputable to his Majesty's ministers, and to the manner in which they had prepared and sent out the expedition. He had said, in common with his colleagues, that there was no ground for any farther military inquiry; but this was not saying that there was no ground for inquiry at all. The conduct of the naval department had not, and indeed could not come before them; and the fitness of the political instructions on which the military or naval officers proceeded, was not at all examined. Those instructions were, that the enemy should be driven out of Portugal; and so far they were complied with. If there were errors in judgment, those errors were in the ministers, who removed an army of the enemy from a state of total inutility to a scene of action." Lord Erskine maintained the same strange position, that if there was an error of judgment any where, it was to be charged on the ministers, who had placed their generals in a situation which reduced them to the necessity of acceding to such a convention. Nothing could be more unfair than such reasoning. So far as ministers justified or apologized for the convention of Cintra, and attempted to screen the persons who had formed it from public indignation, so far they appropriated to themselves the disgrace of that most ruinous and disgraceful transaction. They were also to be censured in not having instantly annulled a treaty by which our own honour was stained, and the interests of all our allies so cruelly and wantonly betrayed. But assuredly, as to the formation of the treaty, they were chargeable with no other fault, than that of having appointed two commanders who had given no proofs of their capacity for command:—and it must not be forgotten that Sir Arthur Wellesley, of whose appointment the public universally and justly approved, was in this point as culpable as his two superiors.

Earl Moira had better ground of argument in another part of his reply. "It was asserted," he said, "that

the Spaniards would not accept our proffered assistance. But where was the question asked?—At the extremity of the kingdom farthest removed from danger. Supposing Scotland were invaded, would an ally anxious for our protection take an army to Penzance, and inquire of a council there, if he could assist the inhabitants? The evidence before the Court of Inquiry warranted him in saying, that aid was applied for, not for Galicia, but for the Pyrenean frontiers. Never was such an opportunity lost! Buonaparte had distributed his forces in small divisions all over Spain; and the natives, rising throughout the provinces, and indignant at the perfidy of their enemy, were competent to the utter destruction of these scattered legions. What then was our duty? It was to interpose 50,000 men between Spain and France, which, by the spirit of the natives, would soon have been increased to 150,000. This army, organized and disciplined as it would have been when blended with British regulars, should have taken possession of the passes, and the consequence would have been, that not a Frenchman could either have entered or quitted Spain, unless he had cut his way through this prodigious force. Then too would have been the moment to have called upon Austria,—to have told her that her existence depended upon immediate hostility against France,—to have informed her that the forces of Britain and of Spain were hovering like a storm on the mountains, and would pour onward in a torrent, to spread devastation in the plains beneath. These opportunities we had had, and these opportunities had been lost by the gross mismanagement of ministers."

In the Lower House, the ministry were attacked upon the same points. "His Majesty," said Mr Ponsonby, "intimates to us, that the contest in which we are engaged has no likelihood of being brought to a conclusion favourable to the interests of this country, or of our allies, without a vigorous and persevering continuation of the efforts of the British nation. I do believe that his Majesty may have formed a very just estimate of the situation of this country, and of the rest of Europe, in so saying; but I cannot but lament how deeply he is likely to feel the disappointment which must probably ensue from the conduct of those to whom he has entrusted the councils of the nation. If his Majesty thinks that a vigorous perseverance in our exertions is the only means of bringing the present contest to a favourable conclusion, I do imagine that we can form but a feeble hope that the same men who hitherto have so feebly negociated, and who have so ineffectually conducted the force of this nation, will gratify the wishes of the country in their future efforts, either in our own behalf, or in that of our allies; for never, I believe, since Great Britain attained and supported its present rank among the nations of Europe, has its public force been directed with so little skill, so little foresight, or so little success."

In the same tone of invective he referred to the conduct of ministry towards the northern powers. "That part of the treaty with Sweden," he said, "by which this country was pledged to pay its ally a monthly subsidy of 100,000l., had been faithfully performed; for, in the expenditure of the public money, he believed there were none who would accuse his Majesty's counsellors with ever having been wanting in vigour. We had also sent an auxiliary force to Sweden,

—but either because Sir John Moore, its commander, had been kept in ignorance of the mutual counsel and concert of the two governments, or because there existed in the counsels of this cabinet neither method, system, nor design, that general, without a single musket being fired by his army, was compelled actually to make his escape from Stockholm in disguise. This was a proof of that energetic vigour on which the present servants of the crown ventured to plume themselves! and their detestable and fatal hostilities against Denmark had proved not less injurious to our interests than degrading to our reputation; for Denmark was now applying the whole of her naval force to a predatory warfare against our commerce, which suffered more from this single enemy than from all the fleets of Europe."

Mr Ponsonby then passed to a more important subject. "In consequence," he said, "of Buonaparte's iniquitous attempt upon Spain, an opportunity of ardent hope to this country, and of probable deliverance to Europe, presented itself, such as we had not witnessed since the commencement of the French revolution. It was especially requisite that, on such an occasion, ministers should have been comprehensive in their views, and energetic in carrying them into execution. The first and most obvious question was, whether the war was to be conducted in the field, according to the system of modern tactics, or whether it was to be considered as a war of the Spanish people? By such a war, carried to its whole extent, the most powerful invading army may be taught that it is wiser to desist than to persevere in its attempt of conquest. One system or the other ought to have been pursued: ministers had not decided between them: one day they preferred one, the next day they changed it for the other; and having no system themselves, they sent out Sir A. Wellesley, without any specific instruction, or any directions whither he was to proceed, but with a sort of roving commission to do whatever he pleased!—He went to Coruna: the junta of Galicia recommended to him not to debark at St Andero, but to proceed to Portugal, and make that country a point of union between the northern and southern provinces of Spain. It was natural enough that this junta should be anxious to get rid of a French force in possession of a country on their rear,—but how a compliance with their wishes could tend to the deliverance of Spain, was what all men were at a loss to understand. To Portugal, however, that army went; and the vigour of the king's ministers appeared not less conspicuously in its various equipments, than in its destination.—It was an army sent without plan, and without instructions; deficient in stores, and almost destitute of cavalry,—the artillery not fit for the operations which ought to have been pursued,—the horses blind and lame, and some of them even dying of old age! These, at least, were the statements of the general officers; and if the noble secretary at war was not satisfied with them, he alone was to blame for their inaccuracy, having appointed three commanders-in-chief with a rapidity greater than the relays of post-horses,—so that, of course, no very intelligent accounts were to be expected from them.

"It was impossible," he pursued, "to pronounce adequately upon the disgraceful convention of Cintra, there was so much of mystery and riddle in every part of it. The generals

said, time was obtained by it to forward the British army into Spain; yet that army was not ready to advance for two months afterwards, and some of the troops did not leave Portugal for ten weeks. Was it only for the conveyance of French troops that transports could be found? These the English secretary at war could convey in British shipping, to be, almost immediately on their debarkation, again employed in Spain; while, by that very measure, he subjected the British army, in a dreadful season, to a march of five hundred miles! We were now told that his Majesty has expressed his formal disapprobation of some parts of the convention,—and yet his ministers thought proper to fire the Tower guns in approbation of it! His Majesty therefore," said Mr Ponsonby, "has a different feeling of what affects the honour of the country, and the glory of the British army, (and I sincerely believe it,) from that entertained by those ministers, who conceived it right to proclaim, with all the demonstrations of public rejoicing, this stain upon both! His Majesty protests against being deemed a partner with his servants in this disgraceful transaction, and has this night announced to his Parliament, that he has formally disapproved of it. His feelings have been in unison with the feelings of the nation. The public displeasure was loud and general,—every patriotic heart felt the stain cast upon its country,—every tongue uttered its complaint. The city of London approached the throne with their sentiments, and a most rigorous reception they had met with!—The answer which his Majesty's advisers put into his mouth on that occasion was as little congenial to the spirit of the constitution, as it was ill suited to the dignity of the throne. Ministers might talk with flippancy themselves; they might pun and epigrammatize; they might sneer, or they might snoutch,—but when unfortunately the king of this country feels it necessary to convey a rebuke to his people, there ought to be a dignity and decorum observed in the language of reproof.

"It was the duty of ministers to investigate, by every possible mode, whether they ought to risk an army in Spain, or confine their assistance to supplies. They cannot think themselves disgraced by a comparison with Lord Burleigh; and yet Elizabeth, under circumstances sufficiently like the present, did not hazard the whole force of her dominions, nor proceed to send any number of troops abroad, without some assurance of safety in case of disaster. She took care to possess what were called cautionary towns, and thereby assured herself of a retreat, and gained a safe point whither to send reinforcements, as well as a security that the United Provinces should not abandon her in the contest in which they were engaged. What had taken place between the Spanish and English government upon the subject," Mr Ponsonby said, "he did not know; but it was stated in his Majesty's last declaration, that certain obligations existed, which were considered equally binding with the most solemn treaty. From what he yet knew of the matter, he could not agree in the propriety of any such sentiment. He should not, indeed, think of abandoning the Spaniards in the hour of misfortune, but he could not admit that the present obligations were to be considered in the light of a solemn treaty; for they had been entered

into in a moment of hurry and precipitation: they had not been laid before parliament, and were therefore as yet unauthorized by it; and parliament might approve or disapprove, grant or refuse the supplies for carrying them into effect. We were now told that a formal treaty had been negociated, which was to be laid before the House. Till that was done, he could not decide upon its propriety. When the promised papers were produced, he should be able to enter more fully into the discussion. On this occasion he had no desire to disturb the unanimity of the House: at a future time he should call their attention to the disgraceful convention of Cintra, the conduct of the Spanish war, and the disputes with America. These subjects he meant to bring before parliament for inquiry; and having thus given notice of his intention, he could not surely be accused of making a factious opposition, in order to interrupt the progress of public business, without promoting the interests of the country."

Lord Castlereagh replied. He began by recriminating upon the party of which Mr Ponsonby was the mouth-piece. "Whatever," he said, "might have been the want of vigour in his Majesty's present ministers, he believed the nation would not have much more to hope, if the reins of government should fall into the hands of the right honourable gentleman and his friends, who had given such ample proofs of zeal and anxiety for the welfare and interests of the country, by deserting all those who were then allied for the defence of the cause of Europe. The first charge against administration was, that they sent a force to the Baltic, to co-operate with the King of Sweden. Now this measure had happened to be most critically opportune; for the Marquis de Romana, who was then in the Isle of Funen, distinctly declared in this country, that if the British fleet had not entered the Belt on the very day it did, his army must have passed over to Zealand, followed by that of Bernadotte. The expedition to Sweden was sent on the requisition, nay, at the entreaty of the Swedish ambassador. But the affairs of Sweden, and the petty warfare carried on by the Danish gun-boats in time of calms, were trifles in the present state of Europe; they were but collateral points to that great and overwhelming consideration which must press upon the mind of every man, as connected with the probability of producing the resurrection of the world. He was ready to admit, that on no former government had so heavy a responsibility attached,—that to no government had the wishes, the hopes, and the determination of the country in their support been more unanimously expressed,—that his Majesty's ministers had felt they had only to call upon the country, and their call would be answered with the utmost liberality:—They were controuled, therefore, by nothing but those natural limits to which all human exertions and all human power are subject, even in such an empire as Great Britain. Admitting, in the most extensive degree, the responsibility of ministers on this subject, he felt no apprehension at meeting the charges of their opponents.

"Early in the war, the Spanish troops were local and irregular; but this force was soon found to be ineffective; and it was not until they got a regular army, that the Spaniards were enabled to make an effectual struggle, and reduce the power of the enemy, by the memorable battle of Baylen.

The course of events decided the question between a regular and an irregular force. When Madrid was evacuated, every province felt the necessity of advancing its troops, and they had consequently been consolidated in the centre of the kingdom. His Majesty's ministers had no option; the option had been made by Spain. Spain had chosen the mode of regular warfare; and it would have ill befitted the character of Great Britain to have shrunk from the contest, and have said to the Spaniards, We will give you money, we will give you stores,—but we will not hazard our blood in your defence. Spain having determined upon regular war, and upon giving battle to her enemies in the field, it became the duty and the policy of England to support her cause in the same manner. It had been said that a British army should not have entered Spain before some cautionary towns had been surrendered to us, to secure our retreat, in case of calamity. He knew of no town which could be surrendered for such a purpose, except Cadiz; for as to Ferrol, it was not capable of covering the embarkation of an army. Now, as it was evident that if we were to act at all, it must be in the north of Spain, it was not to be imagined that a proposal would be well received for surrendering a town quite without the line of our military operations; and if such a proposal had been made to that generous and high-spirited nation, we could not have thrown a greater apple of discord to disturb the harmony of cordial co-operation. It had been said also, that our troops should in the first instance have been directed to Spain, instead of Portugal; but never was there a fallacy more absurd than the notion of a very inferior force occupying the passes of the Pyrenees, and cutting off entirely the communication between two armies infinitely superior. This fallacy seemed to arise from the idea that an army, when once landed, could put itself in march the next morning, to attack the enemy; that it could act as speedily as a ship when it has left the port. The difference, however, was very great:—the ship had nothing to do but to go with the wind and meet the enemy; whereas an army, when landed, had much difficulty in collecting provisions, and the means of transporting their necessary baggage. But if the present ministers were to have waited till every thing was ready for the reception of our armies, they must have stood as still as the last vigorous administration, which actually did nothing while in office.

"Another charge was, that the expedition which atchieved the deliverance of Portugal had been sent to sea to seek its fortune, without any particular direction from government. The fact, however, was directly the reverse; for, most unquestionably, Sir Arthur Wellesley did sail with a precise and determinate object, having been ordered to go immediately to the Tagus, without stopping at Coruna. This direction was given in consequence of information from Sir Charles Cotton, (which proved to be unfounded,) that there were no more than 5,000 French troops in Lisbon and the forts upon the Tagus, and that Sir Arthur Wellesley's force would be sufficient to dislodge them. But it would hardly be contended that government should have tied up the hands and the discretion of such an officer so completely, as to say, that he must on no occasion take advantage of any favourable circumstances, till he had made

a direct communication to government upon the subject, and received their answer. Floating armies, under the command of trust-worthy officers, might, it appeared to him, be of great service, even when acting according to the circumstances of the times, without any specific instructions; and in this manner the corps of General Spencer had been of considerable service, in stopping a portion of Junot's army, which was going to the relief of Dupont.—He was ready to strengthen the arguments which had been made against him for not having sent sufficient cavalry with Sir Arthur Wellesley, and to admit that it was only by accident that he had any cavalry at all; for it was not supposed that cavalry was a proper description of force to send with floating expeditions, which might be a long time at sea, before they found a favourable opportunity for landing. Some of the cavalry which were in Portugal happened, however, to come from the Mediterranean. But sufficient provision of this force had been made for the whole army employed in that country, and it would have been superior to the enemy in this respect, if the troops which were in Mondego Bay the day before the battle had landed." Lord Castlereagh concluded his speech by defending the conduct of administration respecting the convention of Cintra. "He believed," he said, "every body had heard with joy the brilliant victories of our army, and the deliverance of Portugal; and if the receipt of this news had not been announced with the usual demonstrations of joy, it would have appeared as if the whole weight of government was against the generals who negociated the armistice and convention. The city of London, in their address, appeared to take it for granted, that there was guilt somewhere, and to demand the punishment of the authors. The answer was in plain, but not disrespectful language; and in using such language, his Majesty conceived he was taking the best means of securing the confidence of that city, which had given him so many proofs of its affection. Nothing could be more gratifying to his feelings, than that all these subjects should have the fullest discussion. This was necessary, not only for the justification of ministers, but that the country should feel the confidence which it was necessary they should have in the present critical situation of affairs. He therefore congratulated the country that parliament was now met, and that those subjects, which were so interesting to the feelings and honour of the nation, would soon be fully and fairly investigated."

Lord Castlereagh was answered by Mr Whitbread. "One of the greatest armies," he said, "which this country had ever sent into the field was now in Spain; it was under an officer of the first merit in his profession, possessing the confidence of the government and the country: nevertheless, it was under the necessity of retreating. News had arrived, this very day, of Buonaparte, with an army three times superior, hovering near it, and threatening its right wing; and perhaps before the house should break up that night, it was not improbable that intelligence might arrive of still greater calamities. The country was now coming to that state, whether by the mismanagement of ministers, or by the force of events, that party considerations must cease. The hour would, however, come, when the house should call on ministers to render an account of the use which they had

made of the immense power which had been put into their hands,—power which, perhaps, if wisely used, might have had the most glorious events. He should rejoice to find that they could clear themselves from any charge of mismanaging the resources of the country, and prove that all the disasters which had recently happened had proceeded only from the course of events which was beyond their controul. If, however, these disasters should appear to proceed from their misconduct, the house ought to demand condign punishment on their heads. He could not blame them for sending a British force, in the first instance, to co-operate with the Spaniards; but since then they had had time enough to consider whether the sending of a British army into Spain was likely to be of any service; or whether, on the contrary, the retreat of it would not do a positive mischief, by disheartening the Spanish patriots. It was now doubtful whether we had not been proceeding on false information all along, both with respect to Spain and Portugal. Were our troops agreeable to the people of Portugal; or were we not obliged to keep a certain force there, for the purpose of keeping the people quiet; that is, to strike terror into our friends, instead of the enemy? Were our troops, or were they not, welcome to the people of Spain? He had reason to doubt also that fact. It was fit that the country should know it: and he was fearful that a multitude of Spaniards wished success to Buonaparte, rather than to us. We were not now so sure as we formerly thought ourselves of the feelings of Spain; we were not perfectly content with the reception which we had met with in the different provinces of that country. Although we must condemn the ambition and injustice of Buonaparte in his attack upon Spain, yet the means which he pursued for the attainment of his object were extremely judicious. He abolished the inquisition, feudal rights, and unequal taxation. This was certainly holding out some temptation to the people to acquiesce in the changes which he wished to introduce. Buonaparte's promise of amelioration had unquestionably produced a great temporary effect; and although he might do as he pleased hereafter, and was likely enough to be faithless to his promise, in the mean time it had the same effect as if he were sincere, since the people believed that he would ameliorate their condition; whereas the government of England was not connected with any thing like a promise of the reform of any of the evils of the old government, nor with any thing like an amelioration of the condition of the people of Spain. As to the address, there were some parts which had his concurrence, and some which had not, although he did not mean to move any amendment. He had no objection to that part which pledged the house to support his Majesty in persevering in a vigorous prosecution of the war, although he thought that unnecessary, because every war must be prosecuted with vigour, until there was an end of it. But if it was to be understood that, by such an approval, he was to be pledged to any thing like a *bellum ad internecionem*, he must not only dissent from, but protest against it. God forbid that we should abandon the Spanish cause while it was possible to support it with any prospect of success; but he was far from being sure that the time might not come when we should have to treat with France, after she should totally have

subdued Spain. At different periods of the war, it had been said that England would never make peace, unless this thing and the other was given up by France; yet we afterwards were ready to treat with her, allowing her to retain her acquisitions; and a few weeks after a negociation failed, we were always ready to call the man with whom we had been content to negociate, an atrocious usurper. He thought that ministers were not only justifiable in refusing to treat on the terms offered at Erfurth, but that they would have been the basest of mankind if they had accepted such a preliminary. But he could not avoid regretting that the country had lost so many fair opportunities of negociating a peace, and that it had at length been reduced to such a foul opportunity, that it could not have been accepted without eternal disgrace." It was now apparent what was Mr Whitbread's sympathy with the Spaniards. Six months ago he had prayed God to crown their efforts with a success as final as those efforts were glorious. "Never," he then said, "were a people engaged in a more arduous and honourable struggle! Perish the man," he then exclaimed, "who could entertain a thought of purchasing peace by abandoning the heroic Spaniards to their fate! Perish this country, rather than its safety should be owing to a compromise so horridly iniquitous!"—Now, however, "he was far from being sure that the time might not come when we should have to treat with France, after she should totally have subdued Spain." And as if to reconcile himself to the accomplishment of his own predictions, he had discovered,—that "we were not so sure as we formerly thought ourselves of the feelings of Spain,—that our troops in Portugal were not agreeable to the people, and were detained there to strike terror into our friends, instead of the enemy,—that Buonaparte's conduct towards the Spaniards, however much the ambition and injustice of his first attack upon them were to be condemned, was extremely judicious;—he had abolished many of their grievances, whereas our government was not connected with any thing like an amelioration of the condition of the people!"—The same feelings, though not mingled with the same admiration of Buonaparte, were expressed by other of the old opposition members. Mr William Smith said, that though he concurred in the propriety of rejecting the last offer of negociation, he by no means meant to declare it as his opinion, that the country ought never to commence another while Spain should continue in the hands of the French government. And Mr Tierney said of the Spaniards, that they had shewn no great alacrity in receiving our troops; and of the Portuguese, that he had as good means of knowing their disposition as ministers themselves; "and from those means," he added, "I do assert, that the people of Lisbon do not hesitate to declare that they do not like the English."

If Mr Tierney meant that the Portugueze did not like the convention of Cintra, the assertion must be admitted;—if he meant what he said, every person acquainted with that people knows it to be false. The connection between England and Portugal is no ordinary one, built upon the politics of the day, and liable to change with the chance of circumstances. With Russia and Austria we have been in league one day, and at war the next; but as the hostility has been on our side without

anger, so has the alliance been without esteem. Our friendship with Portugal is like our enmity to France, founded upon something deeper. From the day when Portugal first became a kingdom to the present hour, with the exception of that unfortunate period when the Philips usurped its crown, England has been its tried and faithful friend. When Lisbon was conquered from the Moors, English crusaders assisted at the siege;—English archers contributed to the victory of Aljubarrota, which effected the first deliverance of Portugal from Castile;—an English-woman, a Plantagenet, was the mother of that Prince Henry, whose name will for ever remain conspicuous in the history of the world;—the Braganzan family, when it recovered its rights, applied, and not in vain, to its hereditary ally;—and when Lisbon was visited by the tremendous earthquake of 1755, 100,000l. was immediately voted by the English parliament for the relief of the Portugueze; ships laden with provisions were dispatched to them in a time of scarcity at home,—while the Americans carried over ready-built houses for sale; and the French sent a frigate, by which their *Grand Monarque* expressed his condolence for what had happened, and requested to know if he could be of any use. These things are not forgotten:—if there be a country in the world where the character of the English is understood, and England is loved, as well as respected, it is Portugal. The face of its rudest mountaineer brightens when he hears that it is an Englishman who accosts him, and he tells the traveller that the English and the Portugueze were always—always friends.

Mr Canning, in his reply to the arguments of the opposition, amused himself by showing how inconsistent they were with each other, and how inconsistent Mr Whitbread was, even with himself, when he began by saying, that party considerations at such a crisis ought to cease,—and then intimated that ministers ought to be put upon their trial, and that they deserved condign punishment. "It would be recollected," he said, "that although the whole Spanish nation rose simultaneously in the same cause, they formed themselves into different bodies, under distinct governments, each watching the other, and anxious to draw as much power as possible to itself. From these several governments communications were made to this country. The question which ministers then had to consider was this, whether they should promptly grant the aid required, or, by delaying till the central government should be formed, expose those separate bodies, unarmed and unaided, to the attack of the enemy, and thus prevent their union altogether. They complied with the requisition of the deputies, and manifested every disposition to supply all the juntas with arms, money, and all means of military support; but they did not deem it advisable at first to send out an armed force in aid of their separate efforts. The policy was obvious, of not hazarding a British army in Spain, till the force of the country should have been called forth and organized, in such a manner as to co-operate with it. This," he maintained, "was a sufficient answer to the accusation brought against the delay of our measures. Was it any thing disheartening or discouraging to the Spaniards, to tell them, that when they should have called forth their own forces, and established some general system of government, they should have the sup-

port of a British army? As soon as we knew that the Supreme Central Junta had been installed, the expedition under Sir David Baird was ordered to sail; and on these same circumstances the advance of the troops from Portugal had also depended,—not upon the convention of Cintra.

"Mr Whitbread had said, that, in affording assistance to the Spaniards, we ought to have met Buonaparte upon his own terms. He could not agree in that opinion, because he did not think it right to assume any dictatorial power over a country which we went to assist. We were not to hold cheap the institutions of other nations, because they had not yet ripened into that maturity of franchise and freedom which we enjoyed; nor were we to convert an auxiliary army into a dominating garrison; nor, while openly professing to co-operate with the Spaniards, covertly endeavour to force upon them those blessings of which they themselves must be the best judges. If the Spaniards succeeded, they would certainly be happier and freer than they had hitherto been; but that happiness and freedom should be of their own choice, and not of our dictation. It was manifest that the Central Junta was not indifferent to the amelioration of their constitution, for they had called upon all literary men to contribute their assistance with respect to the best laws, to be enacted for the benefit of the state. If the suggestion of these laws was to accompany or to be coupled with a subsidy, he doubted much whether it would meet with consent; and sure he was that the Spaniards could not but dislike them, if dictated at the point of the bayonet." Mr Canning then spoke of the less important affairs of America and Sweden, and concluded, because the address had not been formally opposed, by congratulating the House upon the temper with which the campaign in the Commons had commenced.

It was sportively that Mr Canning spoke of the meeting of parliament as the opening of a campaign,—a natural metaphor for one accustomed, like himself, to the stratagems and manœuvres, the skirmishes and trials of strength, the taking and the losing of advantageous posts in such domestic warfare. But that such language should have become trivial from its truth, is a fact which might give occasion to many mournful reflections. This first debate made it apparent that even the cause of the Spaniards, in which all Britain had seemed to feel so universal and generous a sympathy, was now to be made a party question; and that because ministers, true to the interests of their country, and to its honour, of all interests infinitely the most important, were resolved to stand by these heroic allies, there were men who felt little concern for what Europe, and liberty, and human nature would lose, if Spain should be subdued, and who looked on with ill-dissembled hope to the advantage which such a catastrophe would give them over their parliamentary opponents. This was more fully manifested when the overtures from France and Russia were discussed, and an address moved, approving the answer which had been returned. Even though the opposition admitted that those overtures were insincerely made, and that they could not possibly have led to peace, they nevertheless took occasion to carp and cavil at what they could not in common decency oppose.

Jan. 26. "It was evident," Lord Grenville said, "that when the overture was made, there was no prospect of its leading to any practicable negociation. The ruler of France had at that time arranged his plans for the atchievement of an object, the most important to him, of any that he had yet had in view,—that of completely subjugating Spain. Unfortunately he possessed the means of carrying his plan into effect. He went to Spain with a moral certainty of effecting his object, and, no doubt, was sincere in his wish, that a large British army might be landed there; he having in his hands the means by which the great object he had in view might be attained, and which he actually had attained in the course of two months,—the subjugation of Spain. With this in view, and a moral certainty of attaining it, while we, on the other hand, had taken up the cause of the Spanish people against his usurpation, and hoped to defeat his object, it was impossible to expect that any negociation would take place. It could not be supposed that he would give up his object; it could not be expected that we should give up ours; it could not be imagined that either party would give up, by a stroke of the pen, what each expected to obtain by force of arms. Yet he could not applaud the conduct of ministers, in the answer which they had returned to Buonaparte's overture. They demanded of him to give up, as a preliminary to negociation, the most important object for which he was contesting; because calling upon him to acknowledge the persons exercising the power of government in Spain in the name of Ferdinand VII., was requiring him to give up at once the very object of his attack upon that country. This, therefore, was impolitic, as putting us in a worse situation than we might have been, by resorting to another mode of reply; and had the answer expressed our readiness to sacrifice British objects for what was certainly a most important British object, the preservation of the legitimate government of Spain, it would have had the effect of placing the French government still more wrong, and of still shewing our determination to support Spain."

Thus did Lord Grenville deliver his opinion, that the subjugation of Spain by Buonaparte was morally certain; and that, in fact, that country was at that time actually subdued. Lord Auckland in like manner declared, that "what we called the Spanish cause was lost, for the present at least, and without any rational hope that it could be soon revived."* To these assertions, which, whatever may be the ultimate issue of the Spanish war, have already been proved fallacious, the ministry replied, that the Spaniards were not conquered; that the struggle which they had so nobly begun might yet successfully be terminated; and that, as long as they continued true to themselves, England would continue true to them.

Jan 31. The debate in the House of Commons was more extended, and of greater im-

* His lordship, it appears, did not call it the Spanish cause, for he objected to an acknowledgment of Ferdinand in the address. "He could not forget," he said, "that he had been present at the coronation of Charles IV., and he had not seen any ground for recognizing the abdication of that unfortunate monarch; who had stated, what, indeed, was sufficiently evident, that he had done nothing but by compulsion, and did not mean to be thus superseded by his son."

portance. It was opened by Mr Canning. "Any question," he said, "which might that day arise, must apply to the manner in which ministers had followed up their principles,—not to the principles upon which they had acted:—whatever hesitation there might be in approving their conduct, would only be felt as arising out of the particular steps of the negociation, and not as to the principle upon which it turned, nor the result in which it terminated. Had they been called upon to account for their conduct in this transaction, either at the moment when it took place, or immediately after its termination, he should have had far different topics to touch upon, from those to which he was now obliged to revert. Any man who recollected the sensation excited by the arrival of the overture in this country, must remember, that if any fault was attributed to government, it was that of having listened to delusive proposals, rather than that of putting a precipitate stop to them. The general apprehension was, lest they should suffer themselves to be entrapped into an idle and deceitful negociation, which could only tend to forward the insidious views of the enemy. He and his colleagues, however, had the misfortune, if such it should be called, to differ from the public impression. They felt it their duty to endeavour to ascertain the real intentions of the enemy, beyond the possibility of doubt. Many persons were of opinion, from the unexampled atrocity of Buonaparte's conduct towards Spain, that we should have been justified in peremptorily rejecting his overtures, not only upon every ground of high spirit, but upon every dictate of sound principles; and that the withdrawing the French troops from Spain, and the restoration of the legitimate government in that country, ought to have been made the conditions of entering into any negociation. Upon the moral principle he could not differ from those who thought thus. But holding that political considerations were not always to be controuled by the principles of morality, and that governments had other complicated duties to perform, beside what a rigid regard to the abstract rules of morality enjoined, he did not think this government had any political right to demand atonement from Buonaparte as a preliminary to negociation, however atrocious his conduct might have been. There was not in the world an authority that could confer such a right, and consequently he did not make the demand. He was ready, however, to allow, that if the demand had been made, it would have placed this country upon a high and commanding ground, though he did not deem it wise to reach that elevation at the expence of any essential interests.

"Ministers had felt that to demand the evacuation of Spain by the French, would have been doing that which it was the business of Spain to do for herself;—it would have been to negociate for her,—to assume the tone and character of her protector,—to exercise a right which had never, either in fact or in substance, been conveyed to us. Such a demand would also have given cause of complaint to other allies, whose territories had been also invaded, and successfully usurped. So that we stipulated for our new allies no more than for our ancient ones, to whom we had been bound by solemn and long-existing treaties; and the demand which was made, in reply to the first overtures, that Spain might be admitted to the negociation,

was the lowest, while it was the most efficacious that could have been made. It demanded no concession of Buonaparte; and the moderation of the condition was sufficient to convince all Europe of the sincerity of our wish for peace. He and his colleagues, though not sanguine as to the result, yet thought the trial worth making. They hoped that the Emperor of Russia, from a consideration of the perfidy with which the French ruler had gained possession of the principal fortresses in Spain, and of the villainy with which he enticed the legitimate sovereign of that country, first beyond his frontier, and afterwards led him, with all the members of his house, into captivity, would have opened his eyes to his own situation—would have anticipated the degree of forbearance which he himself had to expect, when such atrocities had been committed against the best, most faithful, and most serviceable ally and friend of France,—the compliant, submissive, and unreproaching power which ever exhausted its own means to promote the ambition and the interest of its neighbour. He had expected that the Emperor Alexander, from the comparatively little which he could do for France, contrasted with what had been done by the possessor of Spain and Spanish America, could not look to any very exemplary forbearance; and that the time had at length arrived, when he would endeavour to retrace the course which he had pursued since his alliance with France. He therefore had entertained a hope that peace might possibly be the result of an overture to which Russia had been a party, because he could not conceive that, on an occasion like this, sovereigns would cringingly submit to dig the pits for their own fall. His hope had been a homage to the spirit of man,—to the first cause of human action, the principle of self-preservation. He and his colleagues, upon the presumption that the Emperor Alexander felt as a man, thought that he would have been influenced by the feelings of human nature, and consequently that he would not have become a party to the designs of Buonaparte. But what was the answer of Buonaparte; an answer acceded to by his faithful follower Russia?—Distinctly this:—'In no shape shall the Spanish people be admitted to treat, because they are in a state of rebellion against me, and the sovereign whom it is my will to impose upon them.' Thus then it was Buonaparte, not England, that had required recognition. We had demanded nothing; we had merely resisted a demand."

Mr Canning then alluded to the language of the despondents. "It was said, that whenever Buonaparte declared he would accomplish any measure, his declaration ought to be received as the fiat of a superior being, whom it was folly to resist! *He* never pledged himself to any thing but what he could carry into execution! *His* resolves were insurmountable! *His* career not to be stopped!—Such was not his opinion, nor the opinion of the British people. Even were the ship in which we were embarked sinking, it was our duty still to struggle against the boisterous elements.—But never could he acknowledge that such was our state:—we were riding proudly and nobly buoyant upon the waves.——It was one of the calumnies spread by our enemies on the continent, that England stirred up the wars which had so long disturbed the repose of the world, in pursuit of her own advantage, and that if she

failed in the preservation of her allies, she was ever ready to share in their plunder. Care then was to be taken not to suffer the imputation of a blot of that kind in the war for Spain; and against such a suspicion ministers had most cautiously guarded the honour of their country. It certainly had been possible for us, at the commencement of the Spanish war, to have remained neutral, and said to ourselves, we are glad to see discord springing up between France and her allies. But the heart and voice of the British nation declared loudly and vehemently against such a course. We had chosen the higher line, and were bound to adhere to it with the more vigour and perseverance. In these enlightened days," he pursued, "the imposition of a foreign dynasty is not regarded with so much abhorrence, as it is considered what useful internal regulations the usurpers may introduce! So detestable a mode of reasoning is confined to only a few political speculators; the general sense and feeling of mankind revolted at the idea. There is an irresistible impulse which binds men to their native soil; which makes them cherish their independence; which unites them to their legitimate princes; and which fires them with enthusiastic indignation against the imposition of a foreign yoke. No benefit to be received from a conqueror can atone for the loss of national independence. Let us then do homage to the Spanish nation for their attachment to their native soil; an attachment which in its origin is divine;—and do not let us taunt them with being a century behind us in civilization or in knowledge, or adhering to prejudices in religion, in politics, or in arts, which we have happily surmounted." He then moved an address to the King, pledging the Commons to support him in the maintenance of the war, and approving the conduct of ministers on the late overtures from France and Russia.

Mr Whitbread rose in reply,—not absolutely to justify Buonaparte,—even Mr Whitbread does not venture upon that,—but to defend him by the yet viler method of recrimination; to apologize for all his crimes, by affirming that England has perpetrated crimes as great; to accuse his country, and to disarm it, as far as was in his power, of its moral strength, and its hope in God and in a righteous cause. "He was ready to admit," he said, "that negociation was out of the question, after the answer of the French government; but the Right Honourable Secretary had provoked that answer by his ill-placed taunts, and by a wanton and unjustifiable arrogance in replying to a fair overture. It was an error too prevalent with individuals in office, to assume, in their communications with a hostile power, every virtue to themselves, and to charge their opponents with every vice. But to hear such observations from one who last year had scouted in that house those principles of morality and justice which it was once the pride and character of civilized nations to revere and perpetuate; to hear him who committed an act which exceeded the most atrocious occurrences in our history, (the attack on Copenhagen,) complain against France, that its usurpation of Spain was unparalleled, was, to say the least of it, not very consistent. The aggressions of human governments were not, unfortunately, either new or unfrequent. Great Britain was not to suppose that Providence, in its wise dispensations, had confined justice within geographical limits. It was somewhat extraordi-

nary, therefore, that the right honourable gentleman should have presumed to call the conduct of Buonaparte towards Spain an 'usurpation, which had no parallel in the history of the world.' It really carried an air of ridicule along with it to Buonaparte, not less, however, than did another assertion carry of insult to the Emperor of Russia. What must he have thought when the denunciations were perused by him against the violator of the Spanish throne; he who must have remembered well how Catherine, called the Great, and Frederick, called the Great, and the Emperor of Austria, dismembered Poland, and dethroned the king? Why should we talk of atrocity? Why should we blasphemously call on our God; we, the ravagers of India; we, who, in the very last session, voted the solemn thanks of the house to the despoilers of that unhappy, persecuted country? Oh! 'When we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.' It was not true that Buonaparte required of us, in his first communication, the abandonment of Spain as a preliminary; for it was stated by him after he had received the reply from our government. The first communication which came from the enemy was, in his opinion, perfectly unexceptionable in its manner and style. He could not conceive any thing more respectful than the note of Count Romanzoff. The right honourable gentleman had no right then to treat the Emperor of Russia with that severity which he had done in his answer. If the Emperor of Russia was in a degraded situation, the right honourable gentlemen should have considered what were the causes which had brought him to that state of degradation:— that fatal and disastrous coalition of 1805, which, by its ill-concerted projects, prostrated the strength and resources of the continental powers. He should have remembered also that act of the present government against Denmark, which had given the most just and serious grounds of offence to Russia. There had been two instances before, when, unfortunately, direct proposals of peace, made by Buonaparte to the King, had been made in vain. Every body remembered, and almost every body now deeply regretted, the manner in which the first overture of that nature had been rejected. However highly he respected the noble lord (Grenville) who was then the secretary for foreign affairs, his opinion of that transaction remained the same now as it was at that time. Experience and the evidence of facts were then the burden of the song. Heavy, indeed, was the song; and he feared it was a knell which sounded the doom of the country. It was stated, that 'the king had uniformly declared his readiness and desire to enter into negociations for a general peace.' This sentiment was often expressed in the language ministers thought proper to put into the mouth of his Majesty; but he could have wished to have seen conduct corresponding to those professions; and in that case, he believed that the country would have had a secure peace a long time ago. Upon the failure of two attempts to negociate with republican France, it had been formerly stated in that house, by a minister, (Lord Melville,) that 'the country had had a lucky escape from a peace.' He firmly believed that there hardly ever was a time when the gentlemen on the other side of the House had any sincere wish for peace. He did not pretend to say that the overture of

Erfurth could have been received in any manner that could immediately have led to peace; but still the negociation might have been so managed as not to increase the hostility or rancour between the two governments.—As to the second paragraph in the note of the right honourable gentleman, that his Majesty could 'not be expected to see, with unqualified regret, that the system devised for the destruction of the commerce of his subjects had recoiled upon its authors or its instruments,'—this was a sentiment which appeared to him altogether improper to put into the mouth of a benevolent king, nor was it a language fit for a Christian country to hold to the Christian world. It appeared to him to be indecorous and improper in every point of view. If it was meant as a retort, the retort was unsupported. France was not humbled. Buonaparte was progressively advancing in his career to the subjugation of Europe: his power was by no means diminished; and so far from the insurrections which were predicted in the south of France, there did not appear to be either insurrection or murmur throughout the whole of his universal empire. It was not till after his first communication had been answered in an insulting tone, that the French Emperor used insulting expressions. He thought it was always wrong to use insulting language towards Buonaparte; for, after all, if ever we wished for peace, it was probably with this man that we must make it; and the price of peace would be at least for us to use something like decorous language to a power, which was, perhaps, the greatest that ever did exist on the face of the world. As to pledging ourselves to any point as a *sine qua non*, he could not avoid remembering how many of those *sine qua nons* the British government had been obliged to abandon since the first commencement of the war. With respect to the last note of the French Emperor, it was certainly unjustifiable; but however unjustifiable it was, it could not, he was sorry to say, be said to be unprovoked:—language, arrogant and unconciliating, had brought down an answer in a correspondent tone. The address went to applaud ministers for their mode of bringing the late overtures to a conclusion. He knew he was in a small minority, both in that house and the country; but he lamented that the offer for negociation was so abruptly put an end to: For what could be the use of commencing a negociation in terms of sarcastic recrimination, unless it was with a view to put a stop to it as soon as possible: and even in breaking with France, it was better to break with her in a spirit of as little acrimony as possible; for, let gentlemen say what they would, we must ultimately treat with France —'to this complexion we must come at last.' He repeated it, we must finally treat with France. The conduct of this country, in rejecting so often, on good terms, what it must finally take on inferior terms, brought to his mind the memorable incident recorded in ancient history, when, in the earliest age of Rome, the sybil came with her nine books, and proffered them for a price which was refused. She afterwards tendered six of the nine for the same price, which, being refused also, it was at last thought advisable to purchase the three remaining volumes at the price for which the first nine had been originally tendered. He hoped this story would be no illustration of our future destinies. France had accused us of selfishness—he feared with too

much justice. We had entered into the war originally for Holland, had forsaken her, and benefited ourselves in the sharing of her spoils. It would not be easy to say when we might calculate upon even as good terms as in the late overture we had been offered. We knew not what the next news from Portugal might bring us: perhaps, before this, Portugal was reconquered. The bubble with respect to the re-capture of Madrid by the Spaniards had already burst. Buonaparte was hastening to fulfil all his prophecies:—If he had not already crowned his brother at Madrid, he yet had the power of crowning him: he had certainly—however gloriously for the British arms—he had yet, in effect, obliged us to evacuate Spain, and perhaps was now on his way to plant his eagles on the towers of Lisbon. With respect to Spain, the hopes he once had were nearly gone; and the various reports from different quarters, from some, of the want of wisdom on the part of the government; from others, of the want of energy on the part of the people of that country, were not calculated to revive them. Whether it was want of enthusiasm in the original, as some said, or, as others more plausibly said, that that enthusiasm had subsided, he had no very sanguine hopes of the success of Spain."

Mr Whitbread concluded by moving an amendment to the address, saying, "that though we should have witnessed with the deepest regret any inclination on the part of his Majesty to consent to the abandonment of the cause of Spain, it did not appear to the House that any such disgraceful concession was required by the other belligerent powers, as a preliminary to negociation. The stipulation, therefore, on our part, that the Spaniards should be admitted as a party, was unwise and impolitic; unnecessary to the maintenance of the great cause of Spanish independence, and obviously calculated to prevent all farther intercourse on the subject of peace. It appeared therefore to the House, that an overture made in terms respectful to his Majesty, ought to have been answered in language more moderate and conciliatory; and that immediate and decisive steps ought to have been taken for entering into negociation, on the terms proposed in that overture." The amendment concluded by requesting his Majesty, "that he would be graciously pleased to avail himself of any opportunity which might offer, of acceding to, or commencing, a negociation for the restoration of the blessings of peace, on such terms as the circumstances of the war in which we were engaged may render compatible with the true interests of the empire, and the honour of his Majesty's crown."

A speech so favourable to Buonaparte, and so suited to the furtherance of his purposes, was not overlooked by him. A very few omissions qualified it completely for the meridian of Paris: it was translated into French, inserted in the provincial papers, as well as those of the capital, and circulated through the remotest parts of France. What, indeed, could be more agreeable to Buonaparte and his basest minions, than to tell his subjects, while they were groaning under the conscription, and cursing in their hearts the Corsican, for whose family aggrandizement they were to suffer and to bleed, that an English orator,—one of the most eminent of the whig party,—of the old advocates of liberty,—a leading member of the House

of Commons,—had declared, in that House, that the overtures of peace made by France were unexceptionable, and had been unwisely, impoliticly, and unnecessarily answered with insult: that Buonaparte, wielding the greatest power that had ever existed, was hastening to fulfil all his prophecies: that England must be reduced to treat with him at last; and therefore that the King of England ought to be advised to commence a negociation as soon as possible.—The speech provoked a severe reply from Mr Croker, who pointed out Mr Whitbread's strange misrepresentations and his inconsistency;—for in his letter to Lord Holland he had recommended that "the complete evacuation of Spain by the French armies, the abstinence from all interference in her internal arrangements, and the freedom of the royal family, should be the conditions of the negociation."—"He has set out," said Mr Croker, "by doing Buonaparte the favour of trying to find a parallel for his late attack upon Spain, and he boasts of having found many; but in the register of British discussion—in the recollections of British feeling, I defy the honourable gentleman to find a parallel for his own speech,—a speech calculated only to advocate the cause of the enemy. I do not mean to represent him as the intentional advocate of the enemy; but I will assert, that, whether intentionally or not, he has taken that course, by his elaborate researches for examples which might keep the French government in countenance. Whoever produces gratuitously, in the discussion of one crime, examples and instances of greater ones, extenuates undoubtedly the atrocity of that one, by a comparison with others. But even if he were not so deeply to blame for this comparison,—supposing that this course was necessary to his argument, even here he had been in error. He had produced no parallel instance; the history of the world did not furnish one; and he had fruitlessly gone out of his path, to weaken the cause of his country."

Many of the members of the opposition were far from according with Mr Whitbread on this occasion. Mr Ponsonby said, that ministers had pursued a proper course, in demanding a quick explanation with respect to the admission of Spain as a party to the treaty; and if this demand had not been made in the first instance, we should have abandoned Spain in the face of the world. The same opinion was maintained by Lord Henry Petty. "It was by arms," he said, "and not by negociation, that the fate of that country was to be decided. Our character with Spain was still to be gained; and if we wished to inspire her with a belief that we meant to make an exertion in her favour, our conduct should be in unison with our declaration, and not calculated to raise any doubt in the minds of the Spanish people as to our sincerity, or that we meant to bring the cause of Spain into our market."

Mr Whitbread's was not the only remarkable speech made in the course of this debate. He had spoken of Buonaparte's insulting intimation relative to the Irish catholics. "Instead of making this a text," said Mr Croker, "to preach upon as containing a good political lesson, I expected that the honourable gentleman would have mentioned it only with reprobation. To have ventured such language was the highest insult which Buonaparte had offered to this coun-

try; and when the catholics came to hear that Mr Whitbread had set up for their advocate, and had quoted this phrase in support of their cause, it was to be hoped they would reject his advice, and deny that he had any right to plead their cause on such grounds." The mere mention of the Irish catholics called up General Montague Matthew.* "He defied any man," he said, "to say that the catholics of Ireland were rebels. The person who should presume to say so did not deserve to live, but to die by the hands of the common executioner. No communication, good, bad, or indifferent, had taken place between them and the French since the year 1796, when Arthur O'Connor met Hoche on the borders of Switzerland. Atrocities were talked of:—Never had more atrocities been committed by the most desperate despot than by the British government:—of all despots, the British government had been the worst. How they dealt with kings whom they wished to dethrone, Sir Arthur Wellesley could inform them:—in the East they did not imprison kings—they murdered them. There was a gentleman in the House, who was secretary of state in Ireland in the year 1798,—he could inform them what was then the situation of Ireland."—Here General Matthew was most properly called to order by the Speaker:—he, however, continued in the same irrelevant strain. "Other members," he said, "had introduced Ireland, and the catholics of Ireland were alluded to in the negociation then under debate. He would tell Earl Cambden, if there was ever tyranny in any country, it was in Ireland, under his administration." Being again and repeatedly called to order, he said, "then he must give up the year 1798, the scalping, and all the rest, and the best thing he could do, was to sit down."

Inapplicable and mischievous as the tenour of this speech was, it was defended by Sir Francis Burdett. "On addresses," he said, "which were proposed to be voted to his Majesty, he understood it to be a matter of right in any member to enter into a discussion of the general interests of the country. It might be disagreeable to the ears of Englishmen to hear the perilous situation of their country described,—to hear enumerated a train of occurrences more calamitous and improvident, probably, than had ever disgraced any nation on the face of the globe; but still, had he not been instructed by the superior judgment of the Speaker, he should have been of opinion that General Matthew was entitled to have proceeded, and might fairly have introduced any parallel instances of atrocity, when told, on the other side, that the act of the Emperor of the French, by which this country was precluded from listening to his overtures for peace, was an instance of the most unparalleled atrocity which had ever disgraced any country. Whatever were the merits of Buonaparte, which unquestionably would not be fairly discussed in that house, it would, at least, be allowed, that he knew the best means of accomplishing the ob-

* There is a Mr Matthew Montague in the House, and mistakes have sometimes been made between Matthew Montague and Montague Matthew. This, the latter said, was very odd, as there was as much difference between them as between a horse chesnut and a chesnut horse.

jects he had in view. Having, then, received from him a taunt as to an unprotected part of our dominions, let us take the hint, and by an act of our own render a repetition of the taunt unnecessary. It had been said, that beat a fool in a mortar with a pestle, he would never quit his folly:—we have been beat in a mortar for many years, but what had we got but disgrace?"

Sir Francis then proceeded to speak of the affairs of Spain. "If we were to assist the Spaniards," he said, "it was the duty of ministers to have seen that there was a rational hope of attaining our end: if they had proceeded upon light grounds, they had been guilty of a crime of the deepest magnitude. After having obtained accurate information as to the real state of public feeling in that country, they should have seen that there were 300,000 men in arms; that all the passes were secured; that a British army would be able to fight with every advantage; that the soldiers would not be subject to the want of food; and that they would only have to fall, if they did fall, in the field of glory. If these things could not be insured, it was their duty not to have landed a single man, but to have supplied the Spaniards with arms and other necessaries, which might have prolonged the war. And with respect to sending money to them, it would well have become the ministry, before they called for a supply from the exhausted pockets of the people, to have restored the millions of which Spain some years ago had been so unjustly pillaged by the government of this country, and which had gone to his Majesty, under the name of droits of admiralty.—But there was no rational expectation of success in such a contest. They had trusted the British character and honour on the rotten plank of the Spanish government and the inquisition! The absurdity of acting on the divine right of kings had been the misfortune of this reign,—in support of it we had made an unavailing waste of blood and treasure, but we had never yet embarked in any legitimate object. It suited administration now to say, that the internal government of a country should not be interfered with. How did this doctrine accord with the idea of that contest in which, for the last fifteen years, we had been engaged with the French, simply because they chose to alter their internal form of government? Instead of a monument to the memory of the minister who involved us in such a war, he deserved to have lost his head on a scaffold.—The House is called on for an address of thanks. I, for one," said Sir Francis, "have no thanks to bestow: kings are too much exposed to have adulation poured into their ears, and this has been the cause of the overthrow of too many of the thrones of Europe. We have not heard that any of the kings who have of late years fallen under the dominion of Buonaparte were in want of courtiers. It is fit that the king of England should occasionally hear the truth from his Commons, and no better opportunity than the present can possibly present itself.—Mr Canning has objected to the thought of this being a sinking country:—he himself may be rising, but the country is sinking; and there is too much ground to believe that it will sink still lower, if a reform does not speedily take place."

Lord Henry Petty applauded the speech. "In the principal parts of its sentiments,—sentiments," he said,

"which were delivered with such an eloquence as could not soon be forgotten,—he cordially concurred; and there was no man in whose sentiments he would be more happy to feel it consistent with his opinions to concur than Sir Francis Burdett." Mr Canning could not help expressing his astonishment and regret at hearing this. "To the talents of Sir Francis," he said, "and to his sincerity also, no man was more willing to do justice than he was; but without meaning any thing disrespectful to that honourable baronet, he must say that he was grieved to hear the noble lord, who was naturally to be ranked among the great men of the country, and who was to be looked to as one of its probable governors, declare such an entire concurrence in sentiments so dangerous in their nature and character. If the evils which Sir Francis Burdett deplored were so grievous, why did he not bring them forward in some distinct and tangible form, and not fasten a general declamation upon a question of this nature? why not propose some practical remedy, such a remedy as any minister could apply, and not continue to repeat his doctrine, that the whole frame of the government was not worth preserving?"

There was a cry of No! No! Misrepresentation! from the opposition benches at this part of Mr Canning's speech; and Sir Francis appealed to the House, whether such an imputation was applicable to him? whether the course which he had pursued that night, as he had uniformly done, in reprobating the abuses that prevailed in the administration of government, could be fairly deemed inconsistent with the profound veneration which he felt for the genuine constitution of the country? Upon this Mr Canning replied, that he referred to the phrase of "absurdly contending for loyalty," which the baronet had introduced in his speech. Sir Francis explained his meaning to be, that the argument respecting loyalty in Spain was pushed to an extremity inconsistent with the freedom of any nation, and particularly with the constitution of England. But though this particular phrase might thus be fairly explained, and nothing fell from him in this speech contrary to that veneration which he expressed for the constitution, it is not the less certain that, during the whole of the Spanish revolution, Sir Francis Burdett and his partizans have shewn a callousness of feeling toward the patriots, and an indifference toward the best interests of mankind, which were not to have been expected from any true lovers of liberty.

Mr Whitbread found himself too weak to divide the House upon his amendment, and the address, as originally moved, was carried without a division.

CHAP. II.

Vote of Thanks to Sir Arthur Wellesley and his Army. Debate upon the Campaign in Portugal, and the Convention of Cintra.

The campaigns in Portugal and Spain were concluded, but they were to be fought over again in Parliament. A vote of thanks *Jan. 23.* was moved to Sir Arthur Wellesley, for the battle of Vimiera. Earl Moira protested against it, because Sir Harry Burrard was not included. "That general," he said, "had approved of the dispositions made by Sir Arthur for the battle, and thereby made himself responsible for those dispositions. He had the command; he was present, for a great part of the time, in the hottest of the engagement; and he controuled the opinion of Sir Arthur respecting the advance to Torras Vedras. Had the army been defeated, he must have participated in the shame of the defeat: surely, then, justice required that he should partake of the triumph of the victory, especially as, after what had transpired in the Court of Inquiry, to leave his name out of the vote of thanks would be, in fact, to pass the severest censure upon him." This inference was totally denied by the ministry. Lord Mulgrave said he knew Sir Harry Burrard well, knew his sentiments upon the subject, and that that gallant general utterly disclaimed all right to thanks which he felt he had not earned. This assertion did not preclude a repetition of the same arguments in the House of *Jan. 25.* Commons, by Lord Folkestone and Mr Whitbread. General Stewart replied, that no man could have a higher respect for Sir Harry than he had; but he could not help observing, that if the thanks of Parliament were to be voted him, it would be impossible to make the army understand for what; for the soldiers had seen the activity of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and knew that Sir Harry Burrard did nothing more than come into the field.

On these questions no division took place, all parties being agreed that the services of Sir Arthur Wellesley and the army under his command deserved the thanks of their country. The question upon the convention of Cintra was a trial of strength. Lord Henry Petty moved two resolutions, stating *Feb. 21.* that it had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the country, and that the causes and circumstances which led to it had in a great measure arisen

from the misconduct and negligence of his Majesty's ministers. These resolutions were introduced by a speech of considerable length. Lord Henry began by saying, that "no proceedings which had yet taken place upon this subject were of a nature to preclude the expediency and necessity of a parliamentary investigation; for the Board of Inquiry was a tribunal incompetent to give satisfaction to the country, and irreconcileable with all the received principles of law and equity:—Opening its doors to the public, calling upon the very parties to give their testimony, and drawing from them information by which they were to be subjected to criminal prosecution, it was calculated rather to defeat than to promote the ends of justice.

"It is not my intention," he pursued, "to discuss the extent of the insurrections which broke out in Spain; but if they afforded any room for military exertion on our part, government could not have been found more fortunately situated with regard to military means than it was. There was at that time a considerable expedition prepared for distant service,—there was another force in the Mediterranean, under General Spencer: it had been sent to take possession of Ceuta, but when it arrived, the attack upon Ceuta was found impracticable. Soon afterwards a new prospect of vigorous exertion opened upon Lord Castlereagh, and a third army was sent upon a voyage of discovery and observation, to look for an expedition in the Baltic. Thus, then, when government was called upon to co-operate with Spain, it had in actual readiness three distinct masses of disposable force. Lord Castlereagh was actually rich in his own failures. It was resolved to send a force to assist the Spanish patriots: Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed to the command; and the ultimate destination of the expedition was Portugal. There was nothing in the possession of Portugal itself,—nothing in the possession of the port of Lisbon, as a source of immediate succour to the Spaniards,—nothing connected with the real interests of our faithful ally the Queen of Portugal, or of her subjects, that could point out, much less justify that destination; for of all the calamities that can be inflicted upon a country, the conquest of it by a power not able to retain it is the greatest; because it is thereby exposed to all the calamities and horrors of two revolutions. It subjects a country to calamities, of which the immediate evil inflicted by the conqueror is the least; for it draws out all the lurking vices that are concealed in the bosom of society, and brings all those dormant bad qualities into play, which never fail to accompany and aggravate the convulsions of a country. These evils are inflicted even by a change from good to better; but how much more must they be increased when the change is from bad to worse! Such an assistance this country could not be called upon to afford, neither was Portugal inclined to require it; and such was the only assistance we could give to Portugal, independent of Spain. But we now have been taught that it is not on the Tagus that Buonaparte was to be restrained in his pursuits. In the progress of his unlimited schemes of ambition, it is not to momentary triumphs, to the eclat of public rejoicings, or to the firing of Park guns, that his exertions are directed. Because he aims at ultimate advantage, and hopes for ultimate success

and ultimate glory, he looks with utter contempt at Portugal, whilst he presses without cessation upon the provinces of Spain. Do I say, however, that there were no objects in Portugal which claimed our attention? By no means. There was in that country a French army, and in its port a Russian fleet. The capture of that army and the possession of that fleet were of the highest importance; and we stood not only ourselves, but beheld the enemy in such a relative situation as we had never before the good fortune to witness. We saw a French army in a position in which it was cut off from all means of assistance,—situated in an unfriendly country,—deprived of every succour by sea and land. Every man who looked to it might say, that, whatever should be the fate of the other armies of Buonaparte, whatever views of aggrandisement they might be the means of promoting, here at least was an army cut off from all possibility of relief—an army that must be forced to pay the tribute due to British valour, and submit, by British exertions, to confusion and defeat.—This expedition, however, required several important and necessary considerations to be attended to most particularly. It required that the most positive and clear instructions should be given to the officer who was to have the conduct of it. Being intended to act in different situations, according to different circumstances, it was, above all things, necessary that it should be properly equipped for the service; that the commander should at least have had the opportunity afforded him of choosing his own ground; that after such discretion was confided to him, he should at least be continued in his command. This was essentially necessary to insure its success. But the shores of Portugal were not the first object of the expedition. It fluctuated between the northern and southern coasts of Spain; and the suggestion of carrying it to Portugal, far from having been founded upon any previous original determination, was taken up in forty-eight hours, upon the suggestion of the Spanish deputies.

"Spain was the original destination of this army; and, on the 21st of June, Lord Castlereagh says, in his letter to Sir Arthur, that it was better to bring the whole force together than to trust to a junction on the coast of Spain: but from that moment every thing was trusted to a junction there. Sir Arthur's expedition sailed separately,—the cavalry belonging to it sailed separately,—General Moore's expedition sailed separately,—General Auckland's expedition sailed separately,—the whole of the ordnance sailed separately,—and the junction of all these forces and equipments was left to be effected on the coast of Spain. On the 28th one letter was written to Admiral Purvis, directing him to send intelligence to Sir Arthur, on the north coast of Spain; and another to General Spencer, telling him that Sir Arthur was to co-operate with him; so that the machinery by which the expedition was to be worked was, that Admiral Purvis, who was off Cadiz, was to send requisites to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who was in the north of Spain, which were to induce Sir Arthur to send orders to General Spencer, who was in the south. Two days afterwards the whole plan is altered, in consequence of an opinion given by the Spanish deputies in London; and in opposition to all the previous plans, Sir Arthur is instruct-

ed 'to expel the French from Portugal;'—words of which Sir Hew Dalrymple has said, that if they were selected for being equivocal, they could not have been more so. These instructions were sent on the morning of the 30th, and on the evening of the same day new instructions were written, in consequence of fresh dispatches from Sir Charles Cotton, that there were only 4000 men left to defend the forts on the Tagus. This information,—incredible as it ought to have appeared, and false as it was,—was believed without hesitation! The expedition proceeds upon this account,—its falsehood is discovered,—and the British commander is reduced to the necessity of executing very imperfectly the service to which he had been appointed.

"The expedition was equipped as imperfectly as it was planned. According to the authority of Sir Arthur Wellesley himself, there was not a point in which cavalry would not have been serviceable; and yet the expedition was set on foot with only three hundred horse. When the noble lord learnt that, instead of 4000 men, Junot had 20,000, with a large proportion of cavalry, he then informed Sir Arthur that a proportion of cavalry would accompany the troops; yet there were only 700 embarked; and there were never more than 1500 in Portugal, even including General Stewart's expedition, which did not arrive at the Tagus till September. Now, in 1807, when there was neither hope nor intention of attempting any thing upon the continent, Lord Castlereagh felt so much dissatisfaction at the preceding administration's want of cavalry, that he put a resolution on the table of that House, declaring that he had provided transports for 4000 horse,—that there they were,—that they wanted nothing but services. In 1808 he tells Sir Arthur Wellesley, that as great a proportion of cavalry as his means of transport will enable him shall be sent:—and that great proportion turns out to be 700 men!—The equipment of the artillery was even more singular. Sir Arthur says, that when the expedition sailed, it being uncertain whether it might not remain long at sea, and it being doubtful in what part of the peninsula it might be serviceable, it was thought advisable not to take good horses to draw the guns. I have heard," said Lord Henry, "of cases where it has been necessary to have particularly good artillery horses; I have heard of cases where it has not been necessary to have artillery horses at all; but this is the first time that I have ever heard of an expedition in which it was necessary to have bad artillery horses. The horses were sick, lame, blind, cast off, and unfit for service; and this not by accident, but by concert between Lord Hawkesbury and the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland!

"Sir Arthur Wellesley sailed, conceiving himself to be commander-in-chief of the expedition which was to effect the destruction of the enemy in Portugal; yet six general officers, superior to him in rank, are successively sent out! Having sent General Burrard to supersede General Wellesley, and General Dalrymple to supersede General Burrard, and designing to send another general to supersede General Dalrymple, it is entertaining to see Lord Castlereagh recommending persons so superseding each other to act together in harmony! The noble leader of the band puts all his instruments out of tune,

throws them into a strain of discord, and then conjures them to be harmonious. By this time, however, he was himself become completely ignorant who was the commander-in-chief; they had been appointed in such rapid succession, that he knew not to whom he should address himself as such, and all his future instructions were therefore directed to the senior officer for the time being!

"There is yet one point more which requires attention, relative to the equipment of this expedition. It is stated in the instructions furnished by Lord Castlereagh, that the great expence of rendering the army maintainable on its landing has determined him to trust to the resources of the country, as there was no doubt it would furnish every species of supply. Sir Arthur Wellesley affirms, that no exertions whatever could have drawn from Portugal a supply of bread; that the supplies of cattle for slaughter were not sufficient for the army; and that it is a country which never fed itself for more than seven months in the year. Yet this is the country on which the noble lord, from considerations of expence, was to rely, not only for the sustenance of the army, but for the means of facilitating the rapidity of its motions! The noble lord is not often economical, but when his economy does come forward, it produces considerable effect. Philosophy has been stated to be a good horse in the stable, but a bad one on the road: the same may be said of economy: but the noble lord's economy is always on the road, never in the stable. When no expeditions are going forward, then he has transports ready for 4000 cavalry: In time of war, when every thing depends upon rapidity, then his economy will not allow transports for more than 7 or 800; his economy will have artillery horses that are lame, and blind, and unfit for service; and his economy will draw supplies from a country which has not the power of supplying itself!

"Sir Arthur landed, and commenced a bold system of operations, which, supported by British bravery, could not have been otherwise than successful. Sir Harry Burrard arrived to supersede him;—to him all the defects in the state of the army were immediately obvious:—he saw the want of cavalry and of artillery, and the inability of the country to afford provisions; and upon these grounds he rests the justification of his subsequent conduct. His reign, however, was but short: The north wind brought Sir Harry, the south brought Sir Hew; and scarcely had Sir Harry's sun risen, when it set for ever. And here it is but justice to point out the very peculiar situation in which Sir Hew Dalrymple was placed. He had first taken the command of an army which he had never before seen, and landed in a country with which he was not acquainted: he was committed to a system of operations upon which he had never been consulted:—in his own words, all the responsibility was vested in him, all the direction in others. He was in want of every thing necessary to enable him to act with confidence and decision. First, and most materially, he was in want of precise instructions; he was in want also of cavalry and artillery horses; and to these deficiencies is to be attributed the conclusion of the fatal and ever-to-be lamented armistice.

"Of the maritime convention it would be superfluous to speak, were it not to shew that its principle was introduced by Lord Castlereagh him-

self. So late as the year 1807, Lord Strangford suggested that it might be possible to reduce the Russian fleet, by blockade, to such a state as would in all probability lead to a convention; and this was followed up by a letter from the admiralty to Sir Charles Cotton, authorising him to conclude a maritime convention, upon the terms on which that convention was concluded. Not a word of instruction was afterwards received by Sir Charles. Circumstances were materially changed, and yet he remains in September with the same instructions which he had received in April! He goes on and concludes the convention; and then it is that the Board of Admiralty write a letter to him, in which they do not condemn him for applying at one time the instructions meant for another, but they blame him for introducing a new principle into the service. But this was precisely the very principle which Lord Castlereagh had suggested; and yet when Sir Charles Cotton had concluded a treaty upon that principle, the noble lord thinks it ingenuous to turn round upon the gallant admiral, and exclaim, 'Thou canst not say I did it!'

"It is but a short time, sir," Lord Henry continued, addressing himself to the Speaker, "since, as the organ of this House, you stated to those brave men by whose skill and courage the victory of Vimiera was achieved, that their swords had not been drawn in vain. As far as valour and skill were concerned, assuredly their swords were not drawn in vain; but for any purpose of solid advantage to ourselves, or of affording assistance to our allies, they were drawn in vain. I would ask our allies the Spaniards,—I would ask the people of Biscay, Gallicia, and Asturias, who have recently tracked the desolating progress of the enemy,—I would ask our own countrymen, who shed their best blood before Coruna, against that very army which had been transported from Portugal to fight them, whether the battles of Vimiera and Roleia had not been fought in vain? I would ask even the people of Portugal, whom we have now abandoned, or must speedily abandon, whether the skill and valour so gloriously displayed in these battles was not displayed in vain,—whether, in a word, our gallant countrymen did not draw their swords in vain? Let the House compare the situation of General Junot in June with what it was in the December following, when he was quelling insurrection in Spain, and assisting to drive the British army to Coruna. What had intervened between July and December? A British expedition! British success! British victory! I hope, at least, that the result of the vote this night will be to give some important instruction to the country, and that those who have been attributing the failure of our expedition to other causes will come to a distinct vote; that they will inform the country, if they are of that opinion, that although the expedition was properly commanded, yet it was convenient that the commander should be changed; that although it was proper there should be a large force of cavalry, yet that it was not inconvenient to have scarcely any cavalry at all; that although it was proper to have efficient artillery horses, yet it was no detriment to the service to have horses that were wounded, lame, blind, spavined, and cast off; that it was necessary to have the most precise instructions given to the commanders, and yet that it was no fault

in his Majesty's ministers to have abstained from giving any instructions at all. We have been warned that we ought to guard against the language of humiliation, and to prevent ourselves from being depressed by the appearance of the sinking fortune of the country. The language that infers national humiliation I do not approve of; but if results such as we have seen are to proceed from British valour, if such are to be the only fruits that we are to reap from victory, all that I can say is, that the language of humiliation best becomes this House. But if valour and victory only lead to misfortune and disgrace, let us point out to whom the language of humiliation ought to belong. If the glory of armies be rendered unavailing by the weakness of our councils; if valour in the field be defeated by incapacity in the cabinet, let us at least discriminate.—With this view I propose, with deference to the House, the adoption of resolutions intended to record a most important commentary on the past, and to present a most instructive lesson for the future."

To one part only of this able and argumentative speech was Lord Castlereagh able to make a satisfactory reply. "At the commencement of the campaign," he said, "ministers had a disposable force of 5000 men, under General Spencer, at Gibraltar, and of 10,000 at Cork, under Sir Arthur Wellesley. That under Sir John Moore could not be calculated on immediately, as its getting free of the Baltic was uncertain; so that there was no possible chance that these three corps could be brought speedily to act together on the same service, still less in one expedition. But was it not better to send the two former to the immediate aid of the Spanish cause, than to delay them until additional succours could be provided in England? General Spencer was sent in the first instance to Cadiz, and not to Portugal; and the plain reason was, that if he had arrived in the Tagus before the main force under Sir Arthur, it might have been a signal to the enemy to concentrate his force.

"The charge against ministry of a deficiency in the equipment of the expedition had been greatly narrowed since it was first set up. At first the whole failure was imputed to them:—they had sent out an army destitute of ammunition, of artillery, of provisions, of tents, of every thing: but now the points to be relied on were the deficiency of artillery horses, and the situation of Portugal with respect to supplies. An advancing army, in general, depended for supplies upon the country which it went to succour. Provisions are not meant; for all the expeditions to Spain and Portugal carried with them provisions for three months, exclusive of the transport provisions, which amounted to eight weeks more. But an army requires a great number of cattle to convey those provisions and other necessaries:—in the Austrian army, so great a proportion as even one half is usual; so that for 30,000 men, 15,000 beasts of burden would be wanted. It was not surprising, therefore, that for assistance of this kind they should depend on the country; and it was also necessary that an army should land at some distance from the enemy, in order that it might have time to create and collect the means to enable it to advance. When a want of artillery horses was complained of, Lord Henry must have shut his eyes to the reinforcement which was immediately to follow from

England, which made them amount to 778. For his *countrymen*, the horses from Ireland," Lord Castlereagh pursued, " he must be permitted to say a few words. They were not so bad as they had been represented; they were very much admired by the French; and 100 of them had been actually selected to pursue the campaign in Spain, through one of the most fatiguing marches ever made. Such were the feats of the so unjustly and ungratefully abused Irish horses! As far as he had been able to trace their history, they were the best and most serviceable of any in the army. It was, however, a question whether an army was useless without any horses at all. In Egypt we had only about 150; the same was the case when Sir Ralph Abercromby was in Holland; and in General Wolfe's battle the sailors drew the guns. And as for the want of cavalry, surely it would not be contended, either that they could have been sent sooner, or that Sir Arthur Wellesley should have been kept back till they could be sent. At all events, it would be sufficient if they could be shewn to have been equal to the enemy:—in the whole they would have amounted to 1500, and the enemy never had more.

" It was hardly possible," he thought, " that in any extensive military operations the chief command should not occasionally change hands:—in the Low Countries it had once happened that four such changes took place within eight-and-forty hours,—though he did not mean to say there was any advantage in that circumstance. Sir Hew Dalrymple, upon whom so much obloquy had fallen, had acted in the most delicate matters, with regard to Spain, with a strength of mind and acuteness of judgment which had inspired his Majesty's ministers with the greatest confidence in him: not only was there no complaint against him, but he had acted with the greatest propriety, skill, and courage. This was his opinion of the commander-in-chief. Of the campaign:—Was it nothing, in the short period of three weeks, to have taken possession of a country of great strength,—to have defeated an army of 25,000 men,—to have liberated a whole kingdom from the grasp of our enemy,—and to have restored it to its own people and its native government? It was natural to expect, after a victory where the public feelings had broke loose, that they should not be easily satisfied; but it was a heated and hasty feeling, which the public had suffered to be too much indulged; and if the intelligence of the victory and the armistice had come at the same time, every thinking man would have received it differently. He himself had gone with the public in this feeling, and therefore he felt himself entitled now to reproach the over-indulgence of it. It had been his painful duty to signify to Sir Hew Dalrymple the disapprobation of government as to some articles of the convention which interfered with the rights of other states; but with that exception, he could not, on cool reflection, withhold from the convention his tribute of applause.—The maritime convention was another subject on which the mind of the country had been very much irritated: the course pursued, however, had been the best; and the Admiralty thought the conduct of Sir Charles Cotton proper, though they judged it necessary, generally, to set their faces against the principle of the conditional surrender of ships. The in-

structions recommending such a convention, which had been given in April, were given without any view to subsequent circumstances,—which indeed could not at that time possibly have been foreseen; and they were merely applicable to a case of starvation, which alone was then in view. Having thus replied to the various points of accusation, he did hope he had submitted to the House grounds for his opinion that the expedition against Portugal was a most wise and expedient measure; that the object was the best that could be adopted, the equipment the most perfect which circumstances would permit, the execution as complete as the nature of the case would allow; and that there had been no failure, except what resulted from causes which neither the administration nor the officers could controul."

Notwithstanding Lord Castlereagh's defence of the Irish horses, Sir George Nugent, one of the generals who had sat upon the Board of Inquiry, supported the motion of censure upon ministers; having, he said, approved of the armistice and convention, because they were founded upon the insufficient equipments of the army. General Tarleton also spoke in favour of the motion. "He could affirm," he said, "that it was possible for an army to move immediately on its landing. When Sir William Howe was sent to New York, he moved forward with his cavalry and artillery on the same day that they landed, after having been a long time at sea. He agreed with ministers, that it would have been useless to have encumbered the army with heavy artillery:—there could have been no difficulty in landing 14 or 15 pieces of cannon from the fleet, which would soon have reduced Fort St Julian. Lisbon and the country were friendly to us, and hostile to the enemy; and as to the opinion that the French could pass the river, and occupy Elvas, he was astonished that the Board could have admitted such a plea. The Tagus was one of the most rapid rivers in the world, and four miles broad at Lisbon:* but Lord Cornwallis, when he was shut up in York-Town, with this advantage over the French, that he had not been beaten, was unable to cross a river only one mile broad, though his horse and artillery were on the other side, his boats ready in a bay defended from the enemy, and the two points of the crescent which the bay formed protected by redoubts. He respected Sir Hew Dalrymple; but surely it was a most extraordinary proceeding in ministers to remove him from a situation in which they themselves said he was so useful, to place him in one of which he himself said he knew nothing. When they had appointed Sir Arthur Wellesley to conduct an operation, they ought to have allowed him to finish it; but that general had been told that a successor would soon be appointed. Thus that honourable ambition which so well became a soldier was roused to do something before he was superseded, and this perhaps induced him to proceed rather rashly. This was not a topic to pursue after Sir Arthur's conduct

* The breadth of the Tagus at Almeida is less than 8500 feet; and to say that its rapidity would occasion any difficulty in the passage, must excite the astonishment of any person who has seen how boats traverse it in all directions, and at all times. Indeed it is absurd to talk of the rapidity of a tide stream.

had been approved of; nevertheless, he thought he could convince that gallant and honourable officer himself, that there had been something rash in the action of Roleia, and something wrong in that of Vimiera."

Sir Arthur Wellesley then rose. "For the plan and equipment of the expedition, the government," he said, "was answerable; for the execution and result, the responsibility rested upon the officers alone. The operations in favour of Spain could only be carried on in conjunction with the people and public authorities of that country, and therefore it was necessary to come to a right understanding with the juntas before the commencement of the campaign. When he arrived at Coruna, the junta of Gallicia had heard of the defeat at Rio Seco: he offered to land his troops, and assist General Blake in covering the seat of their government: their reply was, that they did not want men, and that the best service which could be done to them and their cause was to expel the French from Portugal: and such importance did they attach to this service, that though they were threatened from two points at the time, they sent 2000 men to Portugal, to assist him in that quarter. Thus, therefore, it was proved that the expulsion of the French from that country was not merely an object of British interest, but one of great consequence with a view to future operations in Spain, and advised by the Spaniards themselves.—The destination of the expedition having been thus justified, its equipment was next to be considered. Government were informed by Admiral Sir C. Cotton that there were only 4000 French in Lisbon, the rest having proceeded to Spain; and it would scarcely be alleged as a charge against them, that they acted upon the information of one who had been eight months on the station, and might be supposed to have the best means of ascertaining with accuracy the real situation of the enemy in that quarter. Upon that information, the equipment was amply sufficient; but, at the same time, there might no doubt be other reasons for the choice made of horses for the commissariat and the artillery. It should be remembered, that when he embarked it was uncertain whether, or where, or when he should land; and as horses must suffer considerably from being kept a long time on board, those of an inferior description were chosen."

Sir Arthur's opinion upon this subject was plainly implied by the manner in which he past it over. Lord Castlereagh, indeed, in defending his equine countrymen, as he called them, did wisely, to treat the thing with levity;—no person could suppose him serious. It appeared in evidence before the Board of Inquiry, on the authority of Lieutenant-colonel Robe, that the horses were "old, blind, lame, cast-off cavalry; that many of them died of age, and some with work, before they reached Lisbon, though they were supplied as fully as the army could be, and several times had additional rations ordered them by Sir Arthur Wellesley's care; that of 293, 46 perished thus by the way; and of the survivors, that a great number were not worth the forage they consumed." The case was palpable:—a fraud had been committed on government, and the manner in which government thus treated it in public was not very likely to prevent the repetition of such frauds.

"The next point to be considered," Sir Arthur Wellesley continu-

ed, "regarded the operations which he himself undertook. Though inferior in cavalry, he had yet a larger British force, as he conceived, than any that could be brought against him; he had reason to expect reinforcements, under Generals Auckland, Burrard, and Moore; and so well satisfied was he of the sufficiency of his own force to execute his object, that he did not intend to have employed the corps under General Auckland in the field at all, but intended to have sent it to besiege Peniche. When Sir Harry Burrard arrived, he had no longer the command; but he recommended to him a plan for the corps of Sir John Moore; and if that had been adopted, he should not have had the mortification this night of hearing a resolution proposed, that the expedition to Portugal had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation. That plan was, that Sir John Moore should advance upon Santarem, with a view to intercept the enemy, for he thought they would endeavour to cross the Tagus. It was feasible, not only in his opinion, but in the opinion of all the general officers who had given evidence at the Court of Inquiry, and even of the Court itself. Sir Harry Burrard, however, thought proper to call that corps to the assistance of the army, and thus the whole system of operations was materially altered. —With respect to the change of commanders, he never expected to be continued in the command after large reinforcements had arrived, to the exclusion of many valuable officers; but, at the same time, he did not think that the command ought to be changed in the middle of expeditions; for though it might be changed without injury in the course of a campaign, these expeditions were not campaigns; they were only operations. As to the letter sent by Lord Castlereagh, desiring his particular officers to consult him particularly, had he been aware of the existence of such a document, he should have felt his situation very uncomfortable; but he must say, that from the first hour those officers landed, nay, even before they had landed, he perceived that he was not in possession of their confidence. By the change of commanders the whole system had been altered, and this circumstance necessarily governed him in his subsequent views. His original plan was to have engaged the enemy as near Lisbon as possible, to have followed up with the utmost expedition the advantage which he undoubtedly expected, and to have prevented their crossing the Tagus: and his opinion still was, that if they had been followed closely after their defeat at Vimiera, this plan would fully have succeeded. He was no party to the question, and had never come forward as the accuser of Sir Harry Burrard; but as he had conducted the previous operations, as he had commanded at Vimiera, and held himself responsible for that action, he thought his opinion ought to have had some weight on that occasion. That opinion had been supported by all the general officers under his command: and he never could comprehend how the Court of Inquiry, which had approved of all that he had done up to the close of the battle, could have said that those troops which had been constantly beaten in the field ought not to have been pursued when beaten. He would certainly have pursued them so hard after that battle, if he had retained the command, that it would have been impossible for them to have crossed the Tagus; and

he was satisfied in his own mind, that if they had been vigorously followed up, there would have been no reason for concluding the convention which had given so much offence."

Sir Arthur thus vindicated himself as a soldier: the far more difficult task remained, of apologizing for his conduct as a negociator. "When the armistice was concluded," he said, "the French occupied a strong position, in which they might have stopped the progress of a superior force for three or four days;—the advancing army, when it had succeeded in dislodging them from thence, would have further to drive them from two or three other lines, which lay between the main position and Lisbon;—meantime they might have been employed in preparing for the passage of the Tagus, which it would have been impossible to prevent. Elvas would then have been to be reduced: the British army could not have been in a condition to reduce it till December, and then it might have been advisable to grant the French the same terms, or nearly the same, as those which were granted them in August. These considerations," he argued, "justified the convention. The necessity for concluding it had been ascribed to the want of artillery, of horses, of equipment of various kinds; but in concluding the armistice, these circumstances had never been taken into account by him, nor by any of the officers concerned. The only question at all connected with the state of the army, in point of equipment, was as to the difficulty of supplying it with provisions, when the whole of the troops should be collected. On this point, therefore, government was wrongfully accused; and even if the convention were as disgraceful as it was said to be, still it would be hard to charge it upon government, when, if a certain plan of operations had been followed, the reason for it would not have existed.

"There was one topic more to which he was anxious to advert, with regard to the Court of Inquiry. He perfectly agreed with Lord Henry Petty in the wish that this might be the last court of the kind which should ever assemble. It was not a court before which any officer would desire to be tried. A general impression had gone abroad, that it had been instituted out of friendship to him: It was rather hard upon him to be subjected to such a reflection, as, if he had been tried in any other manner, he must have been acquitted. As far as he was concerned, the court had been a source of injustice:—this he said without meaning to blame any of the members; but he hoped it would be the last court of the kind."

This speech was most ably replied to by Mr Windham. "Nothing," he said, "could be more clear, fair, and manly, than the manner in which the honourable general had spoken of all the persons with whom he had acted, and of all the transactions in which he had been concerned. It was impossible not to discern in the whole of his conduct those characteristic marks which have at all times, and not least in those in which we live, distinguished the successful from the unsuccessful side, the victor from the vanquished.—But the statement which was satisfactory for his own justification was no vindication of his Majesty's ministers. While it justified his character, it was the condemnation of theirs. It was the glory of a military officer to achieve success under great disadvantages. There

was no credit to be gained from good fortune, where there were no disadvantages to be encountered, no difficulties to be overcome. But the glory of an administration consists in placing their officers in circumstances where success shall be easy, where they cannot chuse but win, and where of consequence their glory must be little. The merits of executive officers and of those who employ them move often in this respect exactly in a counter order. What is the boast of the officer is the reproach of the minister; and the triumph of the minister, in preparing an easy victory, takes from the officer his means of distinction. The circumstances, therefore, which enhanced the merit of the gallant general constituted the blame of the ministers who produced them. Unquestionably, a *prima facie* responsibility attached upon ministers for every public measure; yet he would admit, that the convention was one of which they stood perfectly clear. But when he allowed they stood clear of the convention itself, he did not mean that there was not matter of responsibility in their preceding conduct; that they were not responsible for the manner in which they superseded the commanding officers; and for all the other circumstances which arrested Sir Arthur's career of success, and led to the convention. That general had certainly stated, that the want of cavalry would not have prevented him from following up his victory. But it had produced that effect in others, and was the reason principally insisted upon by the members of the Court of Inquiry, why the generals who refused to concur in that course were justified in their refusal. He could not but believe, notwithstanding this opinion of the members of the court, that the honourable general was right, and that, if left to himself, he would have accomplished all that he had said he could. He must fairly confess that he could hardly entertain a doubt upon that point. Still the doubt was entertained, and, in the opinion of the members of the court, was rightly entertained; it is this which, in point of fact, prevented the victory from being followed up: and this doubt was founded almost entirely upon the deficiency of cavalry. So that, let who will be right, it was they, who, for whatever reasons, forbore to provide the army with a larger proportion of cavalry, upon whom it must be charged that the victory of Vimiera fell so far short of what it might have done, and instead of the capture of the enemy's army, only produced their removal from Portugal, upon the disgraceful terms which we had witnessed. This was the great connecting link which made them responsible for measures in which directly, it is true, they had no share. They did not make the convention. No: but they made that which did make the convention; which rendered it necessary, as some say; but without which, it is agreed on all hands, the convention would not have been made.

"Was the result of the campaign in Portugal such as to satisfy the hopes and expectation of the country? This was the first question to be asked, as the means by which it must be ascertained whether there existed, or not, a *corpus delicti*. Upon this point the answer was unanimous, without the exception even of his Majesty's ministers. There was a failure to be accounted for, a ship lost, for which the commander must be tried, whether blame

must ultimately be imputed to him or not. Blame must be imputed somewhere, either upon the officers or upon the ministers. The Court of Inquiry was a tribunal very little competent to this purpose. The true conception of a Court of Inquiry was, that of a set of persons delegated to inquire into the circumstances of any transaction, for the purpose afterwards of advising his Majesty confidentially, whether there was ground for submitting the matter to an inquiry of a more judicial nature. They were a set of advisers, and not of judges; or, if judges, judges who were to judge of nothing but whether the matter ought to be submitted to judgment. As a secret tribunal, they were to determine whether they would advise his Majesty to try his officers. But what the ministers wanted was, that, as a public tribunal, they should determine whether the country ought to acquit his ministers. They pervert, therefore, the whole nature of the tribunal, and have produced out of it such a strange, anomalous, and inconsistent proceeding, as was never known in the laws of this, or of any country. It is a trial and no trial. It can neither condemn, so as to inflict punishment on the guilty, nor acquit, so as to protect the innocent from further prosecution. In the mean while, witnesses are to be pledged, impressions made, and facts prematurely disclosed, so as to render a fair trial before a regular tribunal no longer practicable. The cause of all this is to be found in the sinister purposes of the ministers on one side, and in their fears on the other. They wanted to hush up the business, so as to prevent that full disclosure which a trial would bring out, and which might involve statements not so convenient to themselves. For this purpose, either no inquiry at all, or an inquiry in the regular mode, with shut doors, would have been most convenient. But that the impatience of the public would not readily acquiesce in. To that the terrors of the newspapers were opposed. They therefore conceived and brought forth that monstrous production, unknown to our laws and our usages, an open Court of Inquiry, of which the only effect has been, to throw dust in the eyes of the people, by a show of trial without the reality, and by making them believe that what, after all, is said only of the officers, was to be applied to the ministers.—But even supposing the establishment of this court and its decision to be perfectly justifiable, the declaration, that none of the officers concerned ought to be put upon their trial, could be no justification of government. The Board of Inquiry broadly stated, that the want of means prevented the victory of Vimiera from being followed up: the acquittal of the officers, therefore, was the condemnation of the government. Sir Arthur Wellesley said, 'that the advantages which resulted from the evacuation of Portugal by the enemy, and the time gained thereby, were equivalent to all that might have been lost in other respects.' This he could not admit, because any time that might be necessary for the reduction of the enemy would have been amply repaid by its consequences. But nothing could be more completely unfortunate than the argument now urged in defence of the convention, that it had the effect of getting the French out of Portugal sooner than could otherwise have been done: For, first, it is not true. The speediest way would undoubtedly have been to

have conquered them in the first instance, as the honourable general would have done, with the troops that he had, and as the other generals do not deny that they could have done with a sufficiency of cavalry: next, it is not at all clear that, even when that opportunity was lost, the expulsion of the enemy by subsequent operations would not have been quite as speedy, and a good deal more satisfactory, than the method of convention. But lastly, of what advantage was it to the honourable gentlemen, thus to endeavour to accelerate the evacuation, when, as it was, it came upon them before they were prepared for it? They are arguing, therefore, against themselves, when they give, as a reason for adopting the convention, that it sooner left them at liberty to transfer the army to Spain. Why make such sacrifices for an object which, when they had got, they were not in a state to make use of?—These points, therefore, are established against them: 1st. That they are answerable for the convention, good or bad as it may be, inasmuch as it is admitted on all hands, that it was from the want of means, which they ought to have provided, that it became, or was thought necessary: 2dly. That when they had got this God-send, they were not at all prepared to profit by it; and that therefore, 3dly, If the honourable general's success had been completed in the way that he had proposed, they would still less have been prepared, and have made it still more evident that they had sent the troops into Portugal in the most headlong, blundering manner, without the least idea of what they were to do, or what plan was to be pursued in different results that might be supposed.

"The noble lord had stated, that it would have been improper to send out a large army under an inferior general; that a large force required, as it were, a large general; but surely it did not follow from that position, that a small army must be sent out with a small general. It was not necessary that the general and the army should fit with such exactness. There was not the same danger in making the general too big as in making him too little. Why should they not put their best foot forward at once? Why not send out, in the first instance, the proper general, with a small army, especially when that small army was to be immediately increased to a large one? It was from the neglect of this principle that the rapid supercession of the generals, and all the calamitous consequences of the campaign, had arisen. He could not conceive a more perfect recipe for exciting dissension and jealousy in an army; for sweeping away all cordiality and union from among its members; and destroying every prospect of the prosperous issue of a campaign. Sir Arthur Wellesley had stated, that, from the first moment of their arrival, he perceived he could not flatter himself that he possessed the confidence of either of his successors in the command. This was the natural consequence of the rapid supercession in which general succeeded general; they followed each other as wave succeeded wave, rising, some of them, as it were, literally out of the sea; they were assembled upon the stage like persons at the end of a comedy, with all the happiest effects of surprise; some from one part of the world, and some from another; one from Syracuse, and another from Ephesus; bringing with them their various views and prejudices, and marring whatever was to be done, by their total ignorance of

all that had preceded.—It had been declared, from the highest authority in the state, that the convention of Cintra had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the nation. Had ministers changed their mind? Did they entertain a different opinion with respect to that transaction now and at the time they caused the guns to be fired? Did they at that moment really think the news was good; or were they only endeavouring, by noise and clamour, by a bold and confident show of exultation, by firings at midnight and puffs in the morning, to confound the sense of the country, and, as sometimes happens in other theatres, to force, as excellent, down the throats of the public, what they knew in their own minds to be most execrable stuff? He should really be curious to know in which way the honourable gentlemen meant to take it; whether they meant to describe themselves as dupes upon that occasion, or as *only* intending to dupe the nation? Among their friends, perhaps, they will prefer the latter description; but as they can hardly venture to profess this publicly, they must be content to be set down as persons who were unable to discover that this convention was a bad measure, till it had received the comment of the public voice, till the knowledge of its merits was forced upon them by the universal cry of the country, by the groans and murmurs, and hissings and cat-calls, and cries of 'off, off,' which assailed them on every side, and from every rank or order of people—from pit, boxes, and gallery. One merit, however, may be allowed them. They did not, like many authors, set themselves obstinately to resist the general judgment, but, after the hints they had received, appeared willing at length to withdraw their piece, and to confess that it was, to be sure, a most wretched performance.

"There was another and a weightier ground of accusation against the right honourable gentlemen, founded upon their total want of foresight in all their military measures, and the culpable absence of any general or comprehensive plan. His Majesty's ministers never seemed to know what to do. They sent out troops before they knew where they would be received; they sent them in a state of equipment inadequate to the object for which they were destined; and when these troops had at length been brought to act upon the great theatre of war, the occasion had gone by, when they could be of any effectual use.—Junot and his corps could not be better placed any where than as they were, cut off from all communication with their countrymen, pressed upon all sides by the accumulating force of the Portugueze nation, and condemned either to shut themselves up in the fortresses of that country, or, by taking the field, to expose themselves to the destruction which the vengeance of an irritated and insulted people was prepared to inflict. In this state of things, the question was, Whether it was good policy to make any attack upon Junot, with a view to destroy his force? But if that were not good policy, it was still less so, to attack him with a view to grant him such terms as would send him into Spain, from which, whilst in Portugal, he was effectually cut off. Unless ministers were prepared to say that they had been successful before their time, they had no way of accounting for the interval that elapsed before the army proceeded to Spain; and if they rested their defence upon that ground, they must stand self-

convicted of a criminal want of foresight, and were deeply responsible for all the losses which resulted from that unfortunate expedition to Spain having been undertaken too late. But how would the case have stood if Junot's force had been destroyed or made prisoners of war? What would have been the inevitable consequences of such a result, in the impression it would have made upon our allies, upon our enemies, upon ourselves, and upon all Europe, as to the comparative character of British and French troops? This impression alone was equivalent to most of the objects that campaigns the most successful are able in general to give. Those who think otherwise, must know but little of the state of the world, particularly at the moment in which we live, or of the feelings and judgments of mankind on other occasions. What had we gained at Maida? In point of territory, nothing: in point of acquisition of any pecuniary value, nothing: but we had gained glory, military glory; and this single circumstance was sufficient to render the battle of Maida one of the most useful, as well as most honourable, of any that had ever been fought for the country. Our army had fought as well at Vimiera as at Maida, but unfortunately the same credit will not be given for its conduct. The troops with whom our force had come to blows would remember their superiority, but the people of France would not be inclined to admit it upon our statement. Whenever we should claim this superiority, they would quote the convention against us. They would ask, 'What have you gained? What have you to show for your victory? Have you brought home the game? What have you bagged? Have you taken General Junot? On the contrary, is he not now at the head of his division in Spain? Have you made his corps prisoners of war? On the contrary, are they not fighting against you and your allies at this moment in Spain?' It was this loss of glory, this deplorable neglect of the opportunity to make an indelible impression upon the French themselves, and the Spanish nation, as to the striking superiority of the British army, that were most to be regretted in the unfortunate result of the campaign in Portugal. Nothing could compensate the loss of so precious an object, of such a golden opportunity. His Majesty's ministers, from their want of diligence, from the absence of all the ordinary official activity, from their total want of all general plan, and from the blind inconsiderate way in which they had conducted the whole of the campaign, stood, even upon their own shewing, condemned before their country."

Mr Perceval, in replying to this speech, had recourse to recrimination. "Perhaps," he said, "Mr Windham might speak feelingly on the subject of superseding officers, from having experienced the inconvenience of it. He had employed a junior officer (Brigadier-General Crawford) to go with 4000 men, by the Antipodes, to Botany Bay, from whence they were to proceed to Chili, which they were to conquer. This done, a line of * posts was to be established across the Andes to Buenos Ayres, to secure the possession of that

* This was answered by Mr Windham, who said, he had never intended to have established military posts between Chili and Buenos Ayres: the only posts he ever thought of were posts for letters and communication.

settlement. Surely the right honourable gentleman could not have forgotten this; for such an idea, when it once entered the mind of a man, could not be got out of it again. General Crawfurd, however, was, after a long voyage, recalled, in order to be placed under the command of General Whitlocke, at Buenos Ayres." In the same spirit Lord Castlereagh had observed, that "the expedition to Sweden, and that preparing at Cork, were fully as beneficial, in their effects to the country, as those which had been sent to Egypt or the Dardanelles." The weakness of such a mode of defence was perceived by Mr Whitbread, though it is precisely by such arguments that he uniformly apologizes for the crimes of Buonaparte. "Was it," he asked, "a justification for all the evils which the misconduct of ministers had occasioned, that their opponents, four years ago, had evinced similar, if not greater, imbecility and ignorance? Was that any apology to the country for the disappointment of its hopes, and the degradation of its character? In the name of truth, if both had been proved guilty of blunders the most criminal, let that be a reason for punishing them both together; but never let it be advanced as an extenuation for every future act of disgraceful mismanagement."

The defence of ministers was closed by Mr Canning. "He felt himself justified," he said, "in concurring with Lord Castlereagh and Mr Perceval in the same vote, but he differed with them in some points: These were rather political than military, —beyond military competency to execute, or military tribunals to decide upon. He objected in principle to the practice of stipulating conditions respecting which we had no right nor power to act: nor could he deny that it was the open, undisguised opinion of every man, that the convention of Cintra had disappointed the hopes and expectations of the country. Having thus delivered his feelings upon this subject, he defended the mode of inquiry which had been adopted, because a court martial presumed the existence of a charge of some specific crime; and it would have been a harsh measure, while so strong a feeling pervaded the nation upon these transactions, to have sent any officer to trial with the weight of that clamour upon his head. And whom could they have selected for such a trial? If Sir Hew Dalrymple, would not ministers have been accused of partiality, in sending to trial an officer who had to plead his scanty information of the state of things on his arrival in Portugal, and who had no time to acquire any? If Sir Harry Burrard, he had the command only for four-and-twenty hours, and had scarcely interfered in the operations. It was only on military principles that he could have been selected, and this was what government were anxious to deliver no opinion upon, feeling it impossible for men in civil offices to decide on matters of that sort. Should, then, Sir Arthur Wellesley have been selected!—He could only be accused of having excited those proud hopes which were afterwards unfortunately disappointed. What mode, then, remained to be adopted but that of an inquiry, when there was brought forward no distinct accusation or specific charge against any of the commanders?"

The choice and change of commanders remained to be defended. "In the appointment of Sir Hew Dalrymple," Mr Canning said, "all his col-

leagues in office were unanimous, and were all ready to share in the responsibility of it. They could have no personal bias in his favour; but, on account of the confidence with which he had inspired the Spaniards, and the correspondence he had kept up with them, he was deemed a fit and proper person to take the command. Desirable as it might be that Sir Arthur Wellesley should not have been stopt in his brilliant career, it should be recollected that it was the undoubted right of his Majesty to select his commanders; that he was known to exercise that right for the good of the military service; and that it was a right not to be interfered with. The almost contemporaneous arrival of Generals Burrard and Dalrymple was also matter of accusation; but that was owing to the wind; and surely this was not a thing which the secretary at war could be expected to calculate. Upon the whole, he strongly and sincerely felt that great objects had been obtained by the convention, and that whatever it failed in was neither imputable to the generals who commanded, nor to the government which appointed them."

General Fergusson, who had so honourably distinguished himself in the battle of Vimiera, justified upon this occasion the opinion which the country entertained of him. He was not of rank, he said, to be consulted upon the convention; but if he had been so consulted, it should have met his decided negative. Mr Yorke, on the contrary, declared, that after all the general officers had expressed their approbation of the terms, he could not see upon what grounds he could disapprove of it. The debate was closed by Lord Henry Petty. He said that the grounds upon which his resolutions were opposed seemed to rest upon this proposition, that although his Majesty, and almost every public body, had recorded an opinion upon the merits of the question under consideration, that House should be restrained from declaring any opinion whatever respecting it. This mode of conduct encouraged the dangerous doctrine, that the people should look any where for decision upon a great public event, rather than to the House of Commons. The previous question was then carried, by 203 voices against 153, leaving him in a minority of 50.*

The convention of Cintra, like every thing else, was made a party question in England; yet never was

* *List of the Minority.*

Abererombie, hon. J.
Adam, W.
Adams, C.
Addington, right hon. J. H.
Agar, E. F.
Allan, A.
Althorpe, visc.
Anson, G.
Antonie, W. L.
Astley, sir J. H.
Aubrey, sir J.
Barham, G. F.
Baring, A.
Baring, T.
Bastard, J. P.
Bathurst, right hon. C.
Bradshaw, hon. A. C.
Brogden, J.
Brand, T.
Byng, G.
Calcraft, J.
Calvert, Nich.
Cocks, James
Combe, H. C.
Craig, J.
Creevey, Thomas
Cuthbert, J. R.
Colborne, N. W. R.
Cooke, B.
Daly, right hon. D. B.
Dundas, hon. C. L.
Dundas, hon. R. L.
Dundas, hon. L.
Eden, hon. W. F.
Egerton, J.
Elliot, right hon. W.
Estcourt, T. G.
Euston, earl of
Fellowes, hon. N.
Fergusson, general
Fitzgerald, lord
Fitzgerald, right hon. M.

there a question in which it more behoved us to have laid all party considerations aside. The manner in which ministers would consider it was manifest as soon as the news was made known, when they exerted their whole influence to prevent or oppose the county meetings upon the subject. The general feeling was decidedly against them; but they knew their strength in Parliament, and they knew the nature of the public,—that, like an unruly pack, however loudly they opened upon their game, any thing which might start up during the pursuit would lure them from the scent. They calculated rightly upon the chance of accidents. The popular emotion, in this instance, did not even endure for the short time in which such fevers naturally spend themselves. While it was at its height, Covent-Garden Theatre took fire, and supplied the newspapers with a

Fitzpatrick, right hon R.
Folkes, sir M. B.
Folkestone, visc.
Frankland, William
Freemantle, W. H.
Gower, earl
Grattan, right hon. H.
Giles, D.
Greenhill, Robert
Grenfell, P.
Giddy, D.
Grosvenor, T.
Hall, sir J.
Halsey, Joseph
Herbert, H. A.
Hibbert, G.
Hobhouse, B.
Howard, H.
Howarth, hon. W.
Howard, H.
Hughes, W. L.
Hume, W. H.
Hurst, R.
Hussey, William
Hutchinson, hon. C. H.
Jackson, John
Keck, G. A. L.
Kensington, lord
Knapp, G.
Knox, hon. T.
Lambe, hon. W.
Langton, W. G.
Latouche, J.
Latouche, R.
Leach, J.
Lefevre, C. S.
Lemon, sir W.
Lemon, colonel
Lloyd, sir E.
Lyttleton, hon. W. H.
M'Donald, J.
Madocks, W. A.
Mahon, viscount
Maitland, G.
Martin, H.
Matthew, hon. M.
Maule, hon. W.
Maxwell, W.
Mexborough, earl of
Milbanke, sir R.
Miller, sir T.
Mills, C.
Mills, W.
Milner, sir W.
Milton, viscount
Moore, P.
Morpeth, viscount
Mosley, sir O.
Mostyn, sir T.
Neville, hon. R.
Newport. right hon. sir J.
North, D.
Northey, W.
O'Callaghan, James
O'Hara, Charles
Ossulston, lord
Percy, earl
Petty, lord H.
Pigott, sir A.
Pole, sir C. M.
Ponsonby, hon. F.
Ponsonby, right hon. G.
Porchester, lord
Prittie, hon. F. A.
Pym, F.
Quin, hon. W.
Ridley, sir M.
Romilly, sir S.
Russell, lord Wm.
St Aubin, sir J.
Scudamore, R. P.
Sebright, sir J.
Sharp, Rd.
Shelly, H.
Shelly, T.
Shipley, W.
Simpson, G.
Smith, J.
Smith, S.
Smith, W.
Smith, G.
Stanley, lord
Symmonds, T. P.
Talbot, R. W.
Tarleton, B.
Taylor, E.
Taylor, M. A.
Tempest, sir H. V.
Temple, earl
Templetown, lord
Tracey, C. H.
Tierney, right hon. G.
Tighe, W.
Vansittart, right hon. N.
Vernon, G. V.
Walpole, hon G.
Ward, hon. J.
Warrender, sir G.
Western, C. C.
Whitbread, S.
Williams, O.
Williams, sir R.
Windham, right hon. W.
Wynn, sir W. W.
Wynn, C. W. W.

new topic, and the people with a new wonder. The propositions from Erfurth, the dispersion of the Spanish armies, the betrayal of Madrid, and the retreat and death of Sir John Moore, then followed in such rapid succession, that the convention, having been regarded only as to immediate interests, not with reference to principles which are of eternal application, seemed like a thing that no longer concerned us, but was already obsolete, and out of date. This advantage ministers obtained from the recess of Parliament; they derived another from the manner in which their antagonists attacked them. No man could blame them, except in the spirit of opposition, for having sent an expedition to Portugal: the public sense of what had been lost by the armistice sufficiently proved the wisdom of its destination; and that it was sufficient for it's purpose, we had the authority of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the conclusive evidence of the victory which he had gained. All arguments, therefore, against the direction of the force were fallacious; and as to the deficiency of its equipment, it only appeared that there had been some roguery in the Irish commissariat. Two faults the ministry had committed. They superseded Sir Arthur by men who were unfit for command.—Moore we knew, (or thought we knew,) and Wellesley we knew; but who were the generals to whom they gave place? what were their qualifications? where had they been tried? what had they done? This assuredly was a grievous fault. They had erred also in ratifying a convention which they disapproved: but on neither of these points were they arraigned. It seemed, indeed, to have been agreed on all sides that the generals were to be spoken of with the utmost respect; and not a suspicion was intimated that the convention ought to have been broken. Ministers, therefore, in this debate had the victory, as well in argument as in numbers: but it was a poor victory, affording to themselves no other advantage than that it closed an irksome discussion; and to the public no other satisfaction than the mournful one, that however inadequate to their station the present ministers might be, they who would fain displace them were in nothing better.

It was confessed by ministry,—they could not but confess it,—that they disapproved the convention. Nay, it appeared that when the armistice * first reached them, (which it did by a strangely circuitous route —from the junta of Oviedo, through the Portugueze ambassador,) so monstrous did they think the terms, that they could not bring themselves to believe it. Mr Canning admitted this,—admitted that he and his colleagues disbelieved the armistice, because the matter appeared incredible. What then did it behove them to have done? Not, assuredly, to have withstood the public feeling, never

* There can be little doubt that measures would have been taken to prevent the convention, had the armistice been duly communicated to our government. This is apparent from the King's final declaration upon the proceedings of the Court of Inquiry, where it is said, "that Sir Hew's delaying to transmit the armistice concluded on the 22d of August till the 4th of September, when the ratified convention was transmitted at the same time, was calculated to produce great public inconvenience; and that such inconvenience had in fact resulted therefrom."

more unanimously nor more generously excited;—not to have resisted, and baffled, and disarmed it; but to have answered it, and gone with it, and acted with the nation, and made themselves strong in the strength of the people:—not to have confused the plain state question with military details and formalities; not to have overlaid it with the bulky proceedings of a military court; but at once to have displaced the three generals, annulled the convention, and detained Junot and his whole army prisoners of war. The highest and truest principles of justice required this; and in proportion as policy deviates from those principles, it necessarily becomes feeble and inefficacious, unless, as in the instances of Cæsar Borgia, and Buonaparte, it derives a portentous strength from the abandonment of all principles. All contracts which involve a breach of law, or are contrary to good morals, are null and void; the law pronouncing them illegal, with whatever forms they may be fenced. In the law of nations it is the same. That law was violated by the convention of Cintra, palpably and grossly violated; and the English government, having no other alternative than that of breaking faith with its enemy or its allies, should have chosen the lesser evil. Had they done this, and met Parliament with an avowal of what they had done, France might have railed against an action which it would have felt so sorely, and the journalists of the opposition might have assailed them with the puny morals and false philosophy of a miserable school; but they would have been justified before God, their country, and the world. Portugal and Spain would have blest them; they would have acquired a strength in public opinion which they have never yet possessed; and they would have felt in their own hearts an unerring earnest of the approbation of future times.

CHAP. III.

State of public Opinion respecting Spain at the time of Sir John Moore's Retreat. Return of his Army. Vote of Thanks to the Army, and of a Monument to the General. Reason why the Ministry and the Opposition agreed upon these Points. Curiosity excited concerning Sir John Moore's last Dispatch. Debate upon Mr Ponsonby's Motion for an Inquiry into the Conduct of the Campaign in Spain. Mr Frere's Correspondence called for, and laid before the House. General Moore's last Dispatch made public. Remarks on its Contents.

THE expedition to Spain occasioned more frequent and more angry discussions than the campaign in Portugal. Events were more recent, and the disgrace which we had sustained was apparent and glaring, both to our friends and foes; nor was it possible to conceal our loss and humiliation from ourselves. It was known when the session opened that Sir John Moore was on the retreat. "How ardently do we wish,"—this was the language* of our best and wisest political writers, —"how ardently do we wish that for every man under his command there had been two! The result would not then have been matter of trembling apprehension. Nay, had there been but 20,000 more; had we but 50,000 in the field, who would have dreaded the issue? But even as it is, and great as are the odds against us, that it will be honourable to the British name we do not doubt,—that it may be successful to our arms we do not despair." There was the right spirit in this language, the spirit of our forefathers, the right old English spirit; but the event was expected with a different temper by the opponents of ministry. They, when the first acclamation of generous sympathy with the Spanish patriots had subsided, true to their belief in the omnipotence of Buonaparte, began again to expatiate upon the folly of opposing one against whom it was impossible to succeed. Spain, according to them, was soon to be subdued: he had declared that he would subdue it; and the patriots would inevitably be crushed. Thus they reasoned: They calculated upon the skill of his generals, the wisdom of his cabinet, the inexhaustible number of his armies, and their irresistible force; but they overlooked the circumstances which

* *Times*, January 19.

distinguished this contest from ordinary wars, and neither took into their account the peculiar character of the Spanish nation, nor the nature of man, nor the strength of moral principles and of a righteous cause. That faith in the superiority of English courage, by which the fields of Cressy, and Poictiers, and Agincourt were won, and which in our own days we had seen proved, not only upon our own element, our empire of the seas, at the mouths of the Nile and Cape Trafalgar, but before the walls of Acre, and in Egypt, and at Maida, and in Portugal;—that faith which should ever be the first article of an Englishman's creed, for while it is believed, so long is it true;—that faith these writers had abjured, and substituted in its place a political heresy, as baneful as it was false, that upon land nothing could withstand the French. The world was made for Buonaparte, and he had only to walk over it, and take possession.

But the baseness of party went beyond this. Not only were ministers blamed for what they had done in assisting Spain, and counselled to withdraw their assistance as speedily as possible, but even the Spaniards themselves were calumniated and insulted. They had neither courage, nor honour, nor patriotism; no love for their country, nor any thing in their country worth defending. What mattered it to them whether their king were called Joseph or Ferdinand, a Buonaparte or a Bourbon? God would dispense sunshine and showers upon the peninsula, whoever was his vicegerent there; the corn and the olive would ripen, and the vine and the fig tree yield their fruits in due season. What folly then to contend for a feeble and oppressive government, of which the loss was gain! The Emperor of the French had rid them of this wretched government; he had abolished the inquisition, reduced the monastic orders, and would suppress them and all other remaining grievances as soon as the obstinacy of the people would allow him leisure. And indeed the people were sensible of all these benefits:—A few chiefs, the overgrown aristocracy of the land, had for a while misled them, but their eyes were opened now; they saw that Buonaparte was doing good; while, on the other hand, such were their prejudices, their churlishness, and their bigotry, that they regarded the English as heretics; and no circumstances of alliance could overcome the antipathy which this feeling occasioned.

The circumstances of Sir John Moore's retreat, and the return of his army, were matter of triumph to these calumniators. "The dismal news," they said, "was at last arrived! the truth of the abused bulletins was at last established to its utmost latitude! the pledge of throwing the English into the sea was almost to its literal meaning fulfilled!* The Spanish junta and their allies, after six months trifling, blundering, and vapouring, were now finally defeated! the spirit of patriotism, both in Spain and Portugal, was extinct! the majority of the Spaniards had all along been indifferent respecting the dynasty by which they were to be governed; yea, many were more attached to the Buonapartes than the Bourbons. The triumphs of France, the defeat and dispersion of the Spanish armies, wherever they were attacked,

* Cobbett.

the harassed retreat and discomfiture of the British forces,—these were the melancholy events which concluded the fatal campaign of 1808, the fifth year of the war,—this most unjust and unnecessary war, into which England, in violation of its own treaty with France, had rushed with equal eagerness and frenzy, and which she was now carrying on with the professed object of the preservation of the most corrupt branch of the Romish * church!" Such was the language of political faction and puritanical bigotry; while the condition in which the troops arrived, and the tale which they related, excited the feelings of the people, and rendered it easy to mislead them. Never had such a scene of confusion and distress been witnessed at Plymouth as on the arrival of this miserable fleet. Above 900 women were landed, all ignorant whether their husbands were dead or living; they were searching through the transports, and officers and men in like manner looking after their wives, children, and friends. Of the wounded there were some whose wounds had never been dressed, others who were dying for want: many were brought on shore dead: some died in the streets, on their way to the hospitals. They who had escaped from any farther evil, having lost all their baggage, were, even the officers, covered with filth and vermin. Letters were written from the Medical Transport Board to all the surgical lecturers in London, requesting their pupils would repair to the ports, and assist during the immediate emergency. The form of having passed the Hall was dispensed with, and nothing more required than a certificate from the lecturer whom they had attended. The people of Plymouth behaved on this occasion with the characteristic activity and beneficence of the English nation. A committee of gentlemen was immediately appointed, who sat night and day, providing food, clothing, and assistance. The ladies of the place attended the sick and wounded, and assisted in dressing the wounds: thus supplying the want of a sufficient number of medical men. Many a woman gave her only second garment to her who had none. A charitable fund was raised, and 1400 women and children belonging to the expedition received immediate relief. The inhabitants of Portsmouth had a less mournful task. That part of the army which landed there had not embarked from the field of battle; and they who were well enough to partake of festivity were feasted in the Town-Hall.

It had been said by many officers during the retreat, that this campaign, like the former one, would require a Court of Inquiry, and inquiry was called for by the ablest of our journalists; but Sir John Moore had fallen in battle, and it was easy to take advantage of the generous feelings of the people, so as to elude all investigation. A vote of thanks was past for the defeat of the French at Coruna. *Jan. 25.* Upon this occasion Earl Moira observed, that "every tribute of gratitude was due to Sir John Moore, for his able, skilful, and gallant conduct, and he deeply lamented his loss; but how had it happened that so heavy and lamentable a loss had been sustained, without any one object having been effected, except the embarkation of the army? What! did our troops go to Spain only to

* B. Flower.

make their escape? What was now to become of those great interests, the protection of which was the greatest boon that Providence could have bestowed on a sinking country? British blood and treasure, and the invaluable lives of British officers and soldiers, had been sacrificed to no purpose, and without in the least assisting the great cause which the country had been pledged to support. Thus were we doomed to witness the extinction of our hopes in Spain, and with them we could expect nothing but the extinction of every hope of continental alliance and co-operation. After the conduct we had displayed towards Sweden and Spain, we could expect nothing but a general confederacy against us. To what but the ignorance and incapacity of ministers were all these calamities to be attributed?"

Lord Erskine spoke in the same strain. "Was it possible," he said, "to deplore the loss of friends whom we loved, and of men whose lives were precious to their country in a most awful crisis, without lamenting in bitterness that they were literally immolated by the ignorance and folly of those who now wished to cover their own disgrace by the just and natural feelings of the public towards men who had died for their country? But for their immortal renown, it would have been better for them, certainly much better for their country, to have shot them upon the parade of St James's Park, than to have sent them, not to suffer the noble risk of soldiers, and in a practicable cause, but to endure insufferable, ignoble, and useless misery, in a march to the very centre of Spain, where they who sent them knew that Buonaparte had above 100,000 men before them, so as to render attack not only impracticable, but retreat only possible, by the noble and unparalleled exertions they were assembled to commemorate: And what sort of retreat?—a retreat leaving upon the roads and in the mountains of Spain from 8 to 9000 of our brave men, dying of fatigue, without one act of courage to sweeten the death of a soldier.—What could, then, be a more disgusting and humiliating spectacle, than to see the government of this great empire, in such a fearful season, in the hands of men who seemed not fit to be a vestry in the smallest parish?"

Lord Grenville also entirely concurred in the motion, extolling the conduct of the general in the highest terms, and imputing the disastrous termination of the campaign to the folly and incapacity of ministers. "It was indeed a sinking country," he said, "if such mismanagement was suffered to continue, in the midst of our unexampled peril and difficulties. The hand of Providence appeared to be on us. Within three years we had lost the two great statesmen in whom the nation reposed its confidence, an admiral who had carried our navy to a pre-eminence which it never before enjoyed, and now a great military chieftain, whose talents were of the first order."—These attacks upon administration called forth no other reply than the usual mention of the expeditions to Egypt, the Dardanelles, and South America; and thanks were voted, in both Houses, without a dissentient voice, to the army and navy, for their exertions and services at Coruna.

On the same evening Lord Castlereagh moved that a public monument should be erected to Sir John Moore in St Paul's Cathedral. When he observed, that "whatever disappointment or losses might have occurred

in the expedition, the failure was not attributable to the general," a loud cry of Hear! hear! was set up from the opposition benches. "If," he continued, "that outcry was intended to imply that the blame devolved elsewhere, and that his Majesty's ministers were culpable, those persons who were of such an opinion would have an opportunity of bringing that question to an issue, when, without mixing the venom of party feelings with sentiments better suited to the present occasion, they could enter at once into the inquiry with somewhat less reserve, and certainly more decency." He then expatiated upon the signal abilities which Sir John Moore had displayed in Spain. "The march from Lisbon to Salamanca had been difficult beyond description; yet, owing to his admirable management, when it reached the end of that march, never did an army appear in a state of more perfect discipline, of more complete equipment, in higher military condition, nor more competent, in every respect, with the exception of numbers, to meet and encounter an enemy. Nor ever was there, in the military history of any country, a more complete diversion than Sir John Moore had effected in favour of the Spaniards by his retreat; for he had completely succeeded in drawing the French force from the track of the Spanish armies to the northern extremity of the peninsula."

Lord Henry Petty joined in the eulogium; but he took occasion at the same time to comment upon some censures which had already appeared upon the conduct of the retreat. "While," said he, "we are paying the last pious tribute of our country to the sacred memory of her departed brave, is it to go abroad that a part of that venal press, which would inlist itself into the service of the minister, was authorised to counteract the professions of ministers themselves, the sense of that House, and the wishes of the country, by assiduously circulating slanders, poisonous to the fair fame of that great character which is now peculiarly our own, and which our vote of this night will go to identify with the honour of the country? When I allude to this pitiful attempt of a journalist to tear from a gallant soldier's grave the laurels his country's wishes have planted there for ever, it is merely that the attempt may be marked and exposed to merited reprobation—an attempt which, when once the sentiments avowed by the noble lord this night shall be made public, will never again be repeated: the editor will see his error, in his mistaken anticipation of the opinions of those he wishes to please, and desist from a repetition of his calumnies. It becomes us, however, as the guardians of the public honour, in vindication of our judgment in discriminating, and our sincerity in rewarding, while we are erecting a monument in commemoration of the great general who is gone, not to look with indifference at any base attack upon that less perishable memorial he has left us—his character—dearer to him than monuments, and more durable than marble. In saying this, I would not be understood to insinuate, that though death canonized great men, it should yet be a shelter for misconduct. If there has been misconduct, trace it to its proper source; visit its consequences upon its proper authors; but let every vile attempt to transfer the blame from the guilty living to the

blameless dead be scouted with a manly and an honest indignation."

A monument was thus voted to the general, and the army were thanked for their services; the two opposite parties in Parliament agreeing in these premature measures, each for its own purposes: the opposition eagerly consecrating, and, as it were, canonizing the memory of Sir John Moore, that they might impute the whole misconduct of the campaign, the loss and the disgrace to government; government, on the other hand, always willing to waive inquiry, and well pleased that their opponents were thus withheld from pressing it upon military grounds. Public curiosity, however, was considerably excited, because the last dispatches from Sir John Moore had not been published; and a question was put to Lord Castlereagh, by Mr Whitbread, why they were suppressed? His lordship replied, that the dispatch alluded to was not considered by the gallant and lamented officer as an official one when he framed it, although he thought it right to submit it to government, to give what part of it they thought proper to the public. Mr Whitbread remarked, that this ought to have been an additional reason for publishing it. Upon this General Stewart, who brought over the dispatches in question, stated to the House what Sir John Moore had said to him at the time he sent them off. "He was extremely hurried, and had not leisure to write as fully as he could have wished; therefore he said his communications must be considered as entirely confidential, leaving it to government to publish such parts as they might think right; but also expressing an opinion, that if it transpired that he had sent home dispatches, and nothing was published, the suppression would appear extraordinary. Certainly," added General Stewart, "some parts are of a delicate nature; but as, on the whole, they do so much credit to that great and lamented character, I am satisfied my noble relation would have published them more fully, if he had been aware of the anxiety of the general himself, and if the hurry of business had permitted him to discriminate with accuracy what might be made public without detriment to the public service. I trust, therefore, that the greater part of these dispatches are such as ministers may approve for publication, as I am satisfied that it will be to the army the greatest gratification they can receive."

Jan. 24.

About a week afterwards another conversation took place upon the same subject. Mr Whitbread said he had looked with great anxiety for these dispatches in the Gazette, and was disappointed to find they did not appear in it: he wished to know, therefore, whether the public were to be gratified with them or not. Lord Castlereagh replied, that he considered the dispatches as private and confidential; they were marked so on the back of the letter; they were declared to be so in the body of it; and it was distinctly left to the discretion of ministers to publish such parts of them as they pleased, or to withhold them altogether. It was the wish both of himself and his colleagues to gratify the public and the friends of Sir John Moore; but they found it so difficult to select such parts as it would be prudent and proper to publish, that they could not possibly insert it in the Gazette. Wishing, however, to gratify the

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friends of that gallant officer as far as possible, he had no objection that it should be produced as part of the correspondence necessary for the discussion of the conduct of the war in Spain.

Feb. 24. A motion upon that subject was brought forward by Mr Ponsonby, who introduced it by a speech of great length. "When the Spanish insurrection broke out," he said, "all power and all principle seemed devoted to that object: the feelings of the public ran before the wishes of the minister; he had only to command, and every Englishman was forward to obey: there was universally to be found a disposition to sacrifice, a resolution to act, and a promptitude to determine in favour of the Spaniards. Never did any government, upon any occasion, meet with a more general and unfeigned desire, on the part of the people, to second its measures. With them it rested to consider the nature and tendency of the insurrection, and to them the duty belonged of examining the state of Spain, and of ascertaining how far it was practicable to assist it. The session was closed before any deliberate opinion could be formed; Parliament had no opportunity of interfering, and every thing was left to their discretion. But before they ventured to involve the country in such a contest, they should have taken care especially to ascertain the state of Spain; and for that purpose they should have sent thither some men of the highest capacity; men well acquainted with both military and civil affairs; men competent not only to assist the counsels of a cabinet, but to direct the operations of an army. I know not the character of those agents whom ministers thought proper to employ in this mission, nor do I mean to speak disrespectfully of their merits; but I cannot find their names among those who are distinguished for any exploits or for any experience, either of a military or a civil description. I understand that they are all young men, and not likely to possess the experience and capacity of observation which are necessary to form a correct judgment upon such an important concern. Ministers should have been aware of the responsibility attached to their office, and cautious upon what representations they acted. They should not have sent young men, of eager, sanguine, enthusiastic dispositions; but they should have sent men of experience, of observant, cultivated, and discriminating minds; men not likely to be influenced by false appearances, but capable of deciding upon the soundness of principles and real character. It was not sufficient to know that monks could excite some of the poorer and more ignorant of the people to insurrection: the disposition and views of the upper classes, who, from their rank and property, possess a natural influence in any country, ought to have been known. Above all, inquiry should have been carefully made as to the inclination of the middle class, which is the great bond and cement of connection between the higher and the lower orders in every country; whether we should be likely to meet in that class a cordial spirit of co-operation, and what the force of that co-operation would be. An inquiry of this nature should have been gone through before ministers had resolved to commit the country, or at least before they had ventured to send an army to Spain. In pursuing this inquiry, they could have collected

from history some information that was well worthy of their attention. So far as history goes, they could not find much to encourage any very sanguine reliance upon the character of the Spaniards for cordial or active co-operation in such a contest. I am not disposed to speak disrespectfully of the Spaniards; but history does not represent them as a people remarkable for that daring, enthusiastic, high-spirited disposition which prompts and qualifies men to make a great struggle for liberty and independence. The manner, indeed, in which they surrendered their liberty would not justify any reliance upon their spirit; and their conduct during the War of the Succession evinced neither spirit nor principle. The upper classes particularly, upon that occasion, were found to betray a great dereliction of public principle, and a great want of public duty. They were perpetually fluctuating between Charles and Philip, according as victory appeared to incline to either. It is impossible that confidence could attach to such a description of people; and what evidence have we had since of any material change in their character? The most powerful principles to excite mankind have uniformly been religion and liberty; and have either been found materially to operate upon the recent movements of the Spanish people? These are the only principles which have ever served to excite the noble daring, the heroic resolution, to conquer or to die. It was necessary, therefore, to inquire whether the Spaniards were actuated by both, or by either of those great principles, with a view to calculate upon the probability of their success in the field. If they did not entertain some hope or wish for improvement of situation, what could induce any confidence in their energy, or zeal, or perseverance; and if they were not sensible of this necessity, and desirous of the attainment of an improved situation, how could any reflecting man look for energy, zeal, or perseverance among them? Let me not be misinterpreted. I do not desire that they, or any people, should become wild or mad, and that they should destroy society itself in order to improve its condition; that in order to remove abuses they should tear away all their ancient institutions; that in order to reform religion they should destroy Christianity itself; but I do say, while the inquisition existed, that if the Spaniards were not sensible of the multitude of abuses which pressed upon them, if they felt not a wish to reform abuses and to restore their rights, and were not willing, for that reformation and restriction, to encounter all the dangers and endure all the difficulties inseparable from the species of warfare in which they were engaged; I say, that if this people were not actuated by the wish for, and encouraged by the hope of an improved condition, it was impossible for any statesman, for any man of common sense, to suppose that they would fight with success. If they were insensible of the cause of their degradation, and indifferent as to its removal, it was in vain for England to calculate upon materially exciting the spirit, or effectually aiding the exertions of such a people.

" After the convention in Portugal was concluded, the British force, consisting of 30,000 men, was a disposable force, to be applied as his Majesty's ministers thought proper. Upon the 30th August the convention was signed, and the campaign in

Portugal was then at an end. I desire, then, to know why such a length of time elapsed between the conclusion of the convention of Cintra and the 16th day of October, when Sir John Moore proceeded on his march from Portugal for Spain. Upon the 13th of October, Sir David Baird arrived at Coruna, with a force inferior to that of Sir John Moore, but intended for conjunction and co-operation with him: It was not until the 27th that his army was disembarked. Up to the 27th of September, I have heard it said that none of the juntas could be called the Supreme Junta, but that upon that day the Central Supreme Junta was installed at Madrid; and yet it was said to have been necessary to wait from the 13th of October to the 27th of that month, until that army could obtain permission from the Supreme Junta to land in the north of Spain. I desire to know if none of the agents of the ministers in Spain had informed our general of what was going on in that country, and of the time when it was necessary that the army should assume its situation, and exercise its functions. It does not appear that they had any person called an accredited minister or ambassador in that country, until Mr Frere was sent, and he, too, does not appear to have arrived at Madrid until the 7th of November. Ought not such a communication at least to have been kept up with the executive body, as that the general arriving with the force could know whether the Spaniards would receive them or not? And how was it to be accounted for, that so much time elapsed before any information could be obtained by Sir David Baird, when he reached Coruna, as to whether he would be received as a friend by those whom he went to assist? I do not mean to insinuate any disparagement of Mr Frere, and I do not wish to detract from his merits, which may be as great as those of any man whatever in his Majesty's service, in his official duty; but, in my humble opinion, Mr Frere was not the proper person to be sent to Spain. A military man was the proper person to be sent to that country. It was essentially a military appointment, or it was nothing. If the whole population of the country was not disposed to take up arms in its own defence, and ready to be organized by the then existing government, in order to act with us against France, there was no chance of success in Spain, nor would it have been safe for us to employ a military force in its defence. I say, therefore, that the proper person to be sent on that occasion was a military, and not a civil officer. Sir John Moore moved for Spain on the 16th of October; on the 8th of November he reached Salamanca, and on the 14th was followed and joined by most part of his army, which, indeed, upon that day, may be considered as having been assembled at that place. It may be for the House to consider how he was employed all this time. The force which the Emperor of the French had originally sent to Spain and Portugal had been found inadequate for his purposes; the surrender of Dupont had weakened it, and broken the connection between its different parts, so that, in short, all the remnant of that French force, retiring towards the extremities of Spain, was found concentrated in Navarre. The Emperor of the French himself had not, at that time, a sufficient force immediately disposable to enable him to accomplish his purpose, and he found it incumbent upon him

to withdraw from the banks of the Danube and the Vistula, from Germany, Prussia, and Poland, those troops which had been engaged in the Polish campaign. The distance they had to march was prodigious, and they had no maritime means, such as this country possessed, to enable them to move with that expedition and celerity which the urgency of the occasion rendered necessary. They lost no time, however, in marching forward to join and co-operate with their companions in arms in the interior of Spain. The French emperor himself, too, quitted his capital, to meet the Emperor of Russia at Erfurth; and no sooner were the matters to be concerted between them adjusted, than he returned, and declared to his legislative body, the senate, his intention to proceed to crown his brother at Madrid, and to complete the subjugation of Spain. On the 5th of November Buonaparte arrived in Spain, nine days before the British army had reached Salamanca, and placed himself at the head of that army which had come from the shores of the Danube and the Vistula. What was the cause of the feebleness of the one power, compared with the energy and activity of the other? I desire to know why the most effectual means were not taken to secure the immediate junction and co-operation of our forces with those of Spain? It is well known that this country cannot furnish a military force at all equal, in point of number, to the military force of France, and therefore it appears the more necessary, that when you are to employ your force against her, that force should be kept as much united and concentrated as possible, so that it should be found in one compact consolidated body, not broken into fragments, nor scattered here and there, in a detached and divided state. His Majesty's ministers should at least attempt to secure success, by means of an easy junction of our armies previous to their being met by the enemy. What were the consequences of the different plans of action observed by the English and the French governments? The army of Romana and Blake, together with the army of Estremadura, were defeated before the army under Sir John Moore arrived at Salamanca. What were the views of the English army, but to produce union and co-operation amongst the Spaniards? and was this to be effected after their armies had been defeated, so as that nothing was left when the English army advanced from Salamanca? What did your army do? In what situation did Sir David Baird find himself, in order to effect his junction with Sir John Moore? I have heard that he had not even money enough to defray the necessary expences of the army. That in sending an expedition by sea, it may be liable to some accidents, in regard to the ships that convey your ordnance and ammunition, I will admit; but that you should send an officer, with a force under his command, without even a few casks of money, to purchase provisions, and procure the ordinary necessaries, I scarcely could have believed possible. I have heard, however, and upon unquestionable authority, that that gallant officer had not even money enough to obtain a supply of necessary provisions, but was compelled to have recourse to obtaining that credit from private individuals, which government had neglected to afford him. The campaign went on, therefore, as might have been expected. Those three armies which we are

to presume were ready to unite with ours, were severally overcome by the power of France; whereas, if the army of England had been ready to effect a junction at an earlier period of the campaign, the French army might have been defeated, and saved the trouble of those few forced marches, which, as Buonaparte says, it cost them to destroy the Spanish armies. These armies being beaten in the field, nothing remained to the Spaniards but to defend the pass of the Sierra; but there, too, a defeat was sustained, and on the 30th of November it was forced. All this time not a single British soldier had appeared in action against the French. Celerity of movement, quickness, dispatch, and promptitude of action, appear to have been the only things that seemed necessary to the gallant general; and yet, from what causes I know not, but from some causes hitherto unexplained, no British force found its way into Spain until all the Spanish armies had been overthrown, and Madrid had again capitulated to Buonaparte. Do not these circumstances demand inquiry? Is it not necessary to know why the character of this country has been lowered by our conduct in Spain? Is it not necessary to know why our force was of no use to our allies, no injury to our enemies, and that it could effect nothing, but ruin its own military character, notwithstanding its superior bravery and intrepidity? In this situation Sir John Moore found himself in the month of December. But it appears that it had been the intention, both of Sir David Baird and Sir John Moore, to retreat as soon as they learnt of the surrender of Madrid, and the defeat of Castanos; for it was evidently imprudent to keep the field against such a force as the French emperor could then bring against them. Orders, as I have been informed, were actually issued for that retreat; and fortunate, I think, it would have been, had those orders been persevered in, and that retreat commenced at that particular time, if it could have been effected without injury to those brave troops that composed our army. The opinion, however, of the commander-in-chief again changed, and I desire to know what were the causes that produced the change? Why, after the capitulation of Madrid, and the advance of Buonaparte as victor, that retreat was not adopted? Was this the spontaneous interference of the general himself, or was it the official interference of the government at home? I have heard that Sir John Moore did receive dispatches from the Supreme Junta, and from Mr Frere, urging him to advance. I have heard he received representations from Mr Frere, of the great strength of the Spaniards in the south of Spain, and that if he would attack the enemy in the north, the Spanish cause, then almost lost, might still be retrieved. I have heard that it was urged to Sir John Moore repeatedly, that he should advance. I can conceive that this is true; but still our general ignorance demands an inquiry into the veracity of these reports. On the 21st of December Sir John Moore arrived at Sahagun, and on the 22d of December the Emperor of the French left Madrid, with a great force, to attack him. On the 24th of that month, such were the effects of this last movement from Madrid, Sir John Moore felt it necessary to retreat again, and under such circumstances too, that if he had remained for twenty-four hours longer, and engaged Marshal Soult's corps, it

was almost next to certainty, that not a single soldier of his army could have returned home. In order to account for these proceedings, it is necessary that this House should institute the fullest inquiry; it is necessary to know in what situation Sir David Baird and Sir John Moore found that country when they advanced into it; whether that enthusiastic spirit, which could alone have saved the Spaniards from destruction, actually existed; whether they were willing and cordial in their assistance to the English army; whether they received them as deliverers, or as their guests, with love, or with jealousy and fear; and to ascertain what the British army had to rely upon, when they found themselves in the presence of a great hostile army. We must necessarily institute this inquiry, in order to determine whether it was wise or not for his Majesty's ministers thus to hazard, in the heart of Spain, one of the best armies that has ever been sent out of this country. Perhaps it may be said by ministers, that the Spaniards did not discover all that cordiality and co-operation with us in the cause in which we were mutually engaged, that was expected. Can it be admitted that ministers shall say this, after they have involved the country in such a ruinous, unproductive, and inglorious struggle? The retreat, under these most inauspicious circumstances, commenced; and what was the consequence of that retreat? In that retreat you lost all your ammunition, all your magazines, above 5000 horses, and, I fear, a much greater number of men than General Stewart thought proper to state, when he said that they amounted only to between 4000 and 5000. Our loss was great, in consequence of that disastrous retreat, commenced under circumstances which shew that, had we trusted to the prudence of the commander, it might have been avoided. Is it not true that a retreat had been previously ordered; that an advance was made; and that a retreat was again commanded to be made? and is it not necessary for us to inquire whether this was owing to the misconduct of those at the head of the army, or of those at the head of his Majesty's councils?—Deeply as we must lament the loss of those gallant officers and soldiers who have fallen upon this occasion, and deeply as we may lament the success of the enemy, it is not, perhaps, so necessary in the eyes of Englishmen, as it may be in regard to the continental powers, to free ourselves from that injurious opinion, as to our military character, which must float in their minds from these transactions. Do not let us forget this, that, although we have obtained glory and renown for our military bravery, England has for ever lost its fame and character as a military nation. Were you to propose to send your soldiers again, as an encouragement and an aid to other foreign powers upon any future occasion, what would be the answer? It would be, 'No! No! Your troops are good and brave; your officers are skilful, intelligent, and courageous; but there is something in the councils of England, or in the nature and manner of the application of her force, that renders it impossible ever to place any reliance upon her military assistance.' We have seen already what passed in the last war with France. When you appeared in Holland and Germany as auxiliaries, you failed in your efforts; but true it is, that your force in these cases was comparatively small,

and the question remained undecided. The problem is solved, however, by what has lately passed in Spain. You professed to send forth the largest army that ever went from England, for the purpose of meeting the force of France; and what has been the result? It has been nothing but a shameful retreat before the armies of France, and a disgraceful desertion of the power you anxiously wished to assist. Never can we rely again upon the confidence of any power of the continent in our military exertions, however much they and ourselves may rely on our maritime efforts. This campaign, I say, will have an influence upon the character of England long after all of us shall cease to live. I ask the House, then, to institute an inquiry, for the purpose of discovering what have been the motives that led ministers so to dispose of the force of the country on a service at first so full of confidence, and now so full of doubt and uncertainty, as to lead to the belief that the cause of Spain is desperate. I call upon the country to seek for this inquiry, in order to shew how much distress, difficulties, dangers, and perils unexampled, our gallant soldiers have endured in this fruitless and inglorious struggle. I call upon you, by the gratitude you owe to those who were thus shamefully sacrificed at Coruna, by that which you owe to their companions in arms, who are still in existence, and able and willing to defend their country; I call upon you, by the interest you must take in those who yet remain, to institute this inquiry, in order that they may not be sacrificed by a similar misconduct upon a future occasion. I call upon you, as you value the glory of our country, the preservation of our future power and reputation, as well as our interest, by every thing that can excite the exertions of brave men, to institute this investigation, for the satisfaction of all. The proposition I make to the House is not for this or that mode of inquiry. I care not whether you do it by a secret, a select committee, or a committee of the whole House; for either of these will satisfy me, and will gain the object which the country must have in view." Mr Ponsonby then concluded by moving, "That it is indispensably necessary that this House should inquire into the causes, conduct, and events of the late campaign in Spain."

A month before, when Mr Ponsonby had given notice of his intended motion, Lord Castlereagh observed how desirable it was that both sides of the House should be put in possession of all the necessary preliminary information; they would then be competent to come to a fair decision, by possessing those instructions on which the campaign was carried on. Ministers were willing and desirous to communicate this information; and he advised Mr Ponsonby to frame a motion with a view for obtaining it. This advice that gentleman had not thought proper to follow. "His object," he said, "was for a general inquiry into the conduct of government with respect to Spain, and if the secretary for the war department thought there were any papers that might render farther inquiry necessary, it was within his discretion to move for them." Lord Castlereagh now took advantage of this. "If Mr Ponsonby," he said, "had waited with a little patience, and accepted the proposal made him for laying proper documents before the House, perhaps he would have had more substantial grounds where-

on to found his motion. The only reasons that were now alleged for the inquiry were reducible to the ignorance of the right honourable mover, and it could not be admitted that that was, or had ever been pretended to be, a proper parliamentary ground for inquiry. Formerly Mr Ponsonby had admonished ministers upon the necessity of speed and celerity in their measures; now he censured them for not having waited till they had obtained full information concerning the spirit of liberty in the Spaniards, and their ultimate political views of reform. How were these opinions to be reconciled? How were government to have used promptitude and delay upon the same occasion? The only rational question was, whether there was any reasonable hope that Spain, with our assistance, would be enabled to stand against France? If that were admitted, government stood justified. Would it then be denied that Spain had made an energetic effort? She had borne up against the military force of France with more vigour, more constancy, and better success, than all the other powers which had been leagued against her, supported, as they were, by formidable regular armies; and if she had failed in some degree, it was little worthy of the generous feelings of that House to reproach her with it in the hour of her difficulties, and the season of her distress."

And here Lord Castlereagh availed himself of those personal modes of argument, which, by exposing the inconsistency of an opponent, impeach either his sincerity or his understanding. "It was an opinion held," he said, "by many statesmen, that the efforts of a determined people are equal to those of any regular military force. How often had that doctrine been expressed in the House of Commons! how often had the sacrifices and exertions of which an unanimous and resolute nation are capable been made the theme of eloquence by the opposition—by those very persons who now maintained that it was hopeless to contend against the tyranny of France! Little, indeed, were such feelings and such language to have been expected from them; and with a peculiarly bad grace could they, of all men, assert that the cause of the people was not sufficiently attested by the expression of popular sentiment, unless that sentiment was supported by the sanction of the higher classes!" This attack did not affect Lord Grenville and his part of the opposition; they only continued in the same erroneous belief which led them astray at the commencement of the anti-jacobine war—that ardent and enthusiastic patriotism, the strength of moral principles, the heart, and vital being, and spirit of a nation, were not to be taken into the account of war: but with respect to Earl Grey and Mr Whitbread, and those who, like them, had once been professors of a better creed, the argument struck home; and Lord Holland was not in England, to redeem the Foxites from the opprobrium of having abjured their former opinions, and regarding the Spanish patriots with indifference and contempt, if not with hostility.

"There were two extreme opinions," Lord Castlereagh pursued, "respecting the mode of co-operation which this government ought to have adopted;—that it should have been confined to supplies, or that our whole military force should have been employed. The first would have been equally selfish, ungenerous, and unwise; the latter, setting all other

objections aside, was impracticable. There was a limit beyond which ministry could not go; they were necessarily obliged to keep within the bounds of the national credit. To this opinion, therefore, nothing more need be said, than that it was impossible to act upon it. What, however, had they done? They had sent a force of not less than 45,000 men into the peninsula, and issued orders also that the forces in the Mediterranean should send out detachments to act in Catalonia, though subsequent circumstances prevented them from rendering that service. The propriety of making our first effort in Portugal had been discussed in a former debate. Early in that campaign a correspondence was opened with the Spanish generals, on the subject of the co-operation of the British army in Spain. Lord William Bentinck was sent to the Central Junta, to confer with them upon the same subject. They were installed on the 24th of September: on the following day orders were sent to Sir Hew Dalrymple to move forward toward the north of Spain; and on the same day Sir David Baird received orders to embark for Coruna. It was not, however, till the 29th that Lord William wrote a letter, containing the answers of the Central Junta to certain questions which he had been directed to submit to them. These answers were, that the fate of Spain depended on an early co-operation of a British force, and that they wished our forces to be concentrated as one British army. Here," Lord Castlereagh said, "he must acknowledge that one of the lamented consequences of the Cintra convention was, that 20,000 tonnage of transports were at that time employed in conveying 25,000 French troops to France. Nevertheless, there were transports left, which might have transported our army to the north of Spain; but Sir John Moore decided otherwise, and his decision coincided with the opinion formed by the government at home, and by the Marquis de Romana at Madrid. Surely, then, this coincidence was a strong evidence of its propriety.

"Surprise had been expressed that the movements of the British army were so slow, and those of the French so rapid; but the difference had been overlooked between an army fully equipped and one not equipped; between an army that would seize every thing on its way that would facilitate its march, whether provisions or carriages, and one which had no such resources:—It had also been forgotten that the roads in France, through which the greater part of this celerity was manifested, were excellent, and those of Portugal, through which our armies were to march, scarcely practicable. On the 14th of November Sir John Moore arrived at Salamanca; and never was an army, considering all the fatigues it had undergone, all the hardships it had sustained, all the difficulties it had surmounted, in a more perfect state of discipline, or in better condition. At that time General Moore had reason to expect that Buonaparte would have directed his force against the British troops, rather than against Madrid: afterwards, when he advanced from Salamanca, his only object was to draw off the enemy from pushing his conquests to the south; and never was a diversion more completely effected: it had left the whole south of Spain free, and given it a repose of six weeks or two months. The intelligence which induced him to advance upon Soult was contained in an intercepted letter from Berthier

to that general: upon this he had acted, and upon his own judgment. Thus," he concluded, "had Mr Ponsonby's arguments been duly answered. If, however, the House were anxious for inquiry, they might go into a committee, which would occupy them three months; but nothing was a greater mistake than the supposition that they who called for inquiry meant that they wanted information. He left it to the House to say whether any case had been made out to justify the motion; and where no case was made out, no inquiry could be called for."

Mr Tierney replied to Lord Castlereagh. An opinion had got abroad that Sir John Moore had advanced in obedience to Mr Frere's advice, and contrary to his own judgment. Mr Frere was the friend of Mr Canning, and therefore through him it was supposed the ministry might be wounded. Upon this point Mr Tierney directed his main argument. "Sir John," he said, "formed the resolution to advance when Buonaparte was got to Madrid. If he had been left to act according to his own discretion, he would have fallen back upon Vigo or Portugal. It was known to many persons in that House that he had written home confidentially, saying, it would be madness to remain where he was. It was then of importance that Parliament should be informed whether he had received instructions to advance, and especially at that particular moment. Why also were not the 10,000 men who were embarking at the time sent forward immediately to his assistance? They were on board the transports, and Lord Castlereagh took them out. Had they been sent, Sir John Moore might have been still alive, and a real diversion might then have been effected; for our army might have maintained itself for some time in Coruna, and have obliged the enemy to turn their whole attention to that quarter. The loss which we had sustained was carefully glossed over. He had conversed with several officers who were in the expedition, and from them he understood that it was at least from 8 to 10,000 men. Such a scene of woe, indeed, as that retreat, had scarcely ever been heard of! Think of blowing up the ammunition, destroying three or four hundred waggons, staving the casks with the dollars, leaving the artillery to be cast away, and the Shrapnell shells to the French, who would thus be enabled to discover their composition! He meant not to ascribe these disasters in the smallest degree to the general: all might have been avoided, if only 10,000 men had been sent to his support. Inquiry, therefore, was more than ever necessary; and by the result of this night's debate Great Britain would judge of the character of the House of Commons. That House ought to convince the army that, though they might be exposed to unavailing exertions, and useless hardships, by the mismanagement of ignorant councils, they had protection in Parliament, who would never be slow in attending to their interest and their comforts. Unless the officers of the army had this support to look to, all would with them be absolute despair; for, with the exception of some of the connexions of ministers, there was not an officer who came home from the expedition who did not vent execrations against the authors of it—there was not a man engaged in that retreat of unparalleled hardship who did not curse those who placed them in such a situation."

This was the sum and substance of Mr Tierney's arguments; they were mingled with personalities and sarcasms, less remarkable for their strength than their coarseness, and particularly levelled at Mr Canning. That gentleman twice rose to answer him, but gave way to General Stewart, who affirmed that the loss did not exceed 5000 men; to Mr Colburne, who dwelt upon the advantages resulting from the diversion, and, more truly, from the glory which the battle of Coruna gave to the British arms; and to Lord Milton, who supported the motion, pressing upon Parliament the reflection, that if the expeditions to Ferrol and the Helder had been inquired into, England would not have had these new failures and disgraces to lament. Then Mr Canning rose. "The members on the opposite side," he said, "had endeavoured, by a series of the grossest misrepresentations, to mislead the judgment of the House. Mr Tierney, especially, had presented all his facts in a more discoloured and distorted shape, than in the course of his experience he had ever known, and this, too, while he gave to himself the character of a plain, blunt man, delivering stout and stubborn facts, in plain and simple language, and having truth alone in view. Certainly the right honourable gentleman was a plain, blunt man; and it were to be wished that he had completed the picture, and only spoken the truth." A cry of Order! Order! was raised at this language; and Mr Canning having thus given vent to the anger which Mr Tierney had endeavoured to provoke, proceeded to examine the charges which were brought against the ministry.

"They were blamed," he said, "because the troops from Portugal had advanced by land instead of by sea; but the option was left to Sir John Moore, transports were at his disposal, and he thought it better to march by land. They were blamed because those troops had been divided; the infantry going by one route, the cavalry and artillery by another. But could it be believed that any administration, even the last administration, would be so weak as to order any general upon foreign service to divide his army thus, and advance in this manner against an enemy? It was the arrangement of Sir John Moore, not of government; and no doubt that general had adopted it on sufficient reasons. They were blamed because, after Sir John Moore intended to retreat on Portugal, he altered his purpose; and the false inference had been drawn, that he afterwards advanced against his will. Now the fact was, that Sir John had been informed of the determination of the people of Madrid to defend their city to the last extremity, and had suspended his retreat in consequence. This information he received from those whose duty it was to direct the efforts of the people: intelligence to the same effect was sent him by Mr Frere. I am convinced," said Mr Canning, "that the inhabitants were sincere in their determination of defending their city, or burying themselves under its ruins; but their intentions were frustrated by the weakness or treason of some of those in whom they confided, particularly by that plain, honest man, Don Thomas Morla, who had distinguished himself by his specious patriotism in the commencement of the struggle. Under such circumstances, however much the courage of the inhabitants of a luxurious capital may be questioned, Sir John Moore might well

expect that Madrid would follow the example of Zaragoza, and its people emulate the compatriots of the heroic Palafox. I do not blame him, then, for the course which he pursued; I should have thought him blameable if he had not pursued it. I should not think well of the heart of any soldier, who, upon such assurances of the determined resistance of Madrid, would have let pass the opportunity for making a bold effort against the common enemy. Here, then, the agency of Mr Frere ended, and nothing had been done by him but what was calculated to raise the character of this country in Spain, and to conciliate the attachment of the Spaniards to Great Britain. The chief reason for Sir John Moore's advance was not founded on any external agency: it arose out of information obtained from an intercepted letter written by Berthier to Soult, directing him to be at a particular place on a particular day, and promising him reinforcements. This led Sir John to hope that he should be able to cut off Soult's corps; and in advancing with that intent, he acted as a statesman no less than as a soldier; because, even though he might fail, he should draw off the French from Madrid, and from their operations against the southern provinces. Thus, then, there had been no imprudence committed in marching the troops by land, in dividing them on their march, and in their subsequent advance against the enemy; and even if either or all these measures had been wrong, government stood clearly acquitted upon all.

"There remained another charge. Instead of sending a force to support the army at Coruna, troops which had actually been embarked were re-landed. The fact was true. They were re-landed in consequence of a distinct requisition from Sir David Baird, that he wanted a certain number of transports; and the ships from which those troops had been disembarked were sent out pursuant to that requisition. It was an afflicting circumstance to send out empty, for the purpose of bringing off the British army, those transports which had been filled for the purpose of reinforcement and assault. It had cost his Majesty's ministers a severe pang. Among all the decisions to which I have been a party," said Mr Canning, "no one has ever, in the course of my life, occurred, which gave me more pain than this: every dictate of the understanding was tortured, and every feeling was wrung by it. But his Majesty's ministers had no choice. They felt that it would excite dissatisfaction in England, and dismay in Spain, and yet they had no alternative."

Mr Canning then proceeded to the more general arguments of Mr Ponsonby,—sweeping arguments, in which, from false premises, he had deduced fallacious inferences. "It had been argued," he said, "that before the assistance of this country had been given to Spain, we ought to have ascertained whether or not the Spaniards were instigated by the monks; whether they were encouraged by the higher ranks; whether they were wedded to their ancient institutions, or disposed to shake off the oppression of their former government; to abjure the errors of a delusive religion; and to forswear the pope and the grand inquisitor. These were questions better suited for the employment of a period of learned leisure, than for the hours of action. The policy of his Majesty's government was different. They felt that

the Spanish nation wanted other and more aids than lectures on municipal institutions; they were content that a British army should act in Spain, though the grand inquisitor might have been at the head of the Spanish armies; though the people might have been attached to their ancient monarchy, and with one hand upheld Ferdinand VII., whilst with the other they worshipped the Lady of the Pillar. To assist the patriotic efforts of the Spanish nation was the sole object, and they did not wish to inflict upon that country any change, as the price of that assistance. God forbid that we should ever be so intolerant, as to make a conformity to our own opinions the price of our assistance to others, in their efforts for national independence; or to carry the sword in one hand, and what we might choose to call the Rights of Man in the other! If the principle upon which government had acted was not sound, if the measures resorted to had only paralized the efforts of the Spanish nation, for God's sake, let the administration of the government be trusted to more enthusiastic and abler hands. But the enthusiasm of the Spaniards was not pretended; what they had in their mouths, they felt in their hearts: they were enthusiastically determined to defend their country to the last extremity, or to perish under its ruins. The language held by his Majesty's government to Spain, was not that no assistance should be afforded till a supreme government should be established; but whilst assistance was sent to every part of Spain, we called upon that country to collect its authority in one supreme government; not in order to obtain our assistance, but to induce other nations of Europe to join in aiding their exertions. Until this supreme government had been established, no accredited minister could be sent to Spain; but at an early period of the national ebullition, agents had been sent by his Majesty's ministers to all parts of Spain, and from the information collected from these gentlemen, they were enabled to judge for themselves. But was there no other way of knowing the state of the country than by the barren reports of the agents who might be sent thither? If one were desirous of knowing what was passing in England, would he not ask whether such or such a person, who might have been known in Europe to be connected with public affairs, had any share in the passing transactions? This source of information was open to us in Spain; and the men connected with the national struggle afforded the best illustration of the principle, and the best comment upon the cause. In Catalonia, Espeleta, who had been Governor of South America, and President of the Council of Castile, took the lead. In Castile, Cuesta was at the head of the army. In Murcia, the venerable Florida Blanca. Besides these and others, there were Saavedra and Jovellanos; the former an able minister for foreign affairs, the latter distinguished in the home department; whose connection with the popular ebullition was a fortunate omen of its success, and a distinct proof of its extent. Morla, too, was active in his country's cause; which, alas! he had since betrayed. These were not all. Amongst those who attended their sovereign to Bayonne, and who took the earliest opportunity to join their country, were Don Pedro Cevallos and the Duke del Infantado. When the hoary wisdom of age, and the ardent enthusiasm of youth,—when the whole mass of the

population, and the distinguished individuals of every rank were associated for the common defence of their country, who could doubt of their cause? The military part of the transaction might have disappointed expectation, but the cause was not desperate. The soldiers who conquered at Baylen, and those who rallied after the defeat of Rio Seco; those who defended Madrid before they were soldiers, and drove the French out of Castile, were still staunch in the cause. The spirit of the people was unsubdued; the boundaries of French power were confined within the limits of their military posts; the throne of Joseph was erected on sand, and would totter with the first blast; and Buonaparte, even should he succeed, instead of a yielding and unreproaching ally, would have an impatient, revolting, and turbulent nation to keep down. In this state of things he could not admit that the cause of Spain was hopeless. Austria and Prussia had sunk under the fortune of Buonaparte; but though his career had not been stopped, it had been interrupted by the unarmed population of Spain. The cause of Spain and of Europe was not therefore desperate, because our army of 30 or 40,000 men had been obliged to withdraw from Spain; and it was not just to the country, or to the army, which he hoped would again prove the stay and bulwark of Europe, to assert that its honour was in consequence gone for ever. All the energy of liberty, and all the sacredness of loyalty, still survived; and the Spanish revolution was, he trusted, destined by Providence to stand between posterity and French despotism, and to shew to the world, that, amidst the paroxysms of freedom, a monarch might still be loved. If, therefore, ministers could shew that these were the feelings by which they were influenced, and that they had acted up to those feelings, their justification would be complete; and he was convinced that the liberal and disinterested measures of his Majesty's government towards Spain were more congenial to British feeling, and more honourable to the national character, than if they had set out in their career of assistance by picking up golden apples for ourselves. For himself, as an humble individual of the government, and having a share in these transactions, the recollection, whatever might be the vote of that night, would be a source of gratification which he should carry with him to the grave. Such had been the cause in which his Majesty's ministers had embarked; such the principles upon which they acted; and such the objects which they had in view. If we had been obliged to quit Spain, we had left that country with fresh laurels blooming upon our brows; and whatever failure there had been upon the whole, might still be repaired. If that was to be brought forward as the ground for accusation, he stood there for judgment, and should submit with patience to whatever sentence it might be the pleasure of the House to pass upon him. The object of the right honourable gentleman's motion was obviously calculated to take the reins of government out of the hands of those who at present held them; and upon that ground he desired that the present ministers might be judged by comparison. Was it the pleasure of the House that the cause of Spain should be abandoned? Was it a principle agreed upon, that the direction of the affairs of government should

be committed to other hands? If a new course was to be pursued with respect to Spain, undoubtedly the direction of affairs must be put into new hands. Was it then a settled opinion, that there was something fatal in the will, and irresistible in the power of Buonaparte? and was the world to submit to his tyrannous resolves, as to a divine infliction? Whatever might be the fruits of Buonaparte's victories in other respects, the spirit of the Spanish nation was yet unsubdued. His fortune, no doubt, had been augmented; but still it was fortune, not fate; and therefore not to be considered unchangeable and fixed. There was something unworthy in the sentiment that would defer to this fortune, as to the dispensations of Providence; looking upon it as immutable in its nature, and irresistible by human means.

"*Te*
Nos facimus Fortuna Deam, cœloque locamus."

This was a triumphant reply. The arguments of the opposition had been so misdirected, that there was no occasion of subterfuge, sophistry, or the never-failing shield of a majority to baffle them: they were refutable by a plain statement of facts, where they relied on facts,—by an appeal to principles and feelings, where they pretended to philosophy. Mr Canning, on this occasion, spoke from his heart. There was nothing which he was required to extenuate or to exaggerate; all that was needful was a manly avowal of what had been done, and the reason why it had been done. He had a good cause to plead, and he pleaded it with a force and eloquence worthy of the occasion. The latter part of his speech was frequently interrupted by a cry of fire. Drury-Lane theatre was in flames; and Lord Temple proposed that the debate should be adjourned, in consequence of the calamity which this event would bring upon Mr Sheridan. Mr Sheridan replied, that whatever that calamity might be, he could not consider it as worthy to interrupt the proceedings of the House of Commons: yet, notwithstanding this reply, General Montague Matthew moved the adjournment, and the preposterous motion was seconded. The sense of the House was decidedly against it. This being settled, Mr Windham rose. "When the greatest stake which this country had ever set upon the hazard was lost, either by ill fortune, or by the mismanagement of ministers, it was full time," he said, "for inquiry. Our expedition to Spain was managed in such a manner, as not only to do no good, but to do what was much worse than nothing. We held out to the Spaniards the disheartening example of what we called our best army retreating from the field, without striking a single blow, and on the mere rumour of the enemy's advance. We showed them, by our example, that our best troops could do nothing, and therefore that there was little chance of their undisciplined peasantry succeeding better. It was impossible not to be struck with the total want of all plan, and even of all right conception in the ministers of the very nature of the work in which they engaged. There were evidently two courses to be pursued;—either to strike a blow on the Ebro, and endeavour to drive the enemy out of Spain while his force was but small, and his attention distracted; or, giving that attempt up as hopeless, to proceed at once to what ought to be the gene-

ral plan, with a view to the final deliverance of the peninsula. On the former course he could give no opinion: it was a nice question, on which few but those in office could have the necessary means for judging. It was not, however, true that the one plan created any necessity of giving up the other. If the force sent to the Ebro had (as it ought to have been) been chiefly cavalry, (which the enemy most wanted, and which we could best spare,) such a force, even if it had been found insufficient for its immediate object, could still have been able to take care of itself, and to have retired in safety to that part of the peninsula where, at all events, and in every view, the great mass of our force should be collected—the neighbourhood of Cadiz and Gibraltar. These were the only two places from which a large body of troops, when pressed by a superior army, could hope to get away; and there was no other part of Spain to which a British army, large enough to be of any use, could with propriety be trusted.

"There, therefore," Mr Windham continued, "I would have collected not only a large army, but the greatest force that this country, in its then state of zeal and ardour, could by any posssibility have furnished. There was no reason why we might not have had an army of 100,000. An hundred thousand men, with Gibraltar to retreat upon, was a far less risk to the country than 30,000 in the situation in which the ministry had placed them; nay, than 30,000 in the very situation spoken of; because a general must be miserably deficient in knowledge of his business, who, in such an abundant country, and with such a fortress behind him, would, with an army of that amount, suffer himself to be prevented from making good his retreat, by any force which the enemy could bring against him. For when we talked of Buonaparte's numbers, we must recollect where those numbers were to act. To meet in the south of Spain a British force of 100,000, Buonaparte must bring over the Pyrenees a force of not less than 200,000; to say nothing of the demand that would be made upon him by the large Spanish army that might be raised in that part of Spain, to co-operate with the British, and which the presence of such a British force would help to raise. Buonaparte would have a whole kingdom, which he must garrison, behind him, if he would either be sure of his supplies, or make provision against total destruction, in the event of any reverse. He must fight us at arm's-length, while our strength would be exerted within distance, with an impregnable fortress at hand, furnishing at once a safe retreat in case of disaster, and a source of endless supply, by means of its safe and undisturbable communication with this country.—And let it not be said, that while the army continued in the south, Buonaparte might continue master of the north. What mastery could he have of any part of Spain, while such an army could keep on foot in any other? And why, in case of success, did the security of its retreat require that it should never advance?—There was never any thing so demonstrable, therefore, as that the only way of carrying on effectually a compaign in Spain, whatever else you might have done, was to collect your army in the south. A force raised to the greatest possible amount to which the mind and means of the country,—then elevated above itself, and exalted to something of a preternatural greatness,—could have carried it,

should have been placed in Spain, in a situation, the only one which the country afforded, where it would have been safe from the risk of total loss or capture, and would not have been kept down by the idea that the deposit was too great for the country to hazard. This should have been the great foundation, the base line of the plan of the campaign. On this the country might have given a loose to all its exertions, with the consolatory reflection, that the greater its exertions, the greater its security, the more it made its preparations effectual to their purpose, the less was the risk at which it acted. From this other operations might have branched out, in different directions, as circumstances pointed out. It was scandalous that nothing had ever been done to assist our friends, or to annoy our enemies, on the east side of Spain, where, to a power having the complete command at sea, the finest opportunities were presented, and had been most unaccountably neglected. The history of the campaign to the east, which presents nothing but one universal blank, was one of the parts of this most miserably-conducted business for which the ministers could least set up any excuse. It seemed to have been total neglect and forgetfulness. They forgot that there was such a coast as the eastern coast of Spain; that it was accessible every where to our ships; placed as the high road for the entry of troops from France; inhabited by the race of men who fought at Gerona and Zaragoza: and, on the other hand, that we had a large army doing nothing in Sicily, or who, if we were to attempt to employ them where they were, must be employed in worse than nothing."

Concerning their neglect of Catalonia, Mr Windham's charge against the ministry was well-founded. No people have ever more heroically struggled, in all ages, for their liberty, than the Catalans, and it has always been their fate to be neglected by their allies. The inattention of our government to that important province seems unaccountable, and might even be termed cruel, if the conduct of ministry in all other points did not amply evince how sincerely they had the cause of the Spaniards at heart, and how disinterestedly they supported it. With regard to Andalusia, the argument was not equally valid; for of what avail would it have been to station a British army five hundred miles from the scene of action? Buonaparte would not have pressed forward to attack them till he had done his work in other parts, and in the mean time they would have occasioned a useless expence to this country, and a useless consumption in that where they were idly waiting the pleasure of the enemy. At a later period of the war, indeed, when the French were in Andalusia, and before the walls of Cadiz, Mr Windham's advice might have been profitably remembered, and a blow struck, equally certain and important.

He proceeded to censure the ministers, and this he did more fairly than other members on the same side of the House; for he admitted that the fault of which he complained was not peculiar to them. "Their great and pregnant source of error," he said, "besides the fault of not knowing better, was that which they had in common with many other ministers, and which he had signally witnessed in some of his own time,—of mistaking bustle for activity, and supposing that they were doing a great

deal, when they were only making a great deal of noise, and spending a great deal of money. While ministers were writing long dispatches, issuing orders in all directions, keeping up the clerks to unusual hours, covering the roads with messengers, and putting the whole country in a ferment, they were very apt to fancy that the public service must be making prodigious advances. Their own purpose might very possibly thus be answered, for the error was not a disinterested one: They looked at every measure, not with a view to the effect which it was to produce abroad, but to the appearance which it was to make at home; and thus it was that an administration was to acquire the character of vigour." Mr Windham then spoke of the campaign in Spain, more wisely and more fairly than either party had ventured to represent it. "He could not," he said, "help perceiving in the conduct of this war, and certainly in much of the language held about it, a certain mixture of that error which prevailed in many years of the last war, of looking to other powers, with sanguine expectations, for what, in many instances, ought to have been our own work. With all our talk about Spain, we did not set our shoulders to the wheel, as people would who estimated truly what the exertions of this country could do, when fairly put forth. In this point there was a want of confidence in ourselves;—in another there was a want, not merely of generosity, but of common justice towards our allies. It had been represented that there was the greatest possible apathy and want of zeal throughout the north of Spain, and that the Marquis de Romana had confessed it. Now, to say nothing of the gross breach of confidence in quoting what the marquis had said, if it was said in private; nor the gross fallacy, if it was said in a proclamation, in a moment of spleen and anger, for the purpose of stimulating the inhabitants of those provinces to greater activity, he must utterly deny the fact. There could be nothing more fallacious than to estimate the feelings of a country towards any cause by the feelings excited in that part of it which should be exposed to the immediate pressure of an army. If the scene of war, for instance, lay in England, and we had an army of allies, Germans or Russians, or even an army of our own countrymen, acting for our defence, they would not be very popular in the places where they were quartered or encamped; and there would not be wanting complaints among the farmers whose provisions were consumed, whose hen-roosts were plundered, whose furniture was stole, whose ricks were set on fire, and whose wives and daughters might not always escape insult, that the French themselves could not do them greater mischief. Now, if this were true, as infallibly it would be, of English troops upon English ground, might we not suppose that a good deal more of the same sort would happen, both as to the provocation given, and the irritation excited by it, when English troops were on Spanish ground, and where every cause of dissatisfaction must be aggravated a thousand-fold, by difference of habits and manners, and the want of any common language, by which the parties might understand one another. It must be confessed, too, he was afraid, that we were not the nation who accommodated ourselves best to strangers, or knew best how to conciliate their good will: and when to all this were added the circum-

stances in which our army was placed, that we were a retreating army, and an army compelled to retreat with extraordinary rapidity, and much consequent disorder, it would not be very surprising if neither we appeared to the people, nor they to us, in the most advantageous form: nor were the inhabitants of the towns and villages on the line of our march to be considered as a fair representation of the feelings and sentiments of the mass of people in Spain. On many occasions, from the fault of the commissariat, or from other causes, the soldiers, when they came in at the end of a long march, had nothing provided for them to eat, and were obliged to help themselves. The inhabitants, in their terror, whether they staid or had fled, had locked up their houses, and nothing was to be got but by breaking them open; and it was easy to understand, that when once soldiers, whether from necessity or otherwise, began to break open houses, farther irregularities must be expected. Gallicia was probably an unfair specimen of what was to be looked for from the rest of Spain; not so much from the character of the inhabitants, as from the state of society there, where the gentry were few, and of little influence, and where there was almost a total want of those classes which might direct and methodize the exertions of the lower orders, or even make them sensible that such exertions were necessary. But to talk of the Spaniards generally, as wanting in zeal, or courage, or determination to defend their country, was more than any one would venture, after such examples as Zaragoza. A defence had there been made, so far exceeding what was to be expected from a regular army, that a general in this country would have been made a peer for having surrendered Zaragoza, in circumstances far short of those in which its inhabitants defended it."

Mr Windham concluded this able speech by declaring that he should vote for the inquiry. The charge that Sir John Moore's advance had not been voluntary, was again brought forward by the Honourable Hely Hutchinson. "It was admitted," he said, "that General Moore advanced after having received a letter from Mr Frere, informing him of the enthusiasm which had burst forth at Madrid; and it was known that, previous to the receipt of that information, he had ordered a retreat. Now it was very possible that this letter of the British minister did not contain simply a communication of the fact, but that it might have been written in the spirit of violent remonstrance against the general's resolution to retreat; cautioning him, in the strongest language, as to the probable disastrous result to the allies from such a resolution, and reminding him that the army which he commanded had been sent to assist Spain; to which nation and to his own he would be held responsible, did he decline advancing. Neither Mr Frere nor any man living would have dared to write an insulting letter to Sir John Moore; but if this in question should turn out to be of the nature which he described, the House and the public would perceive how little the general had been left to his own free agency. What, therefore, he wished to know, and especially from the Secretary of State, was, whether Mr Frere's letter was of this dictatorial character, and whether Sir John Moore had not reluctantly moved forward in consequence of it." Mr Canning replied, that the decision

was made, not in consequence of a letter from Mr Frere, but in consequence of an intercepted letter to Soult. 127 members voted in favour of the inquiry, 220 against it.

This debate took place on the 24th of February. On the 16th of March Earl Grey gave notice that he should move for the production of the letters from Mr Frere to Sir John Moore. The Earl of Liverpool replied, they were private letters to Sir John Moore, and were not transmitted home by that officer, nor referred to in any of his dispatches, public or private; neither had they any operation with respect to the march of the army: for these reasons he should resist their production. The Earl of Darnley afterwards moved for these papers, and *March* 24. also for a dispatch from General Moore, dated the 13th of January. Lord Liverpool then said, that as he understood persons nearly connected with Sir John Moore were extremely anxious that Mr Frere's letters should be produced, he would not oppose their being laid before the House. With respect to the dispatch in question, it required consideration whether it was expedient to produce it. The Earl of Darnley, however, *March* 27. renewed his motion for this dispatch on a subsequent day; arguing that it was necessary to assist the House in deciding upon the measures adopted during the campaign. To this Lord Liverpool made answer, that when the other papers were communicated, it had been thought improper to produce this document; and he assured the House that when this letter came to be laid before them, they would then clearly perceive the impropriety of having produced it. When General Moore wrote it, he expressed himself as desiring that it might not be considered an official communication, because he was not able at that instant to convey a more correct statement, but would take an early opportunity of sending one. The letter also contained other matter, which clearly shewed that he never intended it to be considered or produced as a public document. These, Lord Liverpool added, were the reasons which would have inclined him and his colleagues not to have acceded to the production; but when the noble lords opposite were so strenuous in maintaining a contrary opinion, he thought it right, upon farther consideration, not to resist the motion; because although considerable detriment was done by acceding to the production of letters of this description, still more injury might arise, if, after being repeatedly called for, they were withheld. He was also the more readily inclined to accede, because the dispatch was worded in that way which left the production discretionary as to a copy or extracts. The Earl of Rosslyn then moved for copies of all instructions and communications which had past between the three secretaries of state and any of the ministers in Spain and Portugal, respecting military measures. Earl Grey supported the motion, asking what had been the consequence of those measures? Had not every calamity ensued from them, every distress which could harass the soldiers, and wear out the patience of a skilful commander? Such was the situation into which the English were led, that all the personal valour of the troops, and the wisdom of their general, could not extricate them from their difficulties; and Fortune herself, in the most capricious hour

of her changeable dispensation, could not have afforded them relief. To this it was replied, by Lord Liverpool, that the conduct of administration was to be judged by their acts. If any proceedings had been adopted contrary to the instructions, then it was their business to bring forward those instructions, and thus exonerate themselves. They were ready to take upon them all the acts which had been done, and so far to give every information moved for; but these instructions he could not consider it proper to make public. Accordingly they were refused.

The last dispatch of Sir John Moore was therefore made public. No detailed account of the retreat had hitherto appeared: all that was known was, that the army had suffered severely from forced marches, but had been finally victorious; and reports had been sedulously propagated of the apathy of the Spaniards, and their indifference, or even inhumanity, towards their allies. This charge was made in strong terms by General Moore. "Had the British," he said, "been withdrawn without attempting any thing, the loss of the cause would have been imputed to their retreat; and it was necessary to risk the army, to convince the people of England, as well as the rest of Europe, that the Spaniards had neither the power nor the inclination to make any efforts for themselves. It was for this reason," he pursued, "that I made the march to Sahagun. As a diversion it succeeded. I brought the whole disposeable force of the French against this army, and it has been allowed to follow me, without a single movement being made to favour my retreat. The people of Galicia, though armed, made no attempt to stop the passage of the French through the mountains. They abandoned their dwellings at our approach, drove away their carts, oxen, and every thing that could be of the smallest aid to the army. The consequence has been, that our sick have been left behind: and when our horses or mules failed, which, on such marches, and through such a country, was the case to a great extent, baggage, ammunition, stores, and even money, were necessarily destroyed or abandoned." This was a heavy charge against the Spaniards, and it was triumphantly repeated by those who, being the opponents of ministry, became thereby the enemies of the Spanish cause. Yet it might have occurred to them that it was neither generous nor prudent to reproach an undisciplined peasantry for not attempting to defend defiles through which the finest army that had ever left England, with a man who was supposed to be their best general at its head, was retreating faster than ever army had retreated before. If these passes were not defensible, why should we accuse the Galicians for not defending them? If they could have been defended, why did the British army run through, leaving their baggage, stores, and ammunition, their money, their horses, their sick, their dying, and their dead, to track the way? The consternation and flight of the British general would alone have excused the conduct of the Galicians.

This, however, was not their only excuse. Sir John Moore added, "I am sorry to say, that the army whose conduct I had such reason to extol on its march through Portugal, and on its arrival in Spain, has totally changed its character since it began to retreat. I can say nothing in its favour, but that when there was a

prospect of fighting the enemy, the men were then orderly, and seemed pleased, and determined to do their duty."—Lord Liverpool warned his opponents, that if they insisted upon the production of this dispatch, they would see the impropriety of making it public, when too late. Something, no doubt, in this part had been suppressed.—"Of what nature," it was asked, "was this misconduct with which General Moore so roundly accused a whole army, almost with his dying breath? Did the officers behave ill, or the men, or both? Did they refuse to fight, or did they refuse to fly? What had they done, or what had they omitted to do?" These questions were asked by the wiser part of the public, and the narratives of the campaign, which were afterwards published, amply answered them. It then appeared that the army, from the hour in which it was turned into a rout, considered themselves like sailors after a shipwreck —released from all discipline by the common ruin;—that they plundered, burnt, and destroyed before them;—that while many of the officers murmured against the conduct of the commander, the men cried out loudly against the disgrace of running away;—that order, discipline, temperance, and even humanity, were laid aside by them in their desperation; but that they had never forgotten the honour of England; and that whenever a hope * of facing the enemy was held out to them, order was instantaneously restored, they were themselves again, and, in spite of all their fatigues and sufferings, manifested that invincible courage which, happily for themselves and for their country, they were allowed to prove upon the French at Coruna.

Jan. 24. It is not a little remarkable, that when this dispatch was first called for by Mr Whitbread, General Stewart expressed his hope it might be published; because, he said, he was satisfied that it would be to the army the greatest gratification they could receive. A stigma upon the discipline of the troops could not, indeed, have appeared at a more unfortunate season; for at this time a heavy charge was pending against his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief; and immediately after the first debate upon that subject, the Earl of Suffolk made a speech in praise of the army, as an act of justice towards *Jan. 31.* him; and instanced the conduct of these very troops in this very retreat, as the effect of his able administration. "The whole object," he said, "of the illustrious duke had been to bring the army to that state of perfection which, by its recent demeanour, it had so nobly proved. It was that discipline which enabled our troops, after a march of upwards of 400 miles, through a barren tract of country, and at an in-

* A passage from Milton was most appositely quoted upon this subject in the Quarterly Review.

Descent and fall
To us is adverse: Who but felt of late,
When the fierce foe hung on our broken rear,
Insulting, and pursued us through the deep,
With what compulsion and laborious flight
We sunk thus low? the ascent is easy then.

hospitable season, to give battle to their adversaries, and gain over them a signal victory; it was that discipline which enabled them to sustain all the hardships and all the privations which they endured in that retreat, and finally to secure and save themselves from a tremendous enemy. This was the effect of the discipline introduced and acted upon throughout the British forces." But it now appeared that all discipline had been at an end as soon as the army began to fly. What else could be expected, when they fled with such precipitation? The dragoons marched 72 miles in 26 hours, during 24 of which they were actually on horseback. When the 1st regiment, or Royals, reached Betanzos, they only mustered, with the colours, nine officers, three serjeants, and three privates: the rest had dropt on the road; and many of those who joined at all, did not join for three days. There was a memorable instance, in this part of the retreat, of what might have been accomplished by presence of mind. A party of invalids, between Lugo and Betanzos, were closely pressed by two squadrons of French cavalry. Serjeant Newman, of the 2d battalion 43d, was among them: he made an effort to pass three or four hundred of these poor men, then halted, rallied round him those who were capable of making any resistance, and directed the others to proceed as they could. This party he formed regularly into divisions, and commenced firing and retiring in an orderly manner, till he effectually covered the retreat of his disabled comrades, and made the cavalry give up the pursuit.

However grievous it might be to hear thus of the misconduct of our retreating army, the thing itself was what might have been expected, as the inevitable consequence of such a retreat. But Sir John Moore's dispatch contained a more melancholy and startling avowal. "He had been advised," he said, "to propose terms to the enemy, that he might be permitted to embark quietly." This was indeed an unexpected shock. What! were there then officers in this army, and of such rank in it as to offer advice to the general, who were for asking leave of the French to embark, and purchasing by a convention, which might, by its blacker dishonour, have put that of Cintra out of remembrance, that safety which half the army, without horse, and almost without artillery, won for themselves gloriously, at the bayonet's point! From this inexpiable disgrace Sir John Moore had saved us; redeeming his own honour, and that of the British troops. But who were the men who had so little confidence in British valour, that they would have robbed us of the battle of Coruna? Who were they who despaired of victory, when victory was so possible, that half our force obtained it? Who were they who, instead of relying upon their own hearts and hands, would have solicited terms from Marshal Soult, and set the Spaniards an example of pusillanimity which would for ever have disgusted them, and to which every coward or every traitor among them might have appealed, as a precedent for any baseness? Some pledge ought to have been called for from government, that these men should never, on any future occasion, be trusted with command. But not a single comment was made in Parliament upon this subject, nor upon any of the information contained in the long-withheld dispatch. It furnished no matter of reproach against ministers, and therefore it was

not the kind of information which their opponents wanted. Ministers themselves could make no use of it; for, having it in their hands, they had past a vote of thanks to the officers and men, of whose previous misconduct they possessed these proofs; and instead of defending their own measures, by arguing that the campaign might have turned out well, or at least less disastrously, if the commander had acted with more vigour and more enterprise, they asserted that every thing had been ably executed, as well as wisely planned.

CHAP. IV.

Proceedings respecting Mr Frere's Correspondence with Sir John Moore. Earl Grey's Motion of Censure against Ministers, for the Conduct of the War in Spain. Pension granted to the Brother of Sir John Moore. Earl Temple's Motion of Censure. Attack upon Colonel de Charmilly. General Moore's conduct examined.

MR FRERE's letters to Sir John Moore were among the papers laid before Parliament. The opposition had now obtained what *April* 18. they wanted. Earl Grey affirmed there could now be no doubt that the fatal event of the campaign was in consequence of Mr Frere's interference; and Earl Darnley thought the House would be wanting in their duty, if they did not move an address to his Majesty for the immediate recal of *April* 21. that minister. Shortly afterwards, Earl Grey moved an address, declaring the full conviction of the House that, "owing to the rashness and mismanagement of ministers, the hopes which the nation had been led to entertain had been disappointed; a large and useless expenditure of the means and resources of the country had been incurred; a great and dangerous accession of political, naval, and military strength had already been obtained by the enemy; and above 7000 of his Majesty's brave troops, together with their gallant commander, had been sacrificed without advantage, in an enterprise without plan, combination, or foresight, and equally ill-timed and misdirected." The motion was introduced by a long speech, in which he argued that the reverses of the Spaniards had arisen from one of two causes;—either because there was not a persevering spirit of patriotism in Spain, or because, if the elements of such a spirit existed, there was not a government capable of properly directing it: whichever were the case, the English ministers were blameable. Either they had information, or they had not:—if they had not, they stood charged with culpable negligence; if they had, and held out hopes which that information did not justify, they stood in a much higher degree responsible for their conduct. After reasoning at great length upon these points, he came to the subject of Mr Frere's correspondence;—"a gentleman," said he, "who, whatever may be his talents in other respects, and however painful and unpleasant it may be to me to make the observation, appears to be wholly unqualified, from his folly, ignorance, and presumption, for that

high and important station which he at present occupies. To prove the incompetence of this gentleman, I need only refer to the letter in which, appearing to be ignorant of the arrival of reinforcements to the French army, he mentions to Sir John Moore how desirable it would be for him, and how politic, to make an attack upon the French army before it should be reinforced; and yet at the date of that letter the French army had been increased to 113,000 men! Another reason which he assigned for the advance of the general was, that France was always weak after a great effort! Sentiments such as these cannot fail to remind one of the case of those, who, from being in the constant habit of telling stories, come at length to believe them themselves."

His lordship then endeavoured to prove "that the advance of the army from Salamanca was the work of this Mr Frere." "Lord Castlereagh," he said, "in his instructions to General Moore, directed him to be guided in every thing respecting the junta of government by, and to take all his information on that, and all the subjects concerning the state of Spain, from Mr Frere;* not, however, that he was to submit to his communications as to commands, but to pay every attention to them short of what should be paid to commands. From these instructions it may be judged what weight the advice of Mr Frere must have had in determining Sir John Moore's conduct. He recommended him to suspend his retreat for the present, because, he said, such was the spirit of the people, that if they should be abandoned by the British army, he was convinced they would still accomplish their object. When Mr Frere stated the determined spirit of the Spaniards,—nay, when he went the length of alleging, that even if that people were left to themselves, he had no doubt of their ultimate success, he still urged Sir John Moore to advance; adding, that such a movement was at that time of so much importance to the interests of Spain, and he was so certain † of its

* The passage alluded to in Lord Castlereagh's letter is as follows:—"Whenever you shall have occasion to make any communications to the Spanish government, you are to correspond with it through the minister at Madrid, and all communications from the Spanish government to you are to be made through the same channel: and although communications, either from the Spanish government or the British minister, are not to be considered by you as in the nature of orders, you will, nevertheless, receive such requisitions or representations, upon all occasions, with the utmost deference and attention; and in case you shall feel it your duty to dissent from them, you will take care to represent, in the fullest manner, your reasons for so doing, as well to the British minister, for the information of the Spanish government, as to the government at home." As for any directions to General Moore, that he should take all his information from Mr Frere, no such were given: the thing is too absurd to be possible.

† Mr Frere's words are these:—"I cannot forbear representing to you, in the strongest manner, the propriety, not to say the necessity, of supporting the determination of the people of this country, by all the means which have been entrusted to you for that purpose. I have no hesitation in taking upon myself any responsibility which may attach itself to this advice; and I consider the fate of Spain as depending absolutely, for the present, upon the decision which you adopt. I say for *the present*; for such is the spirit and determination of the people, that if abandoned by the British, I should by no means despair of their ultimate success."

happy result, that he would be ready to take the whole responsibility upon himself. By this strong, and, as it afterwards proved, false statement, the general was induced to change his prudent determination of retreating. Accompanying these communications of false intelligence, was a most improper letter from Mr Frere, which deserves the strongest terms of reprobation,—a letter which, by recommending the examination of the messenger who bore it before a council of war, in the event of his not complying with the recommendation it contained, actually proposed to take out of the hands of Sir John Moore the command of his army. And who was the bearer, to whose representations such respectful attention was to be paid? Was he any great officer of experience? Was it Dumourier, or Moreau, the great rival of Buonaparte? No such thing;—but M. Charmilly, one of the most infamous characters existing; a man against whom Lord Sidmouth, when in office, was cautioned. He is, in fact, one of those who commenced the sanguinary revolution at St Domingo, where he was actually concerned in assassination. From St Domingo he went to France, as one of the delegates from that island; and from France he came to take refuge here, where he attempted to impose upon the government, by assuming an authority and official character, which he did not possess, from the government of St Domingo. Such was the man whom ministers thought fit to entrust. How, I would ask, could they be ignorant of his character? He who, for several years, has notoriously practised usury in this town, who can be traced through all the courts of law in actions for such practices, and whose name the noble lord on the woolsack may find among the list of fraudulent bankrupts. This, then, my lords, is the sort of man whom Mr Frere thought proper to select for the purpose of influencing the decision, if not of superseding the authority, of Sir John Moore. In denouncing this man, whose name I have learned from private letters transmitted by Sir John Moore to his relations, and in marking him as one of those emigrants who took refuge in this country in consequence of the French revolution, I beg I may not be understood as casting any general reflection on that description of persons. God forbid that I should use any expression calculated, in the slightest degree, to disturb the feelings of those high-minded persons; those generous spirits, who, from a chivalrous devotion to their sovereign and his family, fled from the French revolution! The conduct of such men not only entitles them to compassion, but to admiration. This person, who was the bearer of this extraordinary letter from Mr Frere, left Madrid on the 2d, and of course could not be unaware of the state of that city at the time. He also brought a letter from Morla, who, on the very day he wrote the letter exhorting Sir John Moore to advance towards Madrid, was actually negociating with Buonaparte for the surrender of that city. Thus, had Sir John Moore been influenced by Mr Frere's confidential messenger, whom there was great reason to consider as a traitor and a spy for the enemy, or by the exhortation of Morla, whose treachery to the Spanish cause had since become glaring, the probability was, that our whole army would have been destroyed or taken prisoners: certainly, if Sir John Moore had advanced towards Madrid, such must

have been the consequence; and it was not alone the loss of that ever-to-be-lamented officer that the country would have had to deplore, but the destruction of his whole army."

In the course of his speech Earl Grey introduced a panegyric upon Buonaparte. "What a contrast," he said, "does the conduct of his Majesty's ministers afford to that of the consummate general whose plans they had to oppose! Whoever speaks of him, it is not possible he should speak of him without admiring him for his great abilities, whatever may be thought of his character in other respects. In rapidity of execution he is only equalled by his patience in preparing the means. He has all the opposite qualities of Fabius and Marcellus, whether you consider the country in which he acts, the people with whom he has to contend, or the means by which he is to subdue them. He rivals Hannibal in the application of the means, and is exempt from his only fault, that of not improving by past experience. The means provided by Buonaparte for the accomplishment of his purposes are so well combined, and his objects so ably prosecuted, as generally to give him a moral certainty of success; and whatever may be thought of his total disregard of the justice of those objects, it is impossible not to admire the ability and wisdom with which he combines the means of accomplishing them."

Earl Grey did not, however, speak with the utter despondency which is professed by the other admirers of Buonaparte. "Even after all our losses," he said, "great as they were, in blood and treasure, in character and honour, he was persuaded that, under an administration of prudence and wisdom, the country was possessed of ample means to bring the contest in which it was engaged to an honourable termination." But he added, "that in order to maintain the ultimate contest which is to decide for ever the power and independence of the country, the true policy of those who govern it must be, to pay a strict attention to economy, to be actuated by a determination to concentrate our means, not to endanger them in any enterprise or speculation in which the event is doubtful; but pursuing the economical system of husbanding our resources, by which alone we could enable ourselves to continue the contest, the cessation of which does not depend upon us, but upon the injustice of our enemy." At the close of his speech he recurred to this topic. "How is it possible," he asked, "to attend to the cant of modern patriotism, that it is of no consequence by whom the administration of our government and resources is conducted? How can it seriously be urged that it is the same thing whether the government be entrusted to incapable persons or able statesmen? I am really astonished at the absurd extravagance of the doctrine into which men of general good sense and good intention have been recently betrayed upon this subject. To the principles of reform, to a temperate, intelligible, and definite reform, I have been always, and still continue a friend. To promote that desirable object was the study of the last administration; and it was in our endeavours to attain that end that we incurred the reproaches of those who covered their censure under the specious phrases of a sordid economy, and a want of vigour." His lordship misrepresented the opinion advanced by men of general good sense and good intention.

They never urged that it was the same thing whether government were administered by weak men, or by wise ones. What they maintained was, that the party out of place was in no respect better than the party in place, and in some respects worse; that the opposition did not possess the slightest superiority in talents; that they had still less the advantage in principles; that the measures which they recommended towards Ireland were factious and fallacious; and that the language which they held respecting Spain was such as left no hope for the honour of England, if it were entrusted to their hands.

The Earl of Liverpool rose in reply. "Earl Grey," he said, "censured his Majesty's government for precipitation; declaring it to be his opinion that they ought to have waited to ascertain the probability of the success of the patriotic cause in Spain, before they offered assistance to the Spaniards. What! when the feeling of resistance against oppression was so strong and so general in Spain, would it have been honourable to have told the Spaniards, 'We will not give you aid while you are most in want of it, but we will defer our assistance till you are in full strength, and need it not?' Had such been the language held by ministers, they would have deserved the reprobation of every man in the country. It was a singular circumstance, with respect to their conduct in the affairs of Spain, that every individual who censured their plan had a plan of his own; but, unfortunately, none of those plans had a single principle of agreement with each other. This at least shewed the difficulty under which ministers had laboured in the formation of their own measures, although it afforded a facility in defending them."

After again defending the destination of Sir Arthur Wellesley's army, his lordship proceeded to a charge advanced by Earl Grey, concerning the deficiency of cavalry in Sir John Moore's expedition; "only 2000 altogether," he said, "having been sent, to a country, too, where that description of force was peculiarly necessary;—a deficiency that could not proceed from the limited number of our cavalry, for we had no less than 27,000." To this the Earl of Liverpool replied by saying, "that the public mind had been very much misled upon this topic; and it was material, both with reference to this and other expeditions, that the country should not be led astray by false ideas. Had his lordship ever inquired what the proportion of tonnage for cavalry bore to that of tonnage for infantry? For infantry (and for a long distance) a ton per man was considered as sufficient; for every horse transported, not less than nine or ten tons were allowed: thus it would require as much tonnage to carry 5000 cavalry as 40,000 infantry. But the amount of the tonnage was a small part of the question: the quality of the transports was a more material consideration. A horse transport must be a vessel of a certain description, having a certain height between the decks, &c.; and the quantity that government could at any time procure of such vessels was very limited. Yet, notwithstanding this, and notwithstanding cavalry could only be sent to the peninsula by degrees, on account of the difficulty of procuring forage there, from 8 to 9000 horse were sent; and no less than 12,000 would have been sent in all, had it not been for the in-

formation that Sir David Baird was retreating.

"In embarking in support of the Spanish cause, his Majesty's ministers were not so weak, so improvident, so foolish, as to expect that the first efforts of the Spanish people, contending with such an enemy, would be crowned with unqualified success; that no discomfitures, no checks, no disasters, no reverses would retard and embarrass the early and crude operations of undisciplined bravery, when brought down into open plains, to contend with the superior discipline, the superior strength, and the superior generalship of such a power as France. No; weak as the noble lord might suppose ministers, they were not yet guilty of calculating with certainty upon impossibilities; they did not expect that such a cause as the cause of Spain, to be fought for with such an enemy as the ruler of France, could possibly be determined in one campaign. Reverses they had certainly met; but they had not been owing to the cause to which the noble earl seemed so anxious to ascribe them. Those reverses had not been owing to the indifference or the apathy of the Spaniards. They were to be imputed to their want of discipline; to an ill-judged contempt of their enemy,—a sentiment that was to be traced to any other feeling rather than that of apathy or indifference, and that in itself was a proof of their zeal and ardour: and this, in the commencement, was so much relied upon, that the Marquis de la Romana did not think it would be eventually necessary for our reinforcements to act in the interior of the peninsula, such confidence was reposed in the native spirit of the country."

His lordship then omitting all unnecessary discussion upon the previous operations, which had been already so fully discussed, came at once to the question of Sir John Moore's advance from Salamanca. "His army," he said, "by the junction with General Hope, had received its fair proportion of cavalry, and its full proportion of artillery. Thus circumstanced, and apprized, as he then was, of the spirit manifesting itself at Madrid, was it, or was it not an opportunity that called for some effort upon the part of the British army, situated as they then were? What would have been the general sentiment in Spain and in England, had the army retired without attempting any thing? If, in that most interesting crisis, when, after all their repeated disasters, the spirit of Spain was reviving, and her chief city bidding defiance to an immense army at her very gates; if in such a moment a British army, so marshalled and equipped, after a long march to the aid of their ally, had in the hour of trial coldly turned their backs upon her danger, what would have been thought of the sincerity of this effort of British co-operation? But in advancing at this time, it was asserted that Sir John Moore had been influenced, contrary to his own judgment, by Mr Frere. He believed this assertion would not be found correct; at least he hoped it would not, for the sake of Sir John Moore himself. Nothing appeared in the correspondence to justify it; but it did appear that he refused to suffer Mr Frere's judgment to influence his military movements, and in so doing there could be no doubt of the propriety of his conduct. As to Mr Frere's letter, requiring that the messenger might be examined before a council of war, he did not mean to vindicate

it; at the same time that he believed too much justice could not be done Mr Frere, as far as respected his zeal for the country's interests, and the purity of his motives. This circumstance, however, had in no degree influenced the conduct of the general. His own letters proved that the advance was the spontaneous result of his own free judgment.

"Whatever," the Earl of Liverpool continued, "may be the sentiments of other persons on this subject, I believe in my conscience that that movement of Sir John Moore saved Spain. There are some, perhaps, who may be startled at the assertion: It is my fixed and decided opinion, and as such I will avow it. After the destruction of Blake's army, the defeat of Castanos, and the dispersion of the army of Estremadura,—after the capitulation of Madrid, which promised to emulate the glory of Zaragoza, and would have done so, had not treachery interposed; the next object of Buonaparte, after such a series of success, was to overrun the south of Spain, as he had done the north; and if at that crisis he had pursued his conquests, by pushing to the southern provinces, the Spanish troops would never have had time to rally there. But they have had time to rally, and to revive with increased vigour; and that time was given them by the diversion created by Sir John Moore's advance in their favour. Never was there a more effectual diversion. If Earl Grey wanted testimony of this, Sir John Moore himself said, that as a diversion it had completely and effectually succeeded. Nor was the moral effect of thus re-animating the spirit of the nation to be wholly overlooked. Let the final issue of the contest be what it may, France has not yet succeeded in subduing Spain. I admit Buonaparte has 200,000 men in that country; that his troops are of the bravest, and his generals among the most skilful in the world; and, above all, that he has been himself at their head; and yet, with all this, he has not got possession of more territory than he had last year: he only holds such parts as in every war fell to the lot of whichever brought the largest army into the field. A year ago it was said that either Buonaparte must wholly succeed or wholly fail, for that partial successes would never answer his purpose. What, then, is the fact? He has had partial success; and, notwithstanding, he has not yet got into his possession more than half of Spain. I am far from saying, regard being had to the man and the circumstances of the case, that the Spaniards must ultimately succeed; but, at the same time, looking at the spirit they have evinced, and the actions that have happened, particularly the defence of Zaragoza, so gloriously persevered in, I cannot feel lukewarm in my hope that their efforts will be crowned with ultimate success. Consider the great popular revolutions that have occurred: do they ultimately succeed without great changes? Switzerland and Holland are instances; but, above all, America. In that fatal contest with America we gained every battle; we assailed and took every town we besieged, until the capture of General Burgoyne; and yet the Americans ultimately succeeded, by perseverance, in the contest. In the present important struggle, do not the extent and nature of the country afford a hope of success? does not its population forbid despair? The noble earl concluded his speech with a censure upon the con-

duct of his Majesty's ministers. The noble earl may not approve of our measures, so neither do I approve of his counsels: I do not approve of those sublime operations in Egypt, at Buenos Ayres, at Constantinople, and other places, that emanated from the wisdom of those with whom the noble earl has been used to act. Upon the whole, I have the satisfaction, in common with the rest of his Majesty's government, to reflect, that, whatever may be the consequences of the struggle we are embarked in, we have not lost the confidence of the Spanish people; we know that every true Spanish heart beats high for this country; we know that whatever shall happen, they do not accuse us. Submission may be the lot they are fated to endure in the end; but they do not impute to us the cause of their misfortunes: they are sensible that neither the thirst after commerce, nor territory, nor security, is to be imputed to us, in the assistance we have afforded to them upon this important occasion. Whatever may be the result, we have done our duty, we have not despaired, we have persevered, and will do so to the last, while there is any thing left to contend for with a prospect of success."

The whole strength of the debate was comprised in these speeches. Earl Moira and Viscount Sidmouth, in supporting the motion of censure, both declared that they did not despair of the Spanish cause. Lord Erskine spoke with great intemperance. "It would have been better," he said, "for the service of the country, if the men who lost their lives in the last campaign had been shot in St James's Park. They were sent to Spain to be massacred, without any prospect of their being able to do any good. The ardour of the Spaniards had wholly subsided. He could prove that Sir David Baird wrote to ministers an account of the apathy and want of spirit among that people; and that ministers had received the communication when they were pressing Sir John Moore to advance." Had not Lord Erskine suffered party feeling to blind his judgment, every day's intelligence from Spain would have taught him at this time how totally Sir David Baird had erred in his opinion. Lord Grenville affirmed, "that ministers were endeavouring to throw the blame off themselves, and transfer it to Sir John Moore, who could not now speak in his own justification. Such conduct," he hoped, "would not lessen the ardour and zeal of the army, on which the salvation of the country so greatly depended." 92 lords voted for the motion: it was negatived by 145.

April 24. When next the lords met, Earl Darnley asked "whether it was the intention of ministers to recal Mr Frere? He had heard that it was, and if so, he should be satisfied; but if not, he considered the conduct of that ambassador to have been so improper towards Sir John Moore, that he should feel it his duty to call the attention of their lordships to the subject." The Earl of Liverpool replied, "he was ready to vouch for the zeal and ability of Mr Frere, and was convinced his intentions were good; but both he and his colleagues, as they had before stated, were of opinion, that, so far as related to the circumstance mentioned respecting Sir John Moore, he had adopted an improper mode of carrying his intentions into effect." Here the subject was dropt in the Upper House. It was then taken

April 27. up in the Commons, where Mr Eden moved for a copy of the letter from Morla and Castel-Franco to Sir John Moore; and also for any information of which government might be in possession relative thereto, or relative to the two letters of Mr Frere to General Moore, dated from Talavera, December 3d, 1808, and to the message which was stated to have accompanied those letters. "On the very day," he said, "on which Morla wrote to Sir John Moore, requesting him to advance to Madrid, he had an interview with the French commanders; three days afterwards he considered all resistance as useless; and on the 5th (the day when Sir John Moore received the letter) the French were in possession of Madrid. Morla's conduct, therefore, justified a suspicion that it was his wish to decoy the British army into the power of the French; and if that was his design, he could not have desired an instrument more likely to forward it than the letter written by Mr Frere. The situation of Sir John Moore was truly distressing. He found himself at the head of a British army in a foreign country, placed in such circumstances (through no fault of his) that he could not be cheered with any reasonable prospect of success. He knew the extravagant notions of Spanish enthusiasm which at that time so generally prevailed in England, and was aware of the censure he must in all probability incur, if he consulted the safety of his army, by quitting the country without making any farther effort in the cause. Yet, happily, superior to all these afflicting reflections, the gallant general determined to brave the transient obloquy that menaced him, by preserving his men. To this resolve we might attribute his avoiding the snare; but though the whole of his army were not decoyed into the power of the French, the disastrous battle of Coruna might be ascribed to these circumstances."

In reply to this, Mr Canning said he had already communicated to Mr Eden that it was impossible to comply with his motion, because government had no such papers to produce. He left the House, therefore, to judge of the candour of that honourable gentleman, under these circumstances, who seemed to have taken this occasion to throw out insinuations against Mr Frere, before the time for discussing the subject altogether had arrived. Mr Canning added, he had heard this with feelings which he would not trust himself to express. When the proper moment came, he would endeavour to discharge his public duties, and those of private friendship. Upon this Mr Tierney observed, that it was extremely proper to move for these papers, even though government had them not to produce; for it was very important to know that there were no such documents,—a fact which did not operate in favour of Mr Frere. Mr Canning replied, the fact was, that Mr Frere accompanied the junta when they left Madrid, and could have known nothing of Charmilly, or Morla's letter, had it not been that the junta stopt at Talavera, on their way to Seville. There Charmilly found him, when on his way with a direct communication to Sir John Moore, never intended to be forwarded through Mr Frere.—The conversation then turned upon M. Charmilly. Lord Castlereagh said there was no foundation for the report that Charmilly went to Spain with a recommendation from him. He had indeed applied to be sent, but had

been told that they did not know of any service in which he could be wanted. General Tarleton then rose, to shew how utterly unworthy of any trust or credit this M. Charmilly was. "He had refused," he said, "to pay to a Mr Devereux some money which he had lost to him at play, upon the pretence that he was a ruined man; although, as had been afterwards ascertained, he certainly had the means of paying. Now, when this Colonel Charmilly was charged with his conduct to Mr Devereux, what did he do? Why, simply denied ever having played with him at all. The business was not proceeded in, owing to the interference of a very respectable man, the Comte de Vandreuil, who represented the total ruin in which it must involve Charmilly. Such was the person whom Mr Frere chose to authorise to interfere with Sir John Moore."

Mr Eden's motion was, of course, negatived without a division. A motion of Mr Abercrombie's, on the same day, for copies of the general orders issued by Sir John Moore in Spain, was not more successful. "His object in moving for them," he said, "was that the character of that gallant and highly-lamented officer might appear in its true colours." Lord Castlereagh replied, "that sorry as he should be to refuse any papers which might be thought necessary to vindicate the character of that gallant general, he must resist the motion: First, because the executive government could not comply with it: no such papers were in his office, nor did he know where they were, unless they might be in possession of the adjutant-general in Spain; secondly, because he thought it a serious question of prudence, whether such papers ought to be called for. The orders of generals to the army under their command were conveyed in a tone which might be necessary to keep up discipline, but might not perhaps be quite consonant to the feelings of the House, and should not therefore be made public." Mr Abercrombie answered, "that he thought these objections were of no weight. As to the first, it would be easy for the order of that House to be directed to the adjutant-general, and he would find out where the papers were: As to the second, there could not certainly be any object upon which the House ought more to wish to be well informed, than the state of the discipline of the army. Sure he was, that General Moore never wrote or expressed a sentiment relative to the army under his command, which he would not have published, and wished to be known to the whole world. It was well known that considerable alarm had gone abroad respecting the disorder and want of discipline in his army, particularly during the retreat, and that this want of discipline was not owing to him. Now, if those orders were made public, they would show plainly and clearly that the fault was not with him. If Lord Castlereagh meant that they should not be known to the public, and if it were true, as Lord Castlereagh admitted, that every thing was done by Sir John Moore, in the retreat from Sahagun to Coruna, that could have been done by the ablest general in any service, then the argument amounted to this:—You must not hurt the feelings of the army, but you may sacrifice the honour and character of the officer who commanded. If any thing had been done by the gallant officer in question which

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was at all faulty, it was entirely owing to ministers; and as he had, unfortunately for the country, fallen a sacrifice to the situation in which he had been placed by them, or by their adherents, it was extremely hard to sacrifice his character, as well as his life, to screen themselves." Mr Horner thought the orders ought to be produced, to enlighten the public on a question so important. They were, however, refused, not only because an inquiry into the subject would be invidious, but also because it would be unnecessary, satisfied as the public were of the propriety of Sir John Moore's conduct. There was, indeed, another reason, which, to any person unacquainted with the forms of the House of Commons, would have appeared perfectly satisfactory:—the whole of these orders had been already published in the newspapers. This Mr Abercrombie himself stated, adding, "that if they were refused, the House would be the only place in which they would not be known." Parliament is supposed to be ignorant of all public papers which are not regularly laid before it, and this fiction was reasoned upon as a fact!

The next parliamentary measure upon this subject related to the only public honour which yet remained to be paid to the memory of Sir John Moore. Lord Morpeth rose in the House of Commons, and *May.* 8. observing that it was a matter of public regret that the female part of General Moore's family were not provided for in such manner as could be wished, requested to know whether any measures had been taken by government for that purpose. He was answered by Mr Perceval, that it certainly was the intention of government to make the kind of provision alluded to; but on this being intimated to the female part of the family, they expressed a wish that any provision intended for them might be transferred to a male branch; and it was therefore the intention of ministers to recommend that it should be made for that brother of Sir John Moore whom the rest of the family wished to receive it. Accordingly a pension of 1000l. a-year was granted to Mr James Moore, elder brother of the general, who afterwards published a Narrative of his Campaign.

On the following day, a motion of censure similar to that of Earl Grey *May.* 9. was brought forward in the Lower House by Earl Temple. He began his speech by a panegyric upon Sir John Moore. "While the House lamented," he said, "that the last campaign had so miserably failed, it was not to the army that they were to look for the cause of the failure, nor to the commander-in-chief of that army; for upon him they had bestowed the proudest monument of his conduct whilst living, and most exalted tribute to his memory when dead. But it was not to the cold marble, to the still honours of the tomb, to the lifeless monument which may have been erected, or to the distinguished inscription it may bear, that they were to look for the character of Sir John Moore. His monument was the ground upon which he fell; and he had a still more enviable living monument in the breasts of those brave troops among whom, as he had ever fondly lived, so he had bravely terminated his glorious career. It was not to his actions, then, that they were to look for the cause of those disasters which had unfortunately attended the progress of the campaign:

over his actions the tomb had closed—and who should venture, with unhallowed hands, to tear open the sanctuary of the tomb? Who should dare to rake up the ashes of the illustrious dead, for the purpose of patching up a lame and impotent justification for the errors, incapacity, and misconduct of the guilty living? It was not then upon the conduct of the army that the House was to pronounce judgement, but upon those persons whose incapacity and misconduct were the cause why even British valour had failed of success."

His lordship then proceeded to examine the conduct of the campaign. He repeated the objections so often made to the employment of an army in Portugal—objections which had been so triumphantly refuted; and he delivered it as his opinion, that that army might have been more beneficially employed, conjointly with our maritime force in Catalonia and in Biscay, where they might have occupied Barcelona and St Sebastian; or that they should have been sent to the south, where they might have taken post with the Sierra Morena in their front, the Guadalquivir on one flank, and Cadiz in their rear. Having discussed this part of the subject, and the arrangements for Sir John Moore's expedition till he reached Salamanca, his lordship came to the interference of Mr Frere, the main ground of his attack. "And now," he said, "he hoped the country would be enabled fairly to appreciate the services of that gentleman. He trusted, also, that gentlemen on the other side would not forget the various ways in which they had endeavoured to conceal the evidence on this branch of the case; how it had been wrung from them like drops of blood; and the twists, and turns, and shifts after which it had at length been extorted from them. First, they did not know of such a correspondence; then it was private. Would any of those gentlemen, with unblushing front, now assert that any of these letters were private? Had they the mark 'private' upon them; and even if they had such a mark, could any man suppose that they were any thing else than a public record of the business of his mission? They were not only public, but were meant to be so. Then they were said to be of no consequence; they had nothing to do with Sir John Moore's retreat, and very little with his advance; and if produced, they would not answer the purpose for which they were called for, as they contained no information that would be of the smallest advantage to the discussion. Were they really unimportant? On the contrary, were they not the sole and only cause of that gallant and lamented officer's advance? It was solely on account of them that he found it his duty to make that advance. Mr Frere advises him to advance, and to join his troops to the Spaniards; informing him, that, by doing so, he would save the capital. This he writes on the very day when one of the entrances to the town was seized on by the French: Buonaparte himself was then only 17 miles from Madrid, and the next day was at the gates. He was not surprised that Mr Canning wished to conceal such letters as these, so derogatory to the character of the person by whom they were written, though on his own account he might wish to shew that there was another person who had the same lack of information, and the same ignorance as himself.—There was, however, another reason which might induce the right

honourable gentleman to wish to conceal the letters. He might be averse from having it known that there was another person who possessed the qualification of writing in the same tone with himself; and he might be afraid to shew how nearly the pupil had approached to the perfection of the master. Sir John Moore, however, disregarded the rhapsody of Mr Frere, and wisely commenced his retreat. Morla wrote, requesting him to advance towards Madrid, the Spaniards being resolved to fight to the last extremity in defending the city; and yet that very day he was capitulating with Buonaparte at the gates of Madrid. This person, who had sold his country to Buonaparte, wanted to entrap Sir John Moore and the British army into his hands. But this was only an attempt by a traiterous member of the government of Spain. It remained for Mr Frere to assist in a similar design. He sends a third time, by M. Charmilly, declaring it to be the resolution of the Spaniards to perish under the ruins of the capital; and also sends an angry letter to Sir John Moore, pressing him to advance. It seemed extremely likely, from every part of the transaction, that Charmilly was, if not a spy, a dupe, and that he had involved Mr Frere in his dupery. If he was so, he had pretty high authority in the same line. If he was a dupe, he was the dupe of Morla, and Mr Frere the dupe of Charmilly. Was it to be believed that Mr Frere would, if Charmilly had not been recommended to him by ministers, have intrusted to him, a stranger and a Frenchman, so important a mission? If he was recommended by ministers, the blame must fall on them; if not, on Mr Frere. Mr Frere had even presumed to appeal to the army, and to Charmilly, against the decision of Sir John Moore. He presumed to interfere in that which was not intrusted to him, and to press on Sir John Moore his advice. His language was most unbecoming and indecent. I do not," said his lordship, "suppose he meant to betray his country, but it is to be lamented that the enemy should find that even British honesty is now no longer proof against the arts of the enemy, and that the incapacity of such a man as Mr Frere gave him similar advantages to those which he was accustomed to derive from dishonesty and treason.—Notwithstanding all the difficulties against which Sir John Moore had to contend, notwithstanding he had received no instructions from his government, or information from its agents, and although he had been deceived by the account of the Spanish officers, yet he was determined to put himself in the way of fortune. The march to Madrid was impossible, after the French had seized the pass of Somosierra; but still he conceived it would be a most important diversion for the cause of Spain, and give the patriots of the south time to prepare for fresh exertions, if he were to make a movement against the enemy in the north. This movement he made, and it produced in a great degree the effect that was calculated from it. This movement was attended with considerable danger, and the rapidity of the retreat alone secured the remains of the army. It appeared that ministers at that time had never thought of Ferrol, the second naval arsenal of Spain; and the great accession of naval strength which the enemy had gained by that conquest was owing to the remissness of our ministers. The battle of Coruna,

indeed, afforded a brilliant instance of what British valour could do under every possible discouragement. The troops, though broken down and disorganized by misfortune, supported the military character of the country. It was to the ministers of this country alone, therefore, that we must look for the causes of the failures in Spain."

Lord Castlereagh replied to Earl Temple. The subject had been so repeatedly debated, that it is only requisite to point out such passages of his reply as contained any new information or remark. "The advantage," he said, "which would arise from going to Barcelona had not escaped his Majesty's ministers; and they had made provision to that effect, without frittering away the force necessary to accomplish the main object in view. Directions had been given, in July, to Sir John Stuart to co-operate from Sicily on that side; which that brave and enterprising officer would have done, had it not been for the threatened invasion of Sicily from the side of Italy."—Alas! If England had properly exerted its influence in Sicily, equally for the people and for the crown; if it had delivered the Sicilians from the intolerable tyranny of their nobles, and made the restoration of their old free constitution the stipulated price of our protection, the king of that island would sit securely on his throne; and it would be Italy, not Sicily, that would stand in dread and in danger, as well as in need, of revolution.—Lord Castlereagh spoke of the loss sustained in the two campaigns, both that in Portugal and that in Spain. It amounted, he affirmed, to no more than 7000 men, including casualties, (which, if the army had staid at home, would have amounted to 3000;) including, also, the consequences of two general actions, and many of smaller note; and the whole period from the time General Spencer left Gibraltar, in the preceding winter, to the end of the campaign.

An extraordinary confession was made by Mr Canning in the course of this debate. "During the whole time," he said, "that these events were passing, government had no means of arguing from the past: the occasion was without precedent, and such as it was impossible to lay their hand on any period of history to parallel, either from its importance with regard to individuals, to this happy country and to Europe, or the difficulty that arose from there being so little knowledge to guide their steps in the actual scene of their operations. Why should government be ashamed to say they wanted that knowledge of the interior of Spain, which they found no one possessed? With every other part of the continent we had had more intercourse: of the situation of Spain we had every thing to learn."—With what contemptuous satisfaction must Buonaparte and the French politicians have heard such a confession from our secretary of state for foreign affairs!—With whatever feelings the government might make this avowal, it was heard with deep shame by the thoughtful part of the people, and not without indignation. To them it was a mournful thing to discover that their rulers laid in no stock of knowledge, but lived, as it were, from hand to mouth, upon what they happened to meet with! Is there a country or a province in Europe,—is there a European possession in any part of the world, of which the French government does not possess maps,

plans, and the most ample accounts of whatever may guide its politics, and facilitate its invasion? Even respecting Spanish America, such a confession as Mr Canning's would have been disgraceful, because it would have betrayed an inexcusable negligence in seeking for information; but as regarding Spain itself, it became almost incredible. Did there not exist faithful and copious accounts of that kingdom, by Townsend, Bourgoing, Fischer, La Borde? Was not supplementary information to be gleaned from innumerable other writers? Had we not still living, diplomatists who had resided for years at the Spanish court; consuls and merchants who had been domesticated, and almost naturalized in Spain; and travellers who, either for their pleasure, or on their commercial pursuits, had traversed every province and every part of the peninsula? When Clarkson wanted evidence respecting the manner in which slaves were obtained up the rivers Calabar and Bonny, he heard, by accident, that there was one person who could give it, but he neither could obtain his name, nor learn the place of his abode:—all that was known was, that he belonged to some ship of war in ordinary. That indefatigable and admirable man immediately set out in search of him: he went on board every ship in ordinary at Deptford, Woolwich, Chatham, and Sheerness,—above a hundred and sixty vessels,—but in vain. He boarded above a hundred more at Portsmouth, equally in vain, and fifty-six at Plymouth, with as little success. In the fifty-seventh he found his man, after a labour of three weeks; obtained the knowledge which he wanted; and established by that evidence a point of main importance to the abolition of the slave trade.—Information may always be found, if it be wisely and perseveringly sought.

"Earl Temple," Mr Canning said, "attributed a part of the operations of the campaign, not to the free will of the general who commanded, but to the improper interference of his Majesty's minister in Spain. When the individual in whose defence it was probably expected he should speak, though living, was not present, and when the other individual, for whose memory he entertained the highest respect, was no more, he would freely acknowledge, that even if the error imputed were an error of great magnitude, the battle of Coruna ought to obliterate it; but he imputed no such error. On a fair examination of the evidence, with as much impartiality as he could assume, and on a free comparison of his own sentiments with those of others, he believed in his conscience, that the fact of Sir John Moore's advance (so much condemned by the noble lord) being attributable to the interference of Mr Frere, was not true. If he thought otherwise, he should by no means be disposed to shield Mr Frere from the responsibility of it; for considering the advance in a military point of view, in his poor judgment he could not but think it a wise measure; but in every view which ennobled military objects by exalting military character, he was sure it was a perfectly wise measure. So far, therefore, from shielding Mr Frere from the responsibility attached to this forward movement, he should rather hail it for him as a most meritorious act. But truth compelled him to declare, that although he did not think it a blameable measure, the merit of it was not Mr Frere's. To this conviction he had not brought his mind on light grounds. It was founded on the fact,

that Sir John Moore had not transmitted his correspondence with Mr Frere to government.—Did the noble lord mean to attribute to Sir John Moore, that having made a movement by which the existence of the British army was endangered, he withheld from government any knowledge of the motives on which he had acted? This would be to prefer a serious charge against that gallant officer, who, he dared to say, had never been wanting to his duty, but who would have been wanting to his duty, had he so conducted himself.—So much for that view of the subject in which the public was materially concerned. The rest was between individual and individual; and he confessed that he did not think the time of the House properly employed, or the feelings of the House properly excited, when such a transaction was made the subject of their solemn discussion. His private regard would induce him to speak a few words upon the subject, but his public duty would induce him to make those words that he should say upon it as few as possible. He had no hesitation in saying, that there were parts of Mr Frere's correspondence which he did not like. There were parts which he did not approve, and of which he had not advised his sovereign to express his approbation. The specific point to which he alluded was, the demand made by Mr Frere, that the individual by whom the letter from the junta of Madrid was conveyed to Sir John Moore, should be examined before a council of war. His opinion was, that it was Mr Frere's duty to convey to the general every information in his power; to transmit to him the communications of the various local governments; to accompany those communications with his own honest opinion of their value; and to enforce that opinion with the best arguments that occurred to him; but there he conceived that his province ended, and that he ought not to prescribe that which depended on a military decision. He hoped, however, he might be allowed to say in extenuation, (he could not affirm it, for he had not the means of information,) that probably Mr Frere's letter was not written in the sense in which it was taken by Sir John Moore. It was no unusual thing for a minister in a foreign country to transmit information to a general, and to recommend to him an examination of a particular person before a council of war, as the best mode by which suspicious intelligence might be detected.—This led him to a circumstance on which great stress had been laid, namely, the character of the gentleman by whom Mr Frere's letter had been conveyed to Sir John Moore. Of this gentleman he knew nothing; he had never seen him; he did not believe that Mr Frere had seen him before this transaction; he had not been selected by Mr Frere, for the purpose of conveying information to Sir John Moore; he had not been sent out from this country recommended to Mr Frere; but he believed that after Mr Frere went to Spain, M. Charmilly passed through Salamanca; that he was not ill received at head-quarters; and that having been at Madrid, he called on Mr Frere, at Talavera, on his way to Salamanca, with a letter to Sir John Moore, from a member of the junta at Madrid. Mr Frere, of course, thought it his duty to forward M. Charmilly to Sir J hn Moore by every means in his power. Wit respect to the charac er of M. Ch

milly, although he believed that many of the charges made in another place against him were wholly unfounded, and others egregiously discoloured, yet he must observe, that Mr Frere had no more to do with the character of M. Charmilly, than he would have had with the character of a common post-man. M. Charmilly was the bearer of a message from the junta of Madrid to Sir John Moore, and Mr Frere could by no means be responsible for the selection of the messenger. But whatever might be thought on this point, he trusted that there could be but one feeling on the sentiments expressed by Mr Frere, when he declared that he did not despair of a cause which it was his bounden duty to support and encourage. He had before observed, that the advance of Sir John Moore (which advance he deemed perfectly justifiable) could not be ascribed to the correspondence of Mr Frere with Sir John Moore, because Sir John Moore had not transmitted that correspondence to government as the cause of his movement. But not only did Sir John Moore not transmit his correspondence with Mr Frere as the ground of his advance—he ascribed it to other grounds. In his dispatches he stated it to have been resorted to 'in consonance with the general opinion, and also with that of Mr Frere.'—On what principle of justice, then, could it be said that this determination to advance arose solely from the solicitation of Mr Frere? Previous to that advance, Sir John Moore wrote to the secretary at war, inclosing a letter of Marshal Soult, in which he was represented as critically situated, and liable to a successful attack. On the information contained in that intercepted letter, Sir John Moore expressed his determination to advance. With respect to the advance itself, he would say, that, with all its consequences and disasters, he preferred it to a retreat, at the moment of Mr Frere's remonstrance. Of those disasters he would not say a word; he would not charge any thing. The battle of Coruna covered every thing; but the retreat itself, and the precipitancy of it, he could never cease to regret."

This expression of Mr Canning's was the only instance in which any hint, even of censure, as to the conduct of the retreat, was heard in parliament; yet Mr Tierney accused ministers of a disposition to keep the merits of Sir John Moore from the public view, and asked whether an order had not been sent by the lord chancellor to the Drury-Lane company, not to continue the recitation of a monody to the memory of that general. Mr Perceval replied, that he knew nothing about any such order, and could scarcely believe that it had been sent. The debate was closed by Mr Whitbread. Charmilly and Mr Frere were the topics of his speech. The former he described as having first been conspicuous as a revolutionist in St Domingo, then attempting to raise an insurrection in France: afterward he was successively known in this country as a coal-merchant, a distiller, an usurious money-lender, and a bankrupt; facts, he said, which could be proved. Throughout the whole of these transactions, Mr Frere had displayed such a want of temper and capacity, as to render him unfit for any diplomatic situation whatever. It was understood from report that he was to be superseded, but report also said that he was to be sent to Constantinople, and

Mr Whitbread wished to know if this were really intended. No answer was made to this. The House became impatient for the question; having been kept up till five o'clock in the morning; and Earl Temple's motion was negatived, by 230 votes to 111.

May 12. Three days afterwards, Mr Whitbread moved for a return of the names of all the officers attached to the foreign corps raised under Colonel Charmilly, the various sums advanced to them in the way of allowance or otherwise, and their present state in his Majesty's service. "The whole of those officers were known to be Roman Catholics, and he believed there were many of them who were not men of the most unexceptionable character. It was, however, pretty extraordinary, that, in the year 1794, a positive refusal was given by the government to the late duke of Bedford's request for a commission for the command of his own armed tenantry, in the defence of his own country; because it was thought too dangerous a confidence to repose in a nobleman who differed from them in politics. Lord Petre also was refused a commission for the command of 400 of his own infantry, armed and clothed at his own expence, for the like purpose, upon no other pretence than that of his being a Roman Catholic: yet at that very time the then ministry felt no hesitation in granting to M. Charmilly, a Frenchman, an utter stranger, and a Roman Catholic, letters of service to recruit French soldiers at the door of a military prison, and at a bounty of sixteen guineas per man; and afterwards, when they deemed it expedient to disband this regiment, they turned them loose upon the public." Certainly this was a heavy charge against the ministry of 1794 for their intolerance, and the wasteful prodigality with which the war department was then administered; but to the present motion a sufficient objection was stated by Lord Castlereagh,—that the names of the officers, and their present situations in the service, could not be communicated, without exposing them to great hazard and injury at some future time. Mr Whitbread persisted in pressing the motion, and it was negatived, by 54 against 29.

Whatever may have been the private character of M. Venault de Charmilly, he was most unjustly and cruelly treated in the course of these debates. On his return to England he published a narrative* of his trans-

* Colonel de Charmilly published also some pamphlets respecting the attacks made upon his private character. As it has been necessary to repeat these attacks in detailing the proceedings in Parliament, it becomes an act of justice to notice in this place, as succinctly as possible, his defence. The story of the gambling debt to Mr Devereux is curiously explained. Charmilly became intimate with this gentleman, and with a Mr F., till, perceiving that he constantly lost at play at Mr F's house, he thought it advisable to drop his acquaintance. Of Mr Devereux, who, it seems, is an Irish Roman Catholic delegate, he entertained no suspicion; and, meeting him one day, he accepted an invitation to dinner—upon an occasion sufficiently characteristic of the morals of all parties. Mr D. said, "that he had at length completed a great *adventure*, which had much engaged his attention and his heart for the last three months; that he had at last succeeded, and brought his Dulcinea to his own house,—a real Dulcinea; for she was a true country lass, which was the only sort of woman he liked. He would not suffer her to be acquainted with too many of his

actions in Spain with Mr Frere and General Moore. By this statement it appeared, that, on his way to Madrid, he had dined at Sir John Moore's table; a circumstance which would certainly have exculpated Mr Frere

friends, some of whom were great rakes, who would corrupt her principles, and perhaps carry her away into the bargain; but as he placed great confidence in Charmilly, from what he had seen of his general conduct, he hoped he would come and take *la fortune du pot*." Charmilly accordingly went. He found a magnificent dinner, which his friend said was *le repas des noces*; and F. was the only person to meet him. The wines were choice and numerous; the glass was briskly circulated. Soon after ten o'clock, Charmilly lost all recollection of what passed: about five in the morning, however, he found himself at his own door, very ill, and sick. The persons who conveyed him there gave a violent double rap, and left him. He was put to bed, and when he rose next day, a good many guineas were on the table, which the servant who undressed him found in his pocket. Now he had gone out with only a few shillings in his purse, and recollecting a remarkable trick which had been played not long before, he immediately suspected some foul play of the same kind. He therefore communicated the circumstance to the Marquis de la Jaille, who laughed at his uneasiness, but advised him to write, and ask how the money found in his pocket had come there. Mr Devereux's answer was written in rather a threatening style, begging him to fix the time when it would be convenient to pay him sixteen hundred guineas, which he had lost to him; adding, as a proof of it, that M. Charmilly had lost at the same time above four hundred guineas to Mr F. The demand was resisted; and the dispute which arose in consequence was referred by Messieurs Devereux and F. to General Tarleton, by the other party to the Count de Vaudreuil. The count stated, that he had known M. de Charmilly well a long time, and knew that he was not in the habit of gambling; that it was not at all probable he should have lost so large a sum as the one claimed; if he had done so, he must have been made completely drunk for the purpose; but to the count's recollection he had never been drunk before in his life; that M. de Charmilly positively declared he had no knowledge whatever of having played, and therefore was determined not to pay any part of the 2000 guineas. In fact, it was astonishing that Mr Devereux should pretend that he had, in his own house, won 1600 guineas from Charmilly, without any other witness than F., who claimed 400 himself; and that F. should claim these 400 with no other witness than Devereux,—the one standing witness to the other. Upon this General Tarleton said, that if they had played at a club, drunk or sober, the money said to have been lost must have been paid; but as the transaction had taken place in a private house, that circumstance made a material difference. In conformity, therefore, to his professed "detestation of private play," he awarded that Devereux should take back the guineas found in Charmilly's pocket, and give up his claim.—General Tarleton published a reply to this statement, in which he confirms all the circumstances of the dispute, and the decision; but persists in believing the statement of the Catholic delegate, in preference to that of the emigrant. He affirms also, that he had given Charmilly an opportunity of challenging him; and this assertion has produced another letter from Charmilly, to which he has affixed as a motto, *On ne peut faire boire un ane qui n'a pas soif.*

Colonel de Charmilly called also upon Earl Grey and Mr Whitbread to acknowledge that they had wronged him in their speeches. The former, in reply, acknowledged that he now saw no reason for imputing any treacherous design to him, and that the unfavourable impressions which he had received, with respect to the bankruptcy, had been considerably diminished by Colonel de Charmilly's explanations. The correspondence with Mr Whitbread has not been published.

in making choice of him as a messenger to that general, if any choice had been exercised on the occasion. But Charmilly was already charged with intelligence to Sir John from the Duke del Infantado; he fell in accidentally with the English minister on his way, and, in consequence, that opportunity was taken of sending dispatches by him. This statement also explained why Mr Frere required that Charmilly should be examined before a council of war. Though he had no hesitation to take upon himself any responsibility for the advice which he gave, he feared that General Moore, having begun the retreat, might think his responsibility was engaged also, and that that feeling might have some influence upon his resolution. The decision of a council of war would, he thought, take this responsibility from the commander. It appeared, therefore, that this measure, against which such an outcry was raised, that the ministry did not think proper to defend it, originated in delicacy towards Sir John Moore.

Mr Frere was also violently condemned for the language which he had used toward the general, respecting his intended retreat from Salamanca;—" a measure," he said, " which must be followed by the immediate, if not the final ruin of our ally, and by indelible disgrace to the country with whose resources you are intrusted. I am unwilling to enlarge upon a subject in which my feelings must either be stifled, or expressed at the risk of offence, which, with such an interest at stake, I should feel unwilling to excite; but thus much I must say, that if the British army had been sent abroad for the express object of doing the utmost possible mischief to the cause of Spain, (with the single exception of not firing a shot against the Spanish troops,) they would, according to the measures now announced as about to be taken, have most completely fulfilled their purpose. That the defence of Gallicia should be abandoned, must appear incredible." And in the same letter he warned him of " the immense responsibility which he took upon himself by such a measure."—Mr Frere would not have been attacked with so much acrimony, if he had not been the particular friend of Mr Canning; and perhaps that very circumstance prevented the latter from defending him as warmly and as boldly as his own unbiassed judgement would have prompted.

In the debate upon Earl Temple's motion, Lord Henry Petty quoted an observation of Cardinal de Retz, who says, " that men may be placed in situations, wherein, turn how they would, they must commit a fault; but that Fortune never placed them in such situations, which were only the effects of their own errors." In such a situation, he affirmed, Sir John Moore had been placed by the ministers. Lord Bacon's apophthegm, that " wise men make more opportunities than they find," is more pertinent to the case. Had General Moore returned to England, an inquiry into his conduct must have taken place: the circumstance of his death, and the political convenience of both parties, prevented this; but they did not prevent impartial observers from forming their own judgement upon his campaign, and they must not prevent the historian from faithfully discharging his office.—There are three points to be considered. Ought Sir John Moore to have remained so long inactive? Ought he to have advanced when he did?

Ought he to have retreated as he did? On each of these points we happen to possess the opinion of the enemy.

"So splendid an armament,"* says the bulletin, "so strange an inactivity for the last six weeks, appears most unaccountable. During the months of November and December, the English beheld the destruction of the army of Gallicia at Espinosa; of the army of Estremadura at Burgos; of that of Aragon and Valencia at Tudela; of the army of reserve at Somosierra. In fine, they beheld the fall of Madrid, without making a single movement, and without any attempt to succour the Spanish armies; to whom, however, a division of English troops would have proved of considerable assistance."†—"If General Moore had marched upon Somosierra or Guadarrama, he would have covered Madrid, and given time to organize the defence of that capital; he would have rallied the wreck of the Spanish army; and, whether he succeeded or not, he would have tried his fortune with honour."‡—This was the movement which he ought to have made immediately after Blake's defeat. When General Hope was at Guadarrama, the rest of the army should have been at Somosierra and at Madrid. At Somosierra, the advantage of the pass would have compensated for their inferiority of numbers. There the battle should have been fought,—not at Coruna; there, on advanced ground, and in the face of Buonaparte,—not upon the last neck of land in the peninsula. Morla could not have betrayed the British army: he could not have betrayed Madrid, had there been a British force upon the spot, who would have directed the enthusiasm of the people, and deserved their confidence. Madrid was not more defenceless than Zaragoza, not more defenceless than Acre. Had there been a man like Scanderbeg at the head of the British army, the fortune of Buonaparte might have been for ever terminated before that city. Every trial which has been made between the two nations, from a skirmish of picquets to the battles of Vimiera and Talavera, warrants this presumption. The British soldiers are at this day as much superior to the French as they were in the days of the Plantagenets. O for a spirit like that of the Plantagenets to lead them on!.

Sir John Moore remained inactive till all the Spanish armies were dispersed, and the capital had been betrayed. "Then," says the bulletin, "he moved forward. Intoxicated with the silly hope of deceiving the French general, the English fell into the snare which the French general had laid for drawing them into the open country."§ This assertion the enemy have uniformly made. Buonaparte, we well know, scruples at no falsehood, when it will serve his purpose; but in this he has no purpose to serve. The plan of Marshal Soult, he tells us, was to decoy Sir John Moore into the open country. He must know the truth; and, upon this occasion, there is no reason why he should not declare it. What, on the other hand, were the English general's motives for advancing, and falling into the snare? Not Mr Frere's exhortations. He tells Mr Frere explicitly, that, upon a question merely military, he thought himself the best

* 20th Bulletin.
† 21st Bulletin.
‡ *Moniteur*, Sept. 14, 1810.
§ 22d Bulletin.

judge, and should never think of asking his advice or opinion. That minister proceeded upon the belief that Madrid held out against the enemy; Sir John knew that it had capitulated, and acted upon the contents of an intercepted letter, with which Mr Frere was unacquainted. But he acted against his own judgement; aware of the danger to which he exposed himself, and despairing of any good that could possibly result from the risk. "The movement I am making," he says, "is of the most dangerous kind. I not only risk to be surrounded every moment by superior forces, but to have my communication intercepted with Gallicia. I wish it to be apparent to the whole world, as it is to every individual of the army, that we have done every thing in our power in support of the Spanish cause, and that we do not abandon it, until long after the Spaniards had abandoned us. It was necessary to risk this army, to convince the people of England, as well as the rest of Europe, that the Spaniards had neither the power nor the inclination to make any efforts for themselves. With respect to the cause, it will probably have no effect. Even if I beat Marshal Soult, it will be attended with no other advantage than the character it will attach to the British arms." For advancing, therefore, when he did, Sir John Moore stands condemned, not only by the enemy, but by himself.

The skill of a general is never so completely manifested as in the management of a retreating army: greater military talents were displayed by Moreau in his retreat, than by Buonaparte in all his victories. It is needless to say how Sir John Moore conducted himself on a like occasion. We need only refer to the history of his army, from the time when they turned their backs to the enemy at Sahagun, till the battle of Coruna. The country through which he retreated is one of the strongest and most defensible in Europe; and the excuse which has been set up for the precipitation of his flight, that the French might have overtaken him by lateral roads, is false in fact. One road, and only one, crosses the Bierzo; that road is excellent. Yet even there he left behind him all his stores, his military chest, and not less than a fourth part of his army. To suppose, then, that he could be overtaken by mule-paths and sheep-tracks, over such mountains as those between Astorga and Lugo, is palpably absurd. Yet this retreat has been the subject of panegyric! Lord Castlereagh affirmed, that never was there, in the military history of any country, a more complete diversion; "it had completely succeeded in drawing the French forces from the pursuit of the Spanish armies, to the northern extremities of the peninsula;"—that is, it drew them *to* Coruna and Ferrol, and enabled the traitors there to deliver up those important places, and the Ferrol fleet, into their hands!—It has been said also, that Sir John, when he advanced against Soult, "saw clearly the whole plan which had been laid against him, prepared for the danger, calculated the time, and acquired the glory of being the first general who has frustrated Buonaparte!"*—that is, the glory of frustrating him by having run faster than he could follow.

Jan. 24.

Had there been no English army

* Mr James Moore's Narrative, p. 168.

to pursue, the French would have marched upon Seville and upon Lisbon. Something, therefore, was gained by the diversion, dearly as it was purchased, by the shame and the loss of the retreat. But the advantages that might have been gained by it were great indeed, if the plans of government had not been frustrated by the erroneous opinion and pusillanimity of the generals. Four regiments, and two troops of horse artillery were actually disembarked, because Sir David Baird wrote home for empty transports. Five regiments more of cavalry were under orders for Spain, and would have been dispatched as soon as the ships could have returned for them. If the two generals had not despaired of the Spanish cause, they would have found these reinforcements at Coruna: the tide would then have turned; the French were beaten, and with these forces they must inevitably have been destroyed. Not a man of Soult's army would have escaped. We had tried our speed with the enemy in retreat, and Englishmen would have spurred on with far greater alacrity when it came to their turn to be the pursuers. This we lost because the generals wanted hope! But want of hope was the radical weakness of Sir John Moore's mind; and it is proved, not only by his conduct during this campaign, but by a circumstance mentioned by Mr Hutchinson in the House of Commons.

Feb. 21.

After the death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Sir John Moore wrote to General Hutchinson in these words:—"I hope you see some prospect of terminating this expedition with success: left to my own mind, I own, it suggests nothing comfortable." How that expedition terminated is known to France, and to England, and the world; yet thus it was that General Moore looked on to its result! Personally, he was as brave a man as ever met death in the field; but he wanted faith in British courage, and it is faith by which miracles are wrought in war, as well as in religion. It is not by superior skill that we beat the French at sea;—the plan of defence at Trafalgar was as original and as masterly as the mode of attack; and their officers are as skilful as our own. When ships come to close quarters, it becomes a trial of courage; and herein it is that the superiority of the Englishman exists,—in his heart and essential nature.

The Spaniards, and especially the Gallicians, were cruelly calumniated by the friends of Sir John Moore and the opponents of ministers. The Gallicians were well excused by Buonaparte.—"You ought not,"—such is the language which he used in their character,—"you ought not to have advanced at first with such confidence, only to fall back afterwards with such precipitation. You should not have drawn the theatre of the war among us, and exposed us to the ravages of the two armies. After having brought down upon our heads such accumulations of disasters, you ought not to throw the fault upon us. We have not been able to resist the French troops, nor do you seem more able to make head against them. Forbear, therefore, to accuse and outrage us."* Even Buonaparte vindicated them thus against the base calumnies of a party in England: meanwhile they were triumphantly vindicating themselves.

* 23d Bulletin.

CHAP. V.

Colonel Wardle gives Notice of a Motion against the Duke of York. Retrospective View of Circumstances relative to the Duke. The Plain Statement. Libels upon the Duke. Major Hogan's Appeal. Its Falsehood detected. Prosecutions instituted by the Duke. Debate upon Colonel Wardle's Motion.

Jan. 20. ON the second day of the session, Colonel Wardle gave notice that he should, on that day week, submit to the House a motion relative to the conduct of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, commander-in-chief of the British army, with respect to the granting of commissions, the making of exchanges, and the raising of levies for the army.

In the August of the preceding year an anonymous pamphlet was published, entitled "A Plain Statement of the Conduct of the Ministry and the Opposition towards his Royal Highness the Duke of York." It was the most remarkable political tract of modern times. Among many curious passages which it contained was the following:—"Since the days of William III. there have existed in this kingdom two avowed parties,—an opposition and a ministry. As a defence from the overwhelming predominance of either, every succeeding monarch has deemed it necessary to have a kind of domestic party, a kind of closet and family council, whom he may occasionally interpose between even his ministry and himself. The origin of this party has been imputed to his Majesty's father, or rather to his mother, whilst Princess-Dowager of Wales; but the point of fact is, that it existed in the reign of George I., and seems to have had no other origin than in its manifest necessity. It was not the creature of any design or previous arrangement, but, as a matter of prudence and necessary defensive policy, grew insensibly out of the very nature of things. Now, the immediate and almost necessary members of this party are certainly the king's family and household. From whom else, indeed, should a family council,—a domestic cabinet,—be composed, but of the members of the family,—of those who must necessarily have a community of interest, and sympathy in feeling? The heir-apparent alone, for very obvious reasons, is seldom a member of this closet council: all the other princes are almost necessarily in the immediate confidence of their sovereign and father. Let it not, there-

fore, be objected to the Duke of York, that he has followed the course of things, and, with the queen, is at the head of the king's friends."

Upon the first appearance of this extraordinary pamphlet, the best London papers affirmed that it had evidently been written under the eye, and published with the sanction of the Duke of York himself; and some of them asserted that it must have had the concurrence of the highest authority in the kingdom. Such, however, was the general astonishment which it excited, and so forcible and constitutional were the comments which it called forth, that it was speedily disavowed by the duke's friends, and disappeared from circulation, though not before a second edition had been published, in which some of the most incautious expressions were expunged; those, in particular, which represented the queen as being at the head of the king's friends, and the heir apparent as generally excluded from the closet council. The avowal of this private privy-council, this party behind the throne, this *sanctum sanctorum* of the state, though the most remarkable part of this curious pamphlet, was not the main purpose for which it was written. Its object was to complain that the Duke of York was not merely deserted by all parties, but even persecuted by all; that a system of anonymous attack was carried on against him, against which he could find no protection in any ministry, though he had appealed for it. Their answer was, that they had no influence or authority over the free press; that the law was open to his royal highness; and that the attorney-general might be instructed to prosecute; but that they advised him to hold all such libellous accusations in contempt. To this it was replied, that, notwithstanding this disavowal of any influence or authority over the free press, that press was notoriously divided between the two leading parties in the country; and the ministers and the opposition had the same influence, not to say authority, over the newspapers, as if they were the actual editors; that the encouragement, the countenance, the impunity of these libellers, was the efficient cause of all their insolence; that, though the law was open, "there might be innumerable allusions, inuendoes, and even assertions, which had substance enough to wound, and that most deeply, but were not palpable enough for the visitation of the law; that the terms of these cold-blooded libels were so studiously picked and culled, as to elude the just vengeance of the law; and even were they not so, there were many subjects which, however grossly offensive to all honourable feeling, could not be laid open before a court of justice; for there was a necessary and indiscriminating publicity in law, from which a mind of any delicacy could not but avert." After this avowal that the calumnies which were complained of were not within reach of the law, and that the duke did not desire legal redress, it is not easy to discover what redress was wanted. The writer, however, lamented that the natural and necessary protection due to his rank and station should be withheld from his royal highness, and exclaimed, "In what manner has Coriolanus offended both the consuls and the senate, that he is cast out naked, to meet his fate among the factious tribunes?"

Whenever any great expedition to the continent has been talked of, there has always prevailed a rumour

that the Duke of York was to have the command. These rumours never failed to excite a general uneasiness. Such an appointment would have been as little agreeable to the ministry as to the army and the nation, and every ministry, therefore, was well pleased at seeing the public opinion expressed plainly in the newspapers, because it either prevented the duke from pressing to be employed, or supplied them with a valid excuse for resisting his solicitations. It was this which the pamphleteer complained of. The indecent language in the daily prints, he said, was certainly not from the mouth of ministers; but the editors of those prints would never write thus, "unless they were persuaded that they were advocating a cause generally pleasing to their patrons. No instance had ever occurred in which a billet from Downing street had been refused admission, and, if required, an ample confirmatory comment through all the treasury papers." The disposition of ministers, indeed, upon this subject could not be doubted, and the decorous manner in which the papers under their controul expressed the universal opinion of the country, produced even a greater effect than the language of those writers whose comments were mingled with personal asperity. Of these men there were some whose talents were equal to their animosity; others whose insolence and brutality would have made them worthy of contempt and abhorrence, even if the matter of their scurrility had been true. Cobbett stung like a scorpion; but such libellers as Hague were like vermin, whose filth is more offensive than their venom.

It cannot be denied that the Duke of York had been singularly unfortunate as a commander. This was the topic upon which the hostile newspapers assailed him, and this was sufficient to make him unpopular. Every person remembered his campaign in Flanders, and the capitulation of the Helder; and few were capable of judging how far these disasters were to be imputed to the ministry who planned the operations, rather than the general who executed them. Another circumstance materially injured the duke in the public opinion:—the whole foppery of the army, in all the variety of extravagant and senseless fashions with which it had for many years abounded, was ascribed to him, though, in most instances, it was more imputable to the colonels of the respective regiments, and though the volunteer corps had proved that this kind of display suited the humour of the times. The inconvenience of some of these fashions was so glaring as to excite general ridicule; and thus the duke laboured under an imputation of follies which he had rather suffered than committed; while the real, essential, and important reforms which he had made in the army were known to few. There were ill reports also with respect to his conduct as commander-in-chief. It was said that the readiest mode of obtaining promotion in the army was through one of the duke's mistresses, and that money well applied in that direction was sure of its object. Stories of this nature had long been prevalent; but they became more frequent, and obtained a more general belief towards the close of the year 1808, in consequence of an Appeal to the Public, and a Farewell Address to the Army, published by Brevet-Ma-

jor Hogan, late a captain in the 32d regiment of infantry. This gentleman, producing attestations of his character and good conduct from the various officers under whom he had served, stated, that he had presented a memorial of his services to his royal highness, requesting promotion, had lodged his money for purchase, and had his name regularly inserted in the quarterly regimental returns, agreeably to the duke's regulations: he therefore sought no particular favour, but merely applied for that, to which, according to the established practice of the army, and the ordinary routine of promotion, he was fully entitled. An answer was returned to the memorial by the duke's secretary, saying, that "his name had been noted for promotion, and his claims would be considered, on a favourable opportunity offering." This promise was afterwards personally repeated and confirmed by the duke himself. A year and a half elapsed, and Major Hogan obtained no promotion. A circular letter was at that time addressed by the commander-in-chief to officers commanding second battalions; and in that which was addressed to the 32d regiment, his royal highness expressed a hope that, in the course of six months, a levy of 400 men, in addition to its present numbers, would be raised, as otherwise "the reduction of the second battalion of that regiment would become a measure indispensably due to a just consideration of public economy." The officers were also assured, "that their exertions on this occasion would not fail to recommend them to his Majesty's notice; and that if they could carry the strength of the levy beyond the number specified, it would be a very acceptable proof of their zealous discharge of this important branch of their duty."

The battalion to which Major Hogan was attached raised nearly 500 recruits within the time specified, and no less than 726, exclusive of militia volunteers, within thirteen months,—the major himself contributing 155 from his station at Birmingham. This remarkable success he attributed entirely to Mr Windham's plan of limited service. Having thus zealously and successfully discharged this branch of his duty, he renewed his application to the commander-in-chief, and received from Colonel Gordon the same unvarying answer, that "his name was duly noted for promotion, and would be duly considered, as favourable opportunities should occur." Provoked at this, Major Hogan obtained an interview with the duke in person, submitted to the recollection of his royal highness the long time he had been seeking for promotion, and the manner in which he had been recommended to his notice; and represented, that since he had been noted on his royal highness's list, upwards of forty captains had been promoted without purchase, all of whom were junior to him in rank, and many of whom were not in the army when he was a captain. He concluded (according to his own statement) in these words:—"My applications for promotion have been made in the manner prescribed by the practice of the army, and by the King's regulations,—unfortunately without success. Other ways, please your royal highness, have been recommended to me, and frequent propositions have been made, by those who affected to possess the means of securing that object, that for 600l.

I could obtain a majority without purchase, which is little more than half the sum I had lodged to purchase * promotion in the regular course. But I rejected such a proposition; for even were such a thing possible, I would feel it unworthy of me, as a British officer, and as a man, to owe the King's commission to low intrigue or petticoat influence." Major Hogan says he expected an instantaneous expression of gratitude from his royal highness for this candid declaration; that he looked for an immediate demand of explanation, (which indeed he might more reasonably have expected,) and was prepared with ample evidence to satisfy the commander-in-chief that such proceedings were daily going on as were disgraceful to the character of the army. But no question was put: the duke seemed confounded, and was silent, and the major withdrew. It was soon intimated to him that he had given offence, and that it was most likely he would never obtain promotion. This he would not believe, expecting that he should be called upon by the duke's order for some explanation, and that an inquiry would be instituted. "I am still ready," he said, in his Appeal, "to substantiate what I said to his royal highness by the most irrefragable evidence. I have that evidence by me: indeed I am in possession of such facts as it would be imprudent in me to write, and as no printer in England, perhaps, would venture to publish. But if any member of either House of Parliament should be disposed to take up the subject, I can furnish him with materials that would enable him to make such an *exposé*, as shall stagger even the credulity proverbially ascribed to this country."

The Appeal, in general, was written in a plain and manly † style: it

* "The money paid in the regular course goes into a public fund, which is not tangible by any public officer for private purposes, while the private *douceur* is wholly applicable to such purposes."—*Major Hogan's Pamphlet.*

† The following passage, however exaggerated the statement, will shew what were the general topics of complaint:—"It may be observed," said Major Hogan, "that there are many officers who have much stronger grounds of discontent, who are in a much worse situation than I am. This may be the fact; but does that deprive me of the right to complain? and is it not rather an aggravation of the case to which my complaint applies? If it be true that there are in the army several lieutenants of above ten years standing, who have devoted their lives and their minds to the service, who have preserved unsullied reputations, who have fought and bled for their country, while there are mere boys, without military experience or military merit, at the head of troops and companies;—if it be true that thirty or forty officers resign every month through disgust;—if it be true that the inclinations of capricious regard are preferred to the claims of solid merit;—if it be true that some officers, who obtained their commissions without purchase, are, without any professional services, permitted through favour to sell out, while others (as in my own case) are rigidly confined to the sum recorded to have been originally paid;—if it be true that favourites are preferred to generals; that ignorance, cowardice, and even superannuation, if recommended by wealth and rank, and accompanied by sycophancy and meanness, are more likely to succeed than intelligence, courage, and vigour, if introduced only by their merit and value, and accompanied by man-

was not, however, without a mixture of sarcasm. It had been often observed to him, the major said, that he would have had no reason to complain, if he had proceeded in the *proper way* to seek promotion. "But what," said he, "is meant by the *proper way?* I applied to the Duke of York, because he was commander-in-chief. To his royal highness I was directed by the King's orders to apply, and with those orders alone I felt it consistent with my duty as an officer, and my honour as a gentleman, to comply. But if any other person had been the substitute of the Duke of York, I should have made my application to that person. If a *Cooke*, a *Creswell*, a *Clarke*, a *Sinclair*, or a *Carey*, or any other name, had been invested by his Majesty with the office of commander-in-chief, to that person I should have applied; nay, if it had pleased his Majesty to confer upon a female the *direct command* of the army, I should have done my duty in applying to the legal repository of power; but to none other should I condescend to apply." Such passages as this gratified that itch for private scandal which is the disgrace of the present age. But the part which more especially excited public attention was the conclusion of his story. Finding it hopeless to look for promotion, he sent in his resignation, and was answered by Colonel Gordon, that he could only be allowed to receive the sum which his commission had cost him, amounting to 750l. In the account which accompanied this reply the sums which he had paid for his ensigncy and captain-lieutenancy were omitted; and he learnt, upon inquiry, that as the purchase of those commissions was not mentioned in the records of the War-office, he could not, according to the Duke of York's order, be allowed any compensation for them. Upon this Major Hogan obtained a certificate from the office where he bought his ensigncy, transmitted it to the Horse Guards, and was in consequence allowed the amount. Of the purchase of the other step he was, from some unexplained cause, unable to obtain a document, and therefore the 400l. which he had paid for it was withheld. He now advertised his Appeal. On the evening of the day when his advertisement first appeared, a lady, in a fashionable barouche, with two footmen, called at the newspaper-office to learn his address; and on the following evening a lady left a letter at the door of his lodgings, containing bills to the a-

liness and independence;—if it be true that the glory of our arms and the fate of our army may be risked to provide distinctions for a blockhead, to gratify the vanity of a coxcomb, or to reward the attentions of a parasite;—if it be true that parliamentary, personal, or family influence, is allowed to supersede the highest pretensions of professional excellence; or that the allurements of Venus are suffered, in any respect, to interfere with the interests of Mars;—I must, in common with every man of feeling, integrity, and common sense, express the most sincere regret. But if the existence of such abuses be adduced to silence my complaint, I would answer, in the words of my motto,

> Let others tamely suffer if they will,
> I'll state my wrongs, and tell them to the world."

mount of 400l., to answer for the deficit of which he complained, which, it was said, was not allowed him through mere oversight. "I hope," the writer continued, "this will prevent the publication of your intended pamphlet; and if it does, you may rely upon a better situation than the one you had. When I find that you have given up all idea of opening your *secrets* to public view, (which would hurt you with all the royal family,) I shall make myself known to you, and shall be happy in your future acquaintance and friendship, by which, I promise you, you will reap much benefit. If you will recal the advertisement, you shall hear from me, and your claims shall be rewarded as they deserve." With this letter Major Hogan concluded his statement, annexing to it certificates from the person who received it at the door, and from four gentlemen who happened to be in his company when he opened it. He added, that the person who inclosed the 400l. not having left any address, he could not ascertain to whom he should return the notes; but they should be delivered to any person bringing an account of their numbers.

The former part of Major Hogan's pamphlet was a plain statement, supported by vouchers, which could not be contradicted. Without its seasoning of scandal it would have attracted little notice; and the obvious remark, that the author was a disappointed man, would have been thought a sufficient answer to all his complaints. But this epilogue gave wings to the story. Cobbett pronounced it to be the most interesting publication that had appeared in England for many years, and one which ought to be read by every individual in the nation. So greedily was it demanded, that after more than ten thousand copies had been sold, a second copy was composed, and four presses kept at work upon it without intermission. It did not, however, pass without exciting strong suspicions of the author's veracity. Would any officer, it was asked, have dared to address such language to the commander-in-chief in person? Could any disappointment provoke, justify, or even palliate such an insult? And for the letter with the 400l., was it not a trick, a gross and palpable trick? What so easy as to write the letter himself, or, by one of his accomplices, intrust it to some female actor in the farce, and have it delivered to him in the presence of respectable witnesses? And he was called upon to publish the number of the notes, that they might be traced either to the unknown agent from whom he pretended to have received them, or into his own previous possession, which it was confidently pronounced would be the case. Even Cobbett repeated this call, believing the story, and therefore demanding a proof which might so easily be given. No answer was made to it, and this journalist then declared that Major Hogan was condemned by his own silence. To parry this blow, it was asserted, that before the publication of the pamphlet he had sailed for America, leaving it to be edited by a person of the name of Finnerty. This satisfied Cobbett, but it did not satisfy the people. The prevailing opinion was, that the general statement in the Appeal was malicious and false, and the concluding circumstance a trick, which had been detected and exposed. A prosecution was commenced against Finnerty, and against no less than six-and-twenty printers

and publishers, for extracting from his pamphlet and recommending it. It was in vain that they all retracted their commendations, acknowledged that they had been deceived, and pronounced the whole story false and libellous.—An opportunity was now found of taking vengeance upon the journalists for the license in which they had long indulged; the prosecutions were persisted in, notwithstanding this submission and atonement; and the newspaper press was nearly silenced by the duke at the time when Colonel Wardle's motion was brought forward.

Jan. 27. This motion came on in the second week of the session. Colonel Wardle introduced his charges by expressing a confident hope that zeal for the honour of his country, supported by strong and incontrovertible facts, would enable him to rescue the state from the baneful influence of a power which had long been exercised for the worst of purposes, and which tended to endanger our ultimate security. "To stand forward," said he, "the public accuser of a man so high in rank and so strong in influence as the commander-in-chief, may very naturally be deemed no less a bold than an arduous undertaking. But, however bold, however arduous it may be, being determined that no consideration of that nature shall ever induce any hesitation or wavering in the performance of my duty, either upon this or upon any other occasion, my mind is fully made up for perseverance. In the resolution I have formed, it is but reasonable for me to calculate upon the concurrence and co-operation of this House and the country; for at a crisis of peculiar peril, when the great, if not the only means of our safety may depend upon the judicious organization and able direction of our military force, every man in the community must feel a lively interest in the object which my motion has in view. I trust, therefore, his Royal Highness the Duke of York will this night find, that, however exalted his rank, however powerful his influence, the voice of the people, through their representatives, will prevail over corruption, and justice will be done to the calls of a long-suffering and meritorious body, to the best, to the vital interests of the people. In the course which I am pursuing, I feel conscious of no motive but that of a desire to serve my country, and I am confident that none other can be fairly ascribed to me. The conviction of my mind is, and for some time has been, that unless the system of corruption that has so long prevailed in the military department be done away, this country may fall an easy prey to the enemy."

After this preamble, he proceeded to the point, and began by explaining the nature of the half-pay fund. This, which is an establishment under the direction of the commander-in-chief, arises out of the sale of commissions vacant by death, or by the promotion of officers who are not allowed to sell, or by dismissions from the service. The power of the commander-in-chief over this fund was constituted and intended for the reward of merit, either by the appointment of meritorious officers to the commissions which so became vacant, or by selling them, and applying the produce to the redemption of half-pay commissions, or to the compassionate fund. Here his power ceases; and if these commissions are other-

wise disposed of, the authority vested in him is abused, and the objects of the fund are abandoned. "Now," said Colonel Wardle, "if I can shew that these commissions are appropriated to very different purposes, it will, of course, appear that such abuse and abandonment do take place; that merit is not rewarded; that the half-pay list is not reduced; that the compassionate fund is not assisted. For the purpose of shewing this, it is absolutely necessary to call the attention of the House to another establishment of the commander-in-chief's, which is quite of a different complexion. This establishment, which consisted of a splendid house in Gloucester Place, a variety of carriages, and a long retinue of servants, commenced in the year 1803, and at the head of it was placed a lady of the name of Clarke. As this lady forms a principal party in several of the facts which I have to cite, I am under the necessity, however reluctantly, to mention her name, as well as that of others, in order to make out a fair parliamentary basis for my motion, and to satisfy the House that I have not brought it forward upon light grounds."

The first case which was stated was that of Capt. Tonyn,—"whom," said Colonel Wardle, "I understand to be an officer of merit; and in alluding to him upon this occasion, I beg it may be understood that I mean no reflection whatever upon his character. This officer, who held his captaincy in the 48th regiment of foot, was promoted to a majority in the 31st, according to the gazette, on the 2d of August, 1804. He was indebted for this promotion (to which he was entitled by his professional merit, but for which he might long have looked in vain) to the influence of Mrs Clarke. Captain Tonyn was introduced to that lady by Captain Huxley Sandon, of the royal waggon train. The terms of agreement were, that Mrs Clarke should be paid 500l. upon his majority's being gazetted, and this sum should be lodged meantime in the hands of Mr Jeremiah Donovan, a surgeon of Charles's street, St James's square. This Mr Donovan was appointed a lieutenant in the 4th royal garrison battalion in 1802, and was afterwards promoted to the 11th battalion, but, since the day of his appointment, he had never joined his regiment. There seems," said Colonel Wardle, "to be some reason for granting him a perpetual leave of absence, as he has been on constant duty in London. * Major Tonyn was gazetted, and the money, which had been lodged in Mr

* This gentleman had given a written scale of Mrs Clarke's prices for commissions, which ran thus, as contrasted with the regular prices of the army:—

	Mrs Clarke's Prices.	*Regulated Prices.*
A Majority,	L.900	L.2600
A Company,	700	1500
A Lieutenancy,	400	550
An Ensigncy,	200	400

"From which it appears," said Colonel Wardle, "that the half-pay fund lost in an enormous ratio to the gain of Mrs Clarke, or of any other individual acting upon the same system."

Donovan's hands, was then paid to Mrs Clarke by Captain Huxley Sandou. The regulated difference between a company and a majority is 1100l.; but in this instance Mrs Clarke gained 500l., and 1100l. were lost to the half-pay fund. This sum of 500l. was paid by Mrs Clarke to Mr Birket, a silversmith, in part payment for a service of plate for the establishment in Gloucester Place, the balance for which plate was afterwards paid by the Duke of York. From this case," Colonel Wardle affirmed, "it was clearly deducible that Mrs Clarke possessed the power of military promotion; that she received pecuniary consideration for such promotion; and that the commander-in-chief was a partaker in the benefit arising from such pecuniary consideration."

The second case was an exchange, concluded, on the 25th of July, 1805, through the influence of Mrs Clarke, between Lieutenant-Colonel Brooke of the 56th regiment of infantry, and Lieutenant-Colonel Knight of the 5th dragoon guards. Mrs Clarke wanted some money to defray the expences of an excursion into the country; she therefore urged the commander-in-chief to expedite this exchange, as she was to receive 200l. for it. Her request was made on a Thursday; the exchange was gazetted upon the Saturday following; and Mrs Clarke received in consequence 200l., from a physician named Dr Thynne, who negociated the transaction. Here, then, was a case which proved that exchanges, as well as promotions, were at the disposal of Mrs Clarke, and that the purse of the commander-in-chief was saved by the supply which his mistress derived from such sources. As a contrast to this exchange, Colonel Wardle stated a case of peculiar hardship, which occurred within the preceding year. Two meritorious officers, Major Macdonald and Major Sinclair, were anxious to make an exchange; the one desiring, for the recovery of his health, to remain in England, while the other, from a similar motive, desired to go to the West Indies. These gentlemen sought their object by every honourable means: the most urgent requests and the most respectable recommendations were made in their favour, but in vain. No mistress was resorted to; no bribe was offered. Major Macdonald was forced to go to the West Indies, and fell immediately a victim to the climate: Major Sinclair was forced to remain in England, and survived but a few months.

The next case related to Major John Shaw, of Colonel Champagne's Ceylon regiment, who was appointed deputy barrack-master of the Cape of Good Hope through Mrs Clarke's influence. It was known that the Duke of York was prejudiced against this officer, but as it was agreed to pay Mrs Clarke 1000l. for the appointment, this obstacle was easily overcome. The appointment was made, and the major himself paid her 300l.; 200l. more was soon after sent by Major Shaw's uncle, through Coutts's bank, and the payment was made by one of Mr Coutts's clerks. The remaining 500l. was not paid; and when it was found not to be forthcoming, Mrs Clarke complained to the commander-in-chief of the major's breach of contract, and he was in consequence shortly afterwards put on half pay. Colonel Wardle added, that he was in possession of several letters upon this subject from Major and Mrs Shaw, threatening both the commander-in-

chief and Mrs Clarke with public exposure; and that having examined the half-pay list, to see whether any similar reduction to that of Major Shaw had taken place in the barrack department, he had found it to be the only instance of such an officer being reduced to half-pay; such officers being kept on full pay, even on the home staff. Hence he argued that Mrs Clarke's influence extended to appointments on the staff; that the commander-in-chief punished an individual, by reducing him from full to half pay, for non-performance of a nefarious contract with his mistress; and that the said commander-in-chief was a direct party to all this shameful transaction.

The next case was that of Colonel French, who was appointed to conduct a levy in the years 1804-5. The colonel was introduced to Mrs Clarke by Captain Huxley Sandon, and the condition upon which he obtained his appointment was, that Mrs Clarke should have one guinea out of the bounty of each man raised, together with the sale or patronage of a certain number of the commissions. The agreement being concluded, it was communicated to and approved by the commander-in-chief. Colonel French was accordingly sent by Mrs Clarke to the Horse Guards, and, after many interviews, the levy was set on foot. As it proceeded, Mrs Clarke received several sums of money from Colonel French, Captain Huxley Sandon, and a Mr Corri. She also received 500l. from Mr Cockayne, a well-known solicitor in Lyons-Inn, and a friend of Captain Huxley Sandon. In what follows, the commander-in-chief alone is implicated. His royal highness required a loan of 5000l. from Colonel French, and Mr Grant of Barnards-Inn promised to comply with the request, and procure the money, provided the commander-in-chief would use his influence, and obtain payment to Colonel French of a balance due to him by government on account of the levy. This was promised; but the commander-in-chief failing to fulfil his part of the conditions, the loan which he required was not advanced, and 3000l. still remain due from government to Colonel French. This case, therefore, not only proves the influence possessed by Mrs Clarke, and the corrupt manner in which it was exercised, but also that the commander-in-chief endeavoured to derive a pecuniary accommodation for himself, independently of the advantages obtained by his mistress.

Colonel Wardle specified the witnesses whom he could bring forward to substantiate these several charges. The last case which he brought forward was that of Captain Maling, who was appointed, he said, to an ensigncy in the 87th regiment in 1805, to a lieutenancy in the same regiment, in 1806, and to a captaincy in the royal African corps in 1808. This promotion was effected through the influence of the favourite agent, Mr Greenwood, in whose office Mr Maling was a clerk, remaining at his desk, while advanced in the army by such an extraordinary course,—a course which interfered with the interests, and superseded the rights, of many meritorious officers who had long served in the army, and who had fought and bled for their country. "There is one thing more," said he, "to which I cannot forbear alluding. The House must be astonished, indeed, at the corruption of the times, when told, that there is at this moment a public office in the city for the sale of commissions, at the same reduced scale

as that of Mrs Clarke, and that the persons who manage this office stated in my presence that they were the agents of the present favourite mistress, Mrs Carey. These agents declared farther, that they were also enabled to dispose of places both in church and state; and they did not hesitate to say, that they were employed by two of the first officers in the administration. But these are points on which I may at some future time feel myself more enabled to speak at large. The facts which I have already stated are such as must suggest serious reflections to any man's mind, and the House must feel the necessity of grounding some proceeding upon them." He then moved for the appointment of a committee, to investigate the conduct of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, the commander-in-chief, with regard to promotions, exchanges, and appointments to commissions in the army, and in raising levies for the army. Sir Francis Burdett seconded the motion.

Few speeches have ever been listened to with such attention as this in the House of Commons, or perused with such eager curiosity by the people. Confidently, however, as the charges were made, they were heard with equal confidence by the friends of the duke, and by the ministry. The secretary at war, Sir James Pulteney, said, that "were he to oppose the motion, he should ill consult the wishes, and worse consult the interests, of the commander-in-chief. With regard to the private transactions which Colonel Wardle had stated, he had never heard of them before, and therefore could not be prepared to give an answer; but those which were stated to have occurred at the Horse Guards he could contradict." Sir Arthur Wellesley said, "he knew how promotions were conducted in the office of the commander-in-chief. It was regularly recorded in that office who recommended the promotion, and the documents would be found there, so that all these transactions might be completely traced. With respect to the removal of the barrack-master of the Cape of Good Hope, though the facts stated should be true, it constituted no ground of charge, for it was in the ordinary course of the service; and as to the exchange between an officer going to the West Indies, and one remaining here, the commander-in-chief would be in a most extraordinary situation, if it was to be made a ground of accusation against him, that he had not consented to an arrangement for the convenience of individuals. Never was there an army in a better state, as far as depended on the commander-in-chief." Mr Yorke was not contented with defending the duke. "Never," he said, "had he listened to a charge more serious, and he had heard it with the greatest possible concern, both on account of his Royal Highness, and of the honourable gentleman who, by bringing it forward, had taken so heavy a responsibility upon himself. But he was glad that the House had come at last to some charges against the commander-in-chief in a tangible form. At length they could reach, in a tangible shape, some of those libels which had for some time past been more assiduously and pertinaciously circulated than at any former period in this country, prolific as it was in libels. Libellous publications against the Duke of York had been lately circulated with a pertinacity hitherto unexampled, but something

was now brought forward in a tangible shape; and he hoped the House would do its duty to itself, to the country, and to the royal house of Brunswick, that blame might rest where it ought to be fixed, and that, if there was no ground for these accusations, justice might be done to the commander-in-chief. If this should turn out to be the case, he sincerely wished that the honourable gentleman who brought forward the accusation would be able to acquit himself, by shewing at least that there existed some probable reasons in support of so heavy a charge. For my own part," Mr Yorke continued, "I believe that there exists a conspiracy of the most atrocious and diabolical kind against his royal highness, founded upon the jacobinical spirit which appeared at the commencement of the French revolution; for though that spirit may not show itself in the same form as at first, when once raised, it is not easily quelled; and it never can promote its views with better hopes of success than by talking down illustrious persons. By means of the press, the liberty of which was so valuable, and the licentiousness of which was so pernicious, it was the design of the conspirators to write down the military system through the commander-in-chief, the army through the generals, other establishments through the persons most conspicuous in each, and the royal family through the Duke of York. This was a consequence of a free press: its freedom is justly considered the palladium of liberty, but its licentiousness is the destruction of civil society. That licentiousness has been actively directed against the illustrious person who is the object of this motion, and who, from his station and all his past services, might be supposed secure from its attacks. Let blame fall where it ought; but the House ought to consider the illustrious object against whom the charge was directed; they ought to consider his high station, and the eminent services which he had performed for the country, in the state to which he had brought the army. It scarcely deserved the name of an army when he became commander-in-chief, and it was now found by experience to be, in proportion to its numbers, the best army that ever existed.—I believe that a conspiracy exists; and if the House will go with me, and suppose this actually to be the case, the best mode to do justice to the sovereign, to do justice to the high character thus impeached, and to do justice to the country, would be to appoint a parliamentary commission, with power to examine each party on oath. The importance of the subject well deserves such a mode of proceeding."

Upon this Sir Francis Burdett replied, "that in seconding the motion then under consideration, he could have no other view than what was entertained by Mr Yorke himself,—that charges so serious should be fully investigated; entertaining the same hope, also, that the inquiry would terminate in the entire exculpation of his royal highness. There could be no other feeling in the House upon the subject; and indeed if it had not been for the facts so strongly stated by Colonel Wardle, he could not have felt even the shadow of a suspicion that it could possibly be otherwise." Mr William Adam then rose. "From the situation," he said, "which he had gratuitously filled, in the way of his profession, in the service of the Duke of York, he was enabled to speak with certainty respecting his revenues, and

every circumstance connected with them. During twenty years he had possessed his unlimited confidence,—even during his embarrassments; for as they had been under the consideration of Parliament, he might advert to those embarrassments. In all that long experience, his royal highness has uniformly stated the situation of his affairs with an extraordinary accuracy; a truth beyond example; and a fidelity of memory which reflected the highest credit upon his understanding. In all that time he had never heard of his having procured any accommodation or loan on any other terms than the Dukes of Bedford, or Devonshire, or Northumberland would, if they had occasion. If, therefore, any such irregularities or transactions took place, as were now charged upon his royal highness, it was almost impossible but that, in the course of his inquiries, some feature of such a system would have appeared; so that from what he himself knew, he could confidently assert, that the charges would prove unfounded. Having felt it his duty to make this statement, he had next," he said, "to impress upon the House, that, both in justice to its own privileges and to the dignified character of the illustrious personage who was arraigned before them, it ought not to surrender its inquisitorial powers, nor delegate to any select or secret committee, that inquiry which, to be efficient, ought to be public, and for the publicity of which there was no person in the country more anxious than his Royal Highness the Duke of York himself."

Mr Wilberforce agreed with Mr Yorke, that the best mode of inquiry would be by a parliamentary commission, specially delegated for that specific purpose. "Whoever," he said, "had attended to the consequences of public examination at the bar of the House, could not be blind to the numerous and fatal inconveniencies of such a proceeding. It could not be conducted with impartiality, because of the interference of party spirit; and the very object for which it was proposed was too often defeated by the means. But by the appointment of a commission, the witnesses would be examined upon oath; all party bias and personal altercation would be prevented, and of course a weight and confidence would be attached to the decision of those delegated, and to the testimony of those examined, which it was impossible to expect from any public discussion or examination at the bar. It was for the House to bear strongly in its recollection, that, in the present unexampled state of the civilized world, all Europe looked with a vigilant and anxious attention to the deliberations of the British House of Commons. That House was now put on its trial before the scrutinizing tribunal of public opinion. It had to render justice both to the illustrious personage, whose character he expected would come clear and unsullied from the ordeal, and to the country, which was equally interested in the result. The claims of the public demanded that the representatives of the people should look to substantial justice, however high the rank, eminent the services, or splendid the connections of the personage against whom such charges were preferred. And that justice, he conceived, could be most satisfactorily obtained by an inquiry, private in its progress, but to be public in its result, particularly when he reflected on the description of persons likely to be examined, and

the importance of the interests affected by the accusation."

Mr Perceval was of a different opinion. "The more," he said, "the House reflected upon the importance of the subject, the more it would concur with Mr Adam in thinking that it ought not to lay aside its inquisitorial functions in this instance. He could state, upon the authority of the Duke of York himself, that the most ready course of prosecuting the inquiry would be the most agreeable to him, and that he deprecated nothing so much as a course which might impede the final result. That illustrious personage wished, like any other subject, to be put publicly upon his trial, and to stand acquitted or convicted upon the case which might be made out, at the same time that he had a thorough conviction that he should exculpate himself from all charge." Mr Perceval added, "from the nature of the facts which had been already stated, he would stake his reputation, that it was impossible, after the result of the inquiry, for even any suspicion to attach to his royal highness. The House would pause before it departed from its established usage, to adopt a parliamentary commission. He felt the inconvenience of a parliamentary inquiry, but that inconvenience must be encountered on so important an occasion." Then adverting to another part of Colonel Wardle's speech, "that honourable gentleman," he said, "had stated a circumstance which particularly involved the character of his Majesty's government;—he had mentioned that two members of the King's cabinet were concerned in an agency for the disposal of government patronage. This was a topic on which he felt it due to himself to require the fullest information, and it was for Colonel Wardle to determine whether he would afford it in a public manner in that House, or by a private communication to some of the responsible servants of the crown. When that information was given, no means would be left undone to unravel and elucidate the truth or falsehood of the allegation, nor any diligence omitted to bring the delinquents, if any there should be, to justice. In this great capital it might happen that foolish persons were frequently deceived by advertisements in the public papers, announcing the disposal of official patronage; and perhaps it had occasionally turned out, that the very persons who were originally deceived by these advertisements to make applications, did ultimately obtain the very appointments for which they had endeavoured to negociate; but he was convinced, that as there was nothing so discreditable to government, so there was nothing more false in fact, than the idea that money was paid to persons high in office for such transactions."

Colonel Wardle replied, "the office where this agency was transacted was in a court in Threadneedle street. The names of the agents in that office were Heylop and Pullen. They had stated various situations purchased in the island of Jamaica, and that the two members of the present cabinet for whom they acted in such negociations, and to whom he alluded in his speech, were the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Portland." At this the House rung with peals of laughter, so outrageously absurd the accusation was thought, and such was the surprise of all the members, the scorn of many, and the triumph of those who came to the investigation more with the temper of

advocates than of judges. It was carried, without a dissenting voice, that the conduct of his royal highness the commander-in-chief should be referred to a committee; and Mr Perceval then moved, that it should be a committee of the whole House. Lord Folkestone objected to this, because of the well-known inconvenience resulting from such an inquiry. The ends of justice he thought would best be answered by a select committee, from whose reports all the benefits of publicity would be derived; and he expressed his surprise that the chancellor of the exchequer should interfere with the mode of proceeding which the honourable mover had adopted. Mr Canning replied, "that this interference was not to restrict, but to extend inquiry,—not to narrow the means, but to enlarge the sphere of deliberation. The mode now proposed was established by various precedents, nor did the honourable mover himself manifest any unwillingness to submit his charges to the House of Commons in its most extended capacity. That gentleman had declared, that in calling the attention of Parliament to this very important subject, he was solely actuated by a sense of public duty, being free from any hostile feeling toward the elevated personage whose character his charges went so vitally to affect: He could not then be dissatisfied with those who placed him upon the most commanding stage to reap the benefit of his patriotic labours. He surely must be aware, that having undertaken the responsible task of submitting to a British House of Commons such a serious accusation, whatever might be the issue of the investigation, in whatever view the House should consider the transactions which he had disclosed, whether they should be refuted or substantiated, infamy must attach somewhere, either upon the accused, or the accuser. From the system which had been deliberately pursued for some time past by the enemies of his royal highness, he had to congratulate that illustrious personage, and at the same time to thank the honourable mover, for this opportunity of canvassing the subject upon charges preferred in a tangible shape. That royal personage had long been subjected to the systematic calumnies of a set of unprincipled libellers; he had been treated in their vile and malignant publications with a brutality of insult which almost made good men hesitate in deciding whether the value of a free discussion was not considerably depreciated by the evils of its unbridled licentiousness. Scarcely had a day elapsed for the last six months, without some fresh attack upon his honour, his character, and his feelings. There was a cowardliness, a baseness, a wretchedness in the libels against his royal highness, which far exceeded the calumnious profligacy of other times;—a cowardice, too, of the basest kind, participating of the most depraved and odious qualities, and deserving of that execration which the best feelings of humanity would pronounce on the base assailant of female weakness; because to direct unfounded attacks against those in high authority, was nearly similar to an attack on an undefended woman. It was therefore as sincerely interested in the honour and reputation of his royal highness that he rejoiced to find this inquiry had taken a distinct shape, and that, in the due and proper place, the period for inculpa-

tion, and, he was sure, of exculpation, had arrived."

A proper reply to this was made by Mr Whitbread. "The right honourable secretary had assumed that a conspiracy existed, and argued upon that assumption. If such a conspiracy did exist, every man must lament that a personage so elevated in rank and influence should be exposed to unmerited calumny. Still it was to be presumed and hoped that a prince of the house of Hanover would prefer even suffering under such attacks, rather than risk the liberty of that press, to which that family and the British empire owed so much. But why was this brutality of insult so long suffered to continue? Were the attorney and solicitor generals asleep, and the other law officers of the crown asleep also? How came it that they neglected their duty? He was ready to give them credit that the omission was not intentional. He concurred heartily in the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, and the arguments of the right honourable secretary, for the most public inquiry; but there was one point on which he must differ from the latter. Mr Canning had assumed, that if the result of the inquiry should, as he trusted, acquit his royal highness, the person who preferred the accusation would be infamous. Such doctrine was not supported, either by the spirit or usage of the constitution. If there were justifiable grounds for his charge, or if informations of a strong kind were laid before him, it was his bounden duty to act upon it in that House."

The cry of jacobinism, which Mr Yorke had begun upon this occasion, was echoed by Lord Castlereagh. "Mr Whitbread," he said, "seemed to doubt the existence of a systematic conspiracy to traduce and calumniate the Duke of York and the royal family; but who was there that read the daily newspapers, and those other publications which came before them more indirectly, who could entertain a doubt that a systematic conspiracy did exist, with the determined object of running down the characters of the princes of the blood, and destroying, through them, the monarchical branch of the constitution? It was evident that the same party who in times past endeavoured to subvert all the establishments of the country by force of arms, was now endeavouring to undermine them, by calumniating the members of the royal family, and all persons in eminent and distinguished situations. That party could not now think of carrying their object by force, as they knew that such an attempt would be too desperate in the present times; but they were unremitting in their exertions to prepare the way for their object, by the diffusion of seditious libels; converting the noble attributes of a free press to the most dangerous and detestable purposes. It was asked what were the law officers doing? The fact was, that they had instituted numerous prosecutions, but their entire time would be taken up in prosecuting the libellers of the Duke of York, if every libel was to be prosecuted. Neither was it always easy to convict upon an obvious libel. A very small portion of legal knowledge, united with some ingenuity, was sufficient to defeat a prosecution. There was also another way in which libellers might escape justice. When forbearance had been stretched to its utmost point, and the law was about to be put in force against them, they shrunk from the laws, and quit-

ted the country. In a very remarkable recent case, that of Major Hogan, even before the libel issued from the press, the author had secured his passage to America. The House and the Duke of York were now in a new situation, and he congratulated them upon it. It should be remembered, that every charge which had hitherto been made in that House, against any part of the duke's conduct, had only tended to raise his royal highness higher in the estimation of the public, and exhibit in a clearer view the purity of the principles upon which he acted. Whatever inconveniencies might be suffered in devoting to this investigation so much of that time which was wanting for other important business, it was better to endure that inconvenience than suffer calumnies to rest upon persons in the most distinguished public situations; and the House and the country ought to feel indebted to the honourable gentleman who brought the question forward, as it was reducing those charges which had so often been advanced into a tangible shape, and a form upon which a regular decision might be obtained." It was then resolved that the House should form itself into a committee on the Wednesday following. The proceedings of this committee were expected by the public with anxiety as well as curiosity. The prevailing opinion was, that the charges were true, but that Colonel Wardle would not be able to produce legal proof of them. That the duke could not possibly come off with honour from the investigation, was certain:—it would be proved, and admitted before the House of Commons, that he, a married man, had lived in adultery with Mrs Clarke, a married woman.

CHAP. VI.

Proceedings of the Investigation. Case of Colonels Brooke and Knight,—of Captain Maling, and of Colonel French's Levy. Mr Dowler. Dr O'Meara. Miss Taylor's Evidence—Mr Donovan's. General Clavering. Captain Tonyn's Case—Colonel Shaw's. Samuel Carter. Major Turner. Kennet. Captain Sandon committed to Newgate. Examination of Evidence concluded.

Feb. 1. ON the evening appointed, the House resolved itself into a committee; Mr Ralph Wharton in the chair. Colonel Wardle, before he proceeded to the investigation, made some remarks upon the language which had been used towards him by Mr Yorke. "He had a right," he said, "to appear in his place as a member of Parliament, the accuser of the commander-in-chief, and any other member had a right to deliver his opinion upon the subject; but he did not expect to be attacked in his personal character, nor to have his conduct imputed to private motives. Much was said about the licentiousness of the press, the spirit of jacobinism, and a conspiracy to overturn the house of Brunswick. Nothing, however, which he had said had any thing to do with the licentiousness of the press; there was no man who abhorred jacobine principles more than himself, unless by jacobine was meant an enemy to corruption; for such he was, whether it existed in great or little men; and as to conspiracy against the House of Brunswick, if any man presumed to charge such a motive to him, it was the duty of that man openly and manfully to follow up his accusation by proofs. As to jacobinism, indeed, if his principles had tended that way, he should have adopted a contrary conduct, and instead of opposing, have cherished corruption, until it undermined the government; but his object was to check corruption, to serve his country, and to prevent in time those dreadful effects which were the certain consequence of corruption." This produced an explanation from Mr Yorke, who declared, that what he had said about jacobinism had no relation to Colonel Wardle: So far, indeed, from casting any censure on him, he had affirmed, that his royal highness must feel obliged to him for putting the rumours which had so long been industriously propagated upon the subject in a tangible shape.

Colonel Wardle then proceeded to his proofs. He read an extract from the London Gazette of July 30th, 1805, announcing the promotion of Colonel Brooke from the 56th

regiment to the 5th dragoon guards, *vice* Lieutenant-Colonel Knight, exchanged. This was given as a competent proof of the exchange, and Dr Andrew Thynne was then called in to be examined concerning the transaction. This gentleman stated, that having attended Mrs Clarke professionally for seven or eight years, he had been requested by his friend Mr Robert Knight, the lieutenant-colonel's brother, to speak to her to expedite the exchange, and tell her, that if she would effect it, through her influence with the commander-in-chief, she should receive 200l. The exchange was a simple, fair thing, and would have gone through the office, he supposed, in the regular way, but some delays and impediments were expected, and Mr Knight was desirous of having it done expeditiously. When he first spoke to Mrs Clarke, she seemed to suppose there were some difficulties in the way, and spoke a good deal about secrecy, and of the danger that she should run if this transpired. About a fortnight or three weeks afterward, she sent him the gazette in which the exchange was announced, and accompanied it with a note, saying, that she was going out of town in a day or two, and the 200l. would be very convenient.

Mr Robert Knight was next examined. He admitted that he had desired Dr Thynne to apply to Mrs Clarke concerning the exchange; had authorised him to offer her 200l., if she would expedite the exchange; and after the exchange was effected, had sent her that sum. "My brother," said he, "was in a very bad state of health, and on that account I was very desirous he should exchange to infantry, for the purpose of going upon half-pay. He had served as long as any man in the country of his age, and suffered by it. I believe he has been in every battle during the French revolution; and it was my anxiety to serve him that has placed me in this distressing and painful situation. Soon afterwards," Mr Knight added, "he went to Mrs Clarke to thank her. She then told him that she had applied to the Duke of York, and took credit to herself for expediting the business; but she entreated him to keep the transaction a secret, lest it should come to the duke's ears. It was impossible that, after so long an interval, he could recollect the words which she had used, but this, he was certain, was their meaning. About a month ago she had written to him, begging to see him; he made no reply to the letter; and about ten days ago she wrote a second, upon which he went to her. She then asked him the name of the officer who had exchanged with his brother, complained that she had been ill treated by the duke, deserted by him, and left in debt, and that if his royal highness would not pay those debts, she would certainly expose him. To this he replied, that it was her own affair, but he trusted she would not introduce him or his brother. She answered, 'O! good God! no; by no means; it is not my intention; you can have nothing at all to do with it.'"

This witness having been examined, Mrs Mary Anne Clarke was called in. In reply to the questions which were put to her, she confirmed all that Dr Thynne and Mr Knight had stated respecting her interference to expedite the exchange, and the sum which was paid her in consequence. She had given the slip of paper on which Dr Thynne had written the names of the parties to the duke,

telling him she did not know the men at all, but that they were to make her some sort of compliment. The duke replied, he knew the business; they had been trying at it some time: he thought one of them was rather a bad subject, but he would do it. It was accordingly done. A 200l. bank-note was sent in consequence, which she showed to his royal highness, and for which one of his servants got change. She was asked if she had desired Mr Knight to keep the transaction secret, and replied, most probably she did;—it was likely that she should have done so, though she could not recollect. —Had she expressed a wish that it should be kept secret, lest it should come to the ears of the duke? To this she replied, certainly not; nothing like it. Her evidence was perfectly clear and collected; it was given without the slightest hesitation, oftentimes with levity, and as if it gratified her consciousness of cleverness to sport with and baffle the questions which were designed to embarrass and confound her. When the attorney-general asked her whether she had given the same account of the transaction to Colonel Wardle as she had now given the House, she replied, no. Which then was the true account?—Both. In what then, said Sir Vickery Gibbs, did the two accounts differ?—They did not differ at all:—She had not entered into the same detail to Colonel Wardle as she had done now.

The attorney-general attempted to weaken her evidence, by bringing her motives and general character into discredit. Had she not an end to accomplish by stating these circumstances to Colonel Wardle? Had she not declared that she had grounds of complaint against the Duke of York, and that if he did not comply with her demands, she would expose him? Never, she replied. She had, indeed, written to Mr William Adam, who was then present, and heard her evidence, telling him, that if he did not fulfil his promises and the duke's, by paying her the annuity for which he was guarantee, and which he had promised her should be regularly paid, she should be necessitated to expose his Royal Highness's letter.—Had she not told Mr Knight, that if the duke did not come into her terms, she would expose him?—No. She had told him, indeed, that she was going to publish the duke's letters, in order to pay her creditors, which he had refused to do. He had insisted that she should plead her marriage, to avoid these debts, or else she might go to prison. This was his last message to her.—You are a married woman then, said the attorney-general. That, she said, was of no consequence: it had nothing to do with the present business. The question was repeated, and she was ordered to answer it. Then she replied, she was:—there was no question which she would not answer.—Had she not sworn herself to be a widow? She replied, his royal highness, a very short time since, when she sent to ask him for a few hundred pounds, returned for answer, that if she dared speak against him, or write against him, he would put her in the pillory, or in the Bastille. He fancied that she had sworn herself to be a widow when she was examined at a court martial. "But the deputy judge-advocate," said she, "had more feeling than the gentleman who has examined me now: He told me I might say any thing out of the court which it might be unpleasant to me to swear to. I told him it would be very improper for me to say I was a married woman, when it was known

that I had been living with the Duke of York. I did not swear that I was a widow: I said it out of court, and it was put into the court-martial minutes as if I had sworn so."—Who brought this message respecting the pillory to her?—A very particular friend of the Duke of York's—one Taylor, a shoe-maker in Bond street. By whom had she sent her request for a few hundreds?—By her own pen.—How had she sent her letter?—By this ambassador of Morocco.—What did she mean by that?—The ladies' shoe-maker.—Here the chairman thought proper to inform her that her manner of giving her answers was extremely indecent, and unbecoming the dignity of the House, and that if persevered in, it would call for a very heavy censure.

Questions were put to her respecting her manner of life before she knew the duke. This, she said, she did not think fair. They had heard that she was a married woman: she had a family of children, and a daughter grown up. Had she never represented herself to her tradesmen as a widow?—Never, to any one whatever. Mr Croker then interrogated her concerning her acquaintance with Colonel Wardle, and when she knew his intention of bringing this transaction before the House of Commons, and calling upon her as a witness. Not till she saw the newspapers, she replied. He called upon her soon afterwards, and she was very angry with him for having brought forward the name of her friend Mr Donovan. Colonel Wardle, in one of his visits, took away a parcel of letters from her without her permission, and that had led to the business more than any thing else. She had never been able to get them back. He laughed it off, saying, he should get into her love-secrets. Afterwards he said she should have them again, if she wished it, but they were on a different subject from what he had imagined, and he should take care to read them first. They were not from the Duke of York, but they were from different friends; and it was what he had found there, she supposed, which induced him to make such free use of Mr Donovan's name. This was the substance of a long examination, and here Colonel Wardle declared himself satisfied to let his case rest.

Mr Adam was now examined in his place, as a member of the House, by the chancellor of the exchequer, and requested to give his own account of the part which he had taken between Mrs Clarke and the Duke of York. He stated, that in the year 1789 his royal highness first desired him to look into his affairs; and from that time he had continued his attention to those concerns. It was not professional, nor attended with any emolument whatever, but perfectly gratuitous. Having engaged in it, he felt it a duty to discharge all and every part of it with as much care, fidelity, and accuracy, as he could. Towards the close of 1805 it came to his knowledge that the husband of the person who had last been examined at the bar threatened an action against the duke for criminal conversation. It was necessary to inquire into the circumstances of the case; and from the matter which was laid before him in course of that inquiry, he had reason to believe that the conduct of this person had not been so correct as it ought to have been, and that it had a tendency to injure his royal highness;—not his character in a military point of view, or in a public capacity, but his interests and his name with regard to money. The result of these investigations he intimated to the duke, and found

him not inclined to believe there could be any thing wrong in that quarter; an opinion in which he continued till the very close of the connection with her; but that connection had finally closed in consequence of his conviction that her misconduct had been fairly represented to him. His royal highness wished him to have an interview with her, to which he consented, because he considered that no unpleasantness that might afterwards or at the time arise to himself ought to prevent him from following up the business, and extricating that royal person from the woman with whom he was at that time connected. It had been represented to him that she had defended an action as a married woman, having obtained the property for which the action was brought in the character of a widow. Investigation was made as to the place of her marriage, and it was found that she was married to a mason at Pancras. She had told him she was married at Berkhampstead, and had given accounts of her own and of her husband's family, equally false; which accounts she repeated in the interview. A few days afterwards his royal highness made up his mind to separate himself from her, and he (Mr Adam) was requested to communicate this determination to her. He did so, telling her, at the same time, that the duke thought it his duty, if her conduct was correct, to give her an annuity of 400l., to be paid quarterly; that he would enter into no obligation in writing, by bond, or otherwise; that it must rest entirely upon his word, to be performed according to her behaviour, and that he might have it in his power to withdraw the annuity, in case her behaviour was such as to make him think that it was unfit it should be paid. This was the nature of the proposition which he made, and no other: The conversation lasted a very short time. He left the lady then, and had not seen her from that time till the present.

Colonel Wardle was examined next, by the attorney-general. He had stated, when first he brought this charge forward, that the exchange between Colonel Brooke and Colonel Knight was represented to the duke, by Mrs Clarke, on Thursday, July 25th, and gazetted the Saturday following. In reply to the questions which were now put to him, upon what authority he had thus fixed the dates, he said that Mrs Clarke was not aware of the exact time; indeed she had repeatedly declared in her evidence that she had no recollection of such trifling circumstances, but that upon examining the gazette, and recollecting that the duke was at that time going out of town, to be present at the christening of Lord Chesterfield's child, she made out the month and day. The number of questions which were put by the attorney-general concerning this point, after Colonel Wardle had given all the explanation of which it was susceptible, angered him at last. He did not see, he observed, that he was to stand there, however willing he might be, after the very heavy examination which Mrs Clarke had gone through, which he believed most persons would allow was enough to tire any man; and he did not feel disposed to submit to the same sort of discipline. Any question which he could answer, he was willing to answer, but he did not know how he could answer this, further than he had already done. Upon this Mr Whitbread spoke to order, saying, it was neither regular nor usual, when a member brought a charge forward, that he should thus

be examined concerning the manner in which he obtained his information. The Speaker replied, that in a committee of inquiry it was proper that any member who could throw any light on the subject should be examined: and Mr Canning angrily cried out, I wish to be informed whether the honourable gentleman intends to answer the question put to him or not? This acrimonious method of proceeding was softened by Mr Perceval. The questions, he said, were not put to impeach the veracity of Colonel Wardle, but for the purpose of comparing the communications which he had received from Mrs Clarke with the evidence that she herself had given, in order to impeach hers.

Upon this point, however, Colonel Wardle had stated all that it was possible to state. The attorney-general then asked him if it was true that he had taken away some papers from Mrs Clarke against her will, and without her consent. He replied, "I certainly did take some letters away, which I did not believe she exactly approved at the moment, —it was in that sort of way, that there was no force used. She was in the habit of giving me letters respecting the cases. There were one or two of Mr Donovan's, and one or two of light moment from another quarter, on the table. I said, I will take this away; and she said, these are from a friend of mine, and must not be touched. That made me curious about the letters: They were certainly of very great moment; and I have had them in my possession ever since."—Mr Croker asked him if he had seen Mrs Clarke yesterday. Yes, he said; he was at her house late in the evening—about nine o'clock. She had company with her, and he was in the drawing-room for a few minutes.—Had he not been there at any prior hour of the day? He called there in the morning, and she was not at home.—Did he merely call there? Did he not go in, and wait a very considerable time?—He was up in her drawing-room for some time in the morning; he did not, however, see her then, but he saw her in the afternoon.

The evidence upon this charge was closed by the examination of Colonel Gordon, military or public secretary to his royal highness. The business of exchanging commissions, he said, and all the documents by which the persons who apply to exchange are recommended, passed through his office, and it was impossible that any transaction of that nature could pass unknown to him. A minute was always made when any exchange had obtained the approbation of the commander-in-chief, the paper was then submitted to his Majesty, and after his approbation and signature had been affixed, it was sent to the secretary at war, that the commission might be made out and gazetted. This was the invariable form. He held his present situation in 1805, and on the 23d of July in that year the approbation of the commander-in-chief was obtained to the exchange between Colonels Brooke and Knight. He knew this from a document which he then held in his hand. Records were very carefully kept, of all the applications which were made for promotions or exchanges; and every paper, of every kind and every sort, that came into that office, he preserved with the greatest possible care. He requested permission to read this regular document. It contained the application, in customary form, with two memorandums written upon it; one in these words: *Cannot be acceded to. H. R. H. does not approve of*

the exchange proposed. The other, which was referred to by an asterisk, from the refusal, was dated July 23d, and said, *H. R. H. does now approve of the exchange.* Both these memorandums were written with a pencil. On the 24th the approbation was submitted to his Majesty, and it was gazetted on Tuesday, July 30th. The custom of the office was, that the lists were submitted to the commander-in-chief on Wednesday, and to the King on Thursday: if they came back on Friday, they were gazetted on Saturday, otherwise on the Tuesday following. Nine times in ten they are returned early enough for the Saturday's gazette:—this case happened to be one of the exceptions.

It was the custom, Colonel Gordon said, upon every case of this kind, to make inquiry into the merits of the applicants. This was easily done. He was in the habit of seeing twenty, thirty, and forty officers in the army almost every day, and generally from some of those he could ascertain particulars respecting any officer whom he chose, and without letting them know for what purpose he was inquiring. The ultimate approbation of the exchange was in consequence of these inquiries:—this he firmly and most decidedly believed. It would have struck him as a very extraordinary and unusual transaction, if his royal highness had acted contrary to the report presented him as the result of such inquiries, without assigning any reason for it; and he was certain that the commander-in-chief never expressed a wish to him that the conclusion of this exchange should be expedited: in fact, the expression of such a wish would have been futile; it would not have expedited the business one half instant, for the thing must have gone on in the usual course. He was questioned upon what ground the exchange had at first been stopt: He replied, because Colonel Brooke had been upon half-pay for the last seven years, and consequently it became necessary to make more than usual inquiries concerning him.—Had he ever heard that the commander-in-chief thought either Colonel Brooke or Colonel Knight a bad subject?—Never; and he could certainly take upon himself to say, that no such opinion was the occasion of any delay in the exchange. The commander-in-chief was very cautious in expressing himself in such terms, and if he expressed himself so strongly upon the conduct of any officer, it must be inferred that there was something in the conduct of that officer which required more than common inquiry.

Here the case closed, and Mr Perceval asked Colonel Wardle what course he meant to pursue. He hoped he would be ready to bring the next charge forward on Friday, it being most desirable that no unnecessary delay should intervene. Colonel Wardle replied, it was necessary for him to wait the arrival of several essential witnesses from Spain; among others, Captain Huxley Sandon and Colonel French. He could not well say when they would arrive, for as no returns had yet been made of the killed and wounded, it was even impossible to say whether they were alive or not. Upon this Lord Castlereagh observed, that it might be ascertained at the war-office whether the officers in question had arrived or not, or whether it was likely that they might soon arrive. Mr Sturges Bourne, however, and Mr William Adam exclaimed against the precipitance of Colonel Wardle, in bringing forward such charges before he knew whether the witnesses by whom they were to be substantiated were, or were

not in readiness to attend. "Was it," they asked, "so light and inconsiderate a thing, to insinuate such charges against any individual, much less an individual of such high rank and station, without having the immediate means of proving whether they were well founded or not? Never had any man been exposed to a case more severe and cruel than that in which his royal highness was thus hastily involved. Where was the urgent haste which compelled the honourable member to give notice of a motion containing such grave matter of accusation against so exalted a personage, before he knew whether the evidence he was to call were not merely in the country, but whether they were in existence or not? Could any thing be more cruel, than that calumnies should remain upon the characters of those who perhaps had fallen in their country's cause, and upon him who had promoted them, without perhaps any opportunity ever occurring when the reasons of such promotions might be honourably explained and justified. The commander-in-chief was as liable and as ready as any man to have his conduct inquired into; but was it to be endured, that the second personage in the kingdom should thus be condemned to have such charges hang over his conduct and character, without the possibility of bringing them to a speedy examination? Major-General French might possibly have gone to the West Indies; Captain Huxley Sandon might be dead. Where then would there be any thing left to balance the charges brought against his royal highness? In candour, in justice, in every principle of fair dealing, such delays should not be tolerated. Indeed the honourable gentleman must be ignorant of parliamentary proceedings, not to know that he should not have stirred this question without being fully prepared to bring it to an issue. Why did he not consult some person who was more conversant in such matters, and not act thus, with such injustice towards the commander-in-chief, even to the interruption and detriment of the public business?" Colonel Wardle replied, that he was not aware of the delay, and had not intended it: He would do every thing in his power to accelerate the business, and would be ready on Friday to bring forward the case of Captain Maling.

The first day's evidence made a considerable impression upon the public. The fact that Colonel Knight had paid 200l. to Mrs Clarke to expedite his exchange, had been substantiated, and that the exchange had been effected according to his desire. That the duke was privy to the bribe, and influenced, in consequence of it, by his mistress, rested on no other authority than her own. Colonel Gordon's testimony was intended to prove the impossibility that her interference could have any effect. It was clearly, and at first sight even convincingly stated; but the material parts of the document to which he referred were written in pencil, and that circumstance was remarked as suspicious, by those persons whose prepossessions disposed them to believe Colonel Wardle's charges in their full extent. These formed a considerable majority of the people, even among those who were sincerely attached to the interests of government, and earnestly wished that the accusation might be disproved. The only method of disproving it was by shewing that Mrs Clarke's evidence could not be believed, in consequence of the infamy of her character; and that a confederacy had been formed between her and Colonel Wardle, for

the purpose of ruining the duke. To this latter point Mr Croker's questions respecting Colonel Wardle's visits at her house had been directed, that member happening to live opposite to her; and on the next day Colonel Wardle begged permission to correct the answers which he had given, saying his memory had failed. He had stated that he saw Mrs Clarke only on the evening of Tuesday, forgetting that he had seen her in the morning also, for about two minutes. Accordingly, when the investigation was resumed, this part of his evidence was corrected, and the examination began by some questions which Mr Perceval addressed to him upon this subject. The result was not favourable to Colonel Wardle; for in correcting his evidence, he said he had seen Mrs Clarke for about two minutes in the morning, and it now appeared that he had called on her in the morning, and gone out with her in her carriage; again in the afternoon, and sta'd half an hour with her. The facts in themselves were unimportant, but the hesitation with which they were brought forth, and the evident wish which had been felt to conceal them, seemed to imply something wrong.

Feb. 3.

Before the case of Captain Maling was brought forward, some farther examinations took place relative to the evidence of the former night. Mr Adam produced two letters which he had received from Mrs Clarke. In the first,* after reminding him of the promise made by him, in the Duke of York's name, that an annuity of 400l. should be paid her, she said, "His royal highness, by his promise, is now indebted to me 500l. I have written repeatedly, but of no avail. His conduct towards me has been devoid of principle, feeling, and honour; and as his promises are not to be depended on, even though given by you, I have come to the determination of making my intentions known to you, for his consideration; and thus it is:—I solicit his royal highness to make the annuity secure for my life, and to pay me the arrears immediately, as my necessities are very pressing: this he knows. If he refuse, I have no other mode for my immediate wants than to publish every circumstance ever communicated me by his royal highness, and every thing which has come under my knowledge during our intimacy, with all his letters. Those things amount to something serious: He is more within my power than may be imagined. Yet I wish, for his sake and my own, that he would make my request good, as I know full well I should suffer much in exposing him in my own mind. Before I do any thing publicly, I will send to every one of his royal highness's family a copy of what I mean to publish. Had he only been a little punctual, this request would never have been made. One thing more:—Should his royal highness throw up his protection to my boy, (for I thank him much for the past,) I hope he will place him on the foundation of the Charter-House, or any other public school. The child is not accountable for my conduct." In the second letter, having received no reply to the former, she said, "I have employed myself in committing to paper every circumstance within my recollection during the intimacy between his royal highness and myself. The fifty or sixty letters of his royal highness will give weight and truth to the whole. On Tuesday I have promised to give these up, if I hear nothing farther after the last

* Jan. 19, 1808.

notice; and when once given out of my own possession, it will be impossible to recal them. It is to gentlemen, and not any publisher, they will be committed; and those gentlemen are just as obstinate as his royal highness, and more independent. They are acquaintances of yours, and to relieve my wants, in pique to others, will do what the duke will not. However, he has it all within his own power, and may act as he pleases."—Mr Adam stated that he had shown these letters to the duke, who read them in his presence, and did not discover the slightest apprehension as to any thing that it could be in this woman's power to communicate.—The boy who had been mentioned was no child of the duke's, though he was actually under his protection at the time these letters were written, which was two years after the separation had taken place.

The attorney-general now said, "the distinct point under consideration was, whether the Duke of York had conducted himself corruptly, in granting commissions with a view to put money in the pockets of those whom he wished to favour. That there were persons about him who represented themselves as possessed of influence, and that there were dupes credulous enough to believe them, and to waste their money, he had no doubt. No witness had attempted to fix any charge upon his royal highness, except Mrs Clarke; and if the cause had been before a jury, the judge would immediately tell them that it could not stand a moment upon the testimony of such a witness, even upon her own admissions. This course, however, would not answer her; and it became his business therefore, as one whose official situation called upon him to take a leading part in this investigation, to prove that this woman had given false testimony. She declared that she had never represented herself as a widow: He could prove that she had obtained credit by such representation, and then pleaded her coverture, to avoid payment of her debts. She had said that her husband was engaged in no business: He could prove that while she lived with him he carried on the business of a mason." The witnesses who should have established these points were called for, but they were not in attendance. The attorney-general then called for Ludowick Orramin. "Mrs Clarke," he observed, "said she was sure the Duke of York knew she had received the 200l., because his servant had been sent by him to get it changed. This man's evidence would shew that he was the only servant of the duke's who had ever attended him at Gloucester Place, where Mrs Clarke then dwelt, and that he had never gone out to get a note changed." Orramin accordingly gave the most positive testimony to this effect.

This evidence appeared so conclusive, that if the other points, which the attorney-general was prevented from establishing only by the absence of the witnesses, had been proved, it is probable that the House would have pronounced Mrs Clarke's evidence altogether unworthy of belief, and have concurred in closing the inquiry, by acclamations against her infamy. Colonel Wardle now said, that in consequence of what had passed, he must call more witnesses upon this point; but he would certainly avail himself of the same privilege which the attorney-general had exercised, in not giving in their names. He then requested that he might put a few questions to Mr Adam, as every thing which that gentlemen said upon the subject had great weight,

from his having declared that he served the Duke of York gratuitously. Then addressing himself to Mr Adam, he said, "Having stated that you have served his royal highness gratuitously, may I be allowed to ask, have you a son in the army?"—"I have," replied Mr Adam: "he is lieutenant-colonel of the 21st regiment of foot." "At what age," pursued Colonel Wardle, "was he made lieutenant-colonel?" —He could not have pursued a more unlucky inquiry.—"I will answer that question," said Mr Adam. "But as I have received a letter which I will presently read to the House, they will see the necessity of my answering by a statement of the introduction of that person into the army, and his progress in it. General Sir Charles Stewart, who was a friend of my early life, asked me if any of my four sons had an inclination for the army. I told him there was one, then 14 or 15 years old, who had a strong tendency that way. He gave him the commission of ensign, as the rules of the service permitted. His regiment was in Canada, and the lad never joined it, but was sent by me immediately to Woolwich, to receive a regular military education; and as I am asked a question of this sort, and know its tendency, from the letter which I have in my pocket, I do not think it unbecoming in me to state, of so near and so dear a relation, that he distinguished himself extremely there. He received a second commission of lieutenant from Sir Charles Stewart, equally gratuitously with my services to the Duke of York. When Sir Ralph Abercrombie, whom I likewise had the honour to call my intimate friend, went to the Helder, he went under him, at the age of 16, as a volunteer. The House will pardon me, for it is impossible for me not to feel upon this subject. That youth landed in a hot fire, and behaved so as to receive the thanks of every body around him: He was in every engagement during that expedition: He had the command of such a subdivision of men as a lieutenant commands: they were raw to service, and required much management, and yet he conducted them well. When he returned, his royal highness, without any solicitation on my part, so help me God! gave him a commission in his own regiment, the Coldstream. He remained in it till the expedition to Egypt, when he went again under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, was one of those in that illustrious landing, and distinguished himself equally on that occasion. On his return, the Duke of York again gratuitously transferred him to his own regiment, with the rank of major; and he rose, as a matter of course, at the age of not quite 21, to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. I have the happiness to think that he has been a constant credit to his country, and has commanded as well, from the moment he was appointed lieutenant-colonel, as any in the service; and I could call upon those generals who served with him to attest my son's merits. Were the lamented Sir John Moore alive, he would not want an advocate."

This statement appealed to the feelings of all who heard it, and Mr Adam was frequently interrupted by cries of approbation from all sides. He then produced the anonymous letter to which he had alluded. It reproached him, in violent and seditious language, for his interference in the Duke of York's affairs, and charged him with having by this subserviency obtained a lieutenant-colonelcy for one of his sons, and a ship for the other. "I wish I were questioned as to that appointment,"

he exclaimed, with a mixture of indignation and pride, when he read this part of the letter. It concluded by saying, that "the public could form their judgment; and a heavy-burdened people would not be persuaded by the vote of a Bear-Garden that black was white. The House might discuss the subject, but on its decision depended its own damnation or salvation." Mr Yorke and Lord Castlereagh, when they set up the alarm of jacobinism upon this question, could not have hoped for a more favourable circumstance than the appearance of such a letter! It came with additional effect after Mr Adam's manly reply; and Colonel Wardle's attack upon that gentleman recoiled with tenfold force upon himself. It added to the embarrassment which he felt concerning the case of Captain Maling, on which he was now to proceed; for upon that case he had been misinformed, and in consequence of that misinformation, had made it the subject of a specific charge. Under these disadvantages he entered upon the subject. After stating that Captain Maling was as proper an officer as any of his rank in the service, he complained that he had, "in the short space of two years and three months, received three commissions, all of them gratuitous, and been appointed to a company, over the heads of many subalterns who had made application for leave to purchase, and who were old ensigns and lieutenants before he left Mr Greenwood's office. If any improper conception of the nature of this charge had gone abroad, he felt extreme regret. He did, he believed, state, on a former night, that Captain Maling continued to fulfil his duty to Mr Greenwood some months after his appointment to an ensigncy." Here Colonel Wardle was reminded that the nature of his charge was now completely changed. His original statement was, that Captain Maling had been promoted without the claim of one hour's service, and that he was still to be found at Mr Greenwood's desk. Colonel Wardle would willingly have withdrawn the charge, the sooner to extricate himself from the difficulty in which he was involved. It was possible, he said, that in the warmth of discussion he might have stated something stronger than the case admitted; and he would acquiesce in the general wishes of the committee, either to withdraw or proceed in it. The ministry insisted that it should be proceeded in, alleging that the impression which had gone abroad against this officer and the commander-in-chief was a gross injustice to both. The charge ought to be negatived in evidence, and the House could not be satisfied with the bare contradiction of it by the honourable accuser himself. "It was peculiarly incumbent upon him," Mr Lascelles said, "to weigh his accusations well before he brought them forward; for if it were allowed that he might bring forward his mis-statements one day, and correct them another, not a single individual in the house or in the country would be safe. Any man's reputation might be wantonly injured in the public esteem, and an impression made on his character which could never afterwards be effaced." Colonel Gordon therefore was examined concerning the promotion of Captain Maling. It appeared that Mr Greenwood had been in no way concerned in it; that it was perfectly regular; that he had duly served, and was as promising an officer as any in the service, and as likely to do honour to his country.

This led to some interrogatories concerning the system of promotion in the army, as reformed by the Duke

of York. Before he was commander-in-chief, an officer who had money for the purpose might purchase up to the rank of lieutenant-colonel as fast as his separate appointments could be past through each separate gazette. No subaltern can now be promoted to a company, either by purchase or without, under a service of two years; and he must have served six years before he can be a field officer; and no junior officer can be promoted over the head of his senior in the same regiment, provided that senior is willing to purchase, or unless there are some special reasons of misconduct. These rules were never broken through. Colonel Gordon was asked, how many hours a-day the commander-in-chief devoted to the duties of his office?—He began always a little after ten, and rarely gave up business till after seven in the evening, frequently not till after eight. Had he not taken particular precautions respecting the sale of commissions, that they should be confined to the regulated price?—Colonel Gordon replied, most certainly. In 1804, when an augmentation of fifty battalions was added to the army, great abuses were practised. He understood that people endeavoured to obtain commissions unduly; that they imposed upon the officers of the army, under the pretence of obtaining them; and that this went to a very great extent. This he represented in the strongest manner to his royal highness, who felt it very sensibly, expressed the strongest indignation, and ordered a circular paper to be sent to all the corps of the army, and to all army agents, containing the regulations respecting promotion, purchase, and exchange; expressing his most marked disapprobation of this secret and improper traffic; and declaring, that if it were discovered that any commission had been so obtained from that time forward, it should be cancelled, and the officer be reported to the king, as having acted in direct disobedience to the commander-in-chief. This, however, was found totally insufficient. Colonel Gordon obtained proof that such abuses still continued to exist: he put that proof into the hands of the most eminent counsel, and they assured him he could have no redress against the parties: There was no law against such a practice, and it did not amount to a misdemeanour. In consequence of this, after frequent consultations with the then secretary at war, a clause was brought into that House, which is now part of the military act, inflicting a penalty upon all persons, not duly authorized, who shall negociate for the purchase or sale of any commission whatever.

Thus far the night's examination had proved as unfavourable to Colonel Wardle as possible. His charge upon Captain Maling's case was shewn to be utterly inapplicable, and the most satisfactory account was given of the regulations of the War-office. It seemed as if he had been grossly mistaken, and had precipitately brought his charges forward, without having made any inquiry into their validity. Some friendly person, however, before the examination closed, informed him that Captain Maling had a brother, who was also a captain in the army, and who was employed in the War-office. This explained to Colonel Wardle his error: He had mistaken the one brother for the other; and it was in Colonel Gordon's office, not Mr Greenwood's, that the officer who had never seen any other service obtained his promotion. He now, therefore, asked Colonel Gordon what were the services of this Captain Maling? The

reply was in these words: "There is a Captain Maling, an assistant of mine, in the office of the commander-in-chief; I take for granted that is the person alluded to. What his services are as a lieutenant, I really do not know. I found him as a lieutenant in the office, and in consideration of his extraordinary good character, and more than common abilities, (the promotions of the army going through his hands, under mine,) I did recommend him to his royal highness, to be placed upon the half-pay as a captain; upon which half-pay he most assuredly will be placed as soon as an opportunity offers; but the commander-in-chief has it not in his power." "Do you know," said Colonel Wardle, "whether that Captain Maling ever joined and did duty with any regiment?" Colonel Gordon replied, "I do not know that he did, and I do not think that he did." The whole case was now plain. In spite of the regulation that no subaltern could be promoted to a company unless he had served two years,—a regulation which was never broken through, for so Colonel Gordon had this very night affirmed,—it now appeared, by his own admission, that a person employed in his own office, who had never served at all, was, by his own recommendation, promoted to a captaincy; and it necessarily followed, that if he had not yet been put upon half pay, he was actually receiving whole pay.

Thus had the charge been proved to its full extent, and there was no possibility of weakening its force, by invalidating the character of the evidence. Mrs Clarke was not concerned in it: it rested upon the testimony of Colonel Gordon himself. Yet, remarkable as it may appear, this full and decisive proof made no immediate impression upon the House. Two short questions comprised the whole of the examination which established the charge; whereas when the inquiry related to the wrong brother, it had been disproved at length, and the whole string of vouchers triumphantly produced. The impression which had thus been made against the accuser was not effaced by this after discovery; and Mr Croker, taking advantage of it, proposed, that as the committee had completely made up their minds upon this charge, they should decide upon it without delay; but Mr Perceval observed, that this was not within the province of the committee: their business was to report the evidence to the House. Colonel Wardle was now informed by the ministry that Captain Huxley Sandon had arrived at Portsmouth, and been ordered up to town; but in case that officer should not reach London in time, he was requested to proceed with some charge in which his testimony was not necessary, on Monday, this being on the Friday night; and he was asked what charge he would bring forward. He replied, Monday was too early a day, and it was impossible for him to state what particular charge he should bring forward. At this a murmur was raised against him, and Mr Sheridan expressed his surprise at such a reply, saying, it was impossible but that he himself should be ready, and if the witnesses should not be here at the time, he might then defer the proceedings. Mr Canning repeated the question, which charge he meant to bring forward first? "The committee," he said, "had a right to see that no delay took place; and he could not believe that the honourable gentleman had preferred charges of this serious nature, relying upon the absence of the witnesses." Colonel Wardle replied, "he had many reasons

for wishing to fix Tuesday instead of Monday. He had not yet been able to discover where one material witness lived: He wished for no unnecessary delay, and would even engage to communicate to-morrow, in private, the charge he meant next to proceed on, and the list of witnesses whose attendance he should require."

Still the ministry pressed upon him their surprise that he should not have made up his mind upon this subject. Mr William Smith then spoke, apparently in defence of Colonel Wardle, but in reality to exculpate the regular opposition from any thing which might seem to implicate them in this investigation. "These charges," he said, "were of a serious nature, no doubt; but they were charges in which the public were interested, and the House would neither consult its own character, nor that of the King, if the person preferring them were harshly treated and brow-beaten. The accuser, as well as the accused, should be treated with impartiality; and this justice he thought was more peculiarly due to the accuser, since the honourable secretary, Mr Canning, had thrown out a sort of threat to him, saying, that infamy must attach somewhere. This threat, however, notwithstanding the high authority and official weight of the quarter from whence it proceeded, would not, he believed, produce its object. No person on that side of the House where he himself sat could have any interest in supporting the accusation: they had neither been consulted on the subject of the charges, nor on the mode of bringing them forward. As Colonel Wardle, however, relied on himself alone, he should be treated with kindness. It would be odd if those who expressed such anxiety to meet the charges, should now, by pushing him on while his proof was incomplete, defeat the very object which they professed to have so much at heart." Mr Canning replied, "it was a most unfounded insinuation to construe what he had said into a threat, on a supposition that his official weight was to have any influence on the conduct of the committee. He would, however, say, that he believed the honourable gentleman's affectation of candour would have as little weight. That gentleman had disclaimed all knowledge of these charges, both for himself and all those who sat near him. He would give him credit as far as he spake of himself only; but when he spoke of all those around him, he conceived he spoke without authority." Mr William Smith answered, "he had heard similar declarations to that which he himself had made from every person on that side of the House who had at all spoken upon the subject; of course, therefore, though he had spoken in their names without any actual authority, it was not without knowledge of their sentiments."

Upon this Sir Francis Burdett spoke. "If this," he said, "was the way in which persons who came forward with accusations were to be assisted by the wisdom of the House, there would be little encouragement for any member to put himself forward for the detection of any great public abuses. His honourable friend was entitled to protection, as he had exposed himself to considerable obloquy. Any appearance, therefore, of indecent precipitation, in forcing him to proceed in his charges when he declared himself not to be quite ready, was to be deprecated, as contrary to the ends of justice. It did appear to him that the honourable accuser had acted in the most fair, candid, and even incautious manner; and that much of the reproach which

he had unjustly incurred arose from his desire to comply with the indecent hurry of the gentlemen opposite." Mr Canning replied, that "the honourable baronet had taken a manly part: he had stated his reasons frankly, and he knew he had ability to maintain them. But what would be said if there was one who had secretly advised, who had secretly been consulted, and who sheltered himself in silence under that broad, disclaiming shield which an honourable member had thrown over himself and his friends? If such a person existed, he must apply to his conduct terms very different from those in which he had justly spoken of Sir Francis Burdett." This irritated Mr Whitbread, who exclaimed, that "he was evidently pointed out, by the gestures and looks of Mr Canning, as the object of this attack; and he called upon him openly to denounce and name the person to whom he thus alluded." When the altercation which this occasioned was over, Mr Sheridan spoke upon the unfitness of allowing any delay. "Some days ago," he said, "understanding that Colonel Wardle was about to bring forward charges of this kind, he sent to him, requesting him to be cautious how he interfered in the business, he having reason to believe, that, with the very best intentions, that honourable member had lent himself to the designs of a dark conspiracy. He was sorry that message had not been received, for, in the end, he was assured it would be found that his honourable friend had been decoyed into a foul and unprincipled association. Were we, however, to be told, upon such grave and important charges,—charges by which the vital interests of the country were affected at this critical moment,—in which it was a question whether any officer or soldier in the British army ought, or ought not, to look up with reverence and respect to their head,—whether, indeed, he was worthy of continuing a moment longer in the command,—were we to be told that in such a case as this any delay ought to be admitted? Colonel Wardle, forsooth, was not ready to prove his charges! Yes; but he was ready to make them! Of delay in such a case, the honour, the best interests of the country would not admit. If the honourable accuser chose to make his charges, he must be ready to prove them." The House, feeling that nothing could be more injurious to his royal highness than to hasten his accuser, so as to give the public just ground for suspecting that the business had been unfairly hurried through, agreed that Tuesday should be the day fixed for prosecuting the inquiry.

On Tuesday the two witnesses appeared who had not attended on the former day, when they were called for by the attorney-general. The one proved that Mrs Clarke, in 1803, had obtained goods from him in the character of a widow; that he brought an action against her, and was nonsuited, because she proved her coverture; and then an execution for her costs was actually put into his house. Upon this he printed a caution to tradesmen against her, of which he sent her one copy, and the Duke of York another. Mr Comrie, a lawyer, then paid him the debt and costs. The other witness proved that her husband carried on the business of a stone-mason while she continued to live with him. Thus the attorney-general established both his assertions. Mr Comrie was called by Colonel Wardle, and proved that, by Mrs Clarke's desire, he had waited on the duke, who wanted him to

raise for him 10,000l. upon mortgage. Colonel Wardle said he knew it was impossible for Mrs Clarke to procure money to the extent she did without such aid; and when, on a former night, he had affirmed that a professional man was introduced to the duke for this purpose by Mrs Clarke, he had been flatly contradicted; therefore he was compelled to substantiate this fact. To this Mr Adam could only reply, that he had no interference with the duke's private expenditure. The next witness was the butler who had lived with Mrs Clarke in Gloucester Place, and he, in direct contradiction of Orramin's testimony, declared, that about the time in question he saw the housekeeper give Orramin a note one morning, which he took, and got it changed. On a subsequent day, Pierson the butler appeared again at the bar to correct his testimony; for he had given it, he said, when suffering under a violent head-ache, to which he was subject, and which affected his memory. According to his clear recollection, he had got the bill changed himself at a confectioner's, and the amount, he believed, was 100l. The confectioner was summoned, and she deposed, that Pierson brought a bill, which, to the best of her remembrance, was of the amount he stated, for change to her; but she could not change it. Thus these witnesses differed from each other, and both from Mrs Clarke: Her story, however, was corroborated by Mrs Favery, her housekeeper, who affirmed, that she gave the bill to Orramin, received the change from him, and took it up stairs to Mrs Clarke, who was then in bed with the duke. From these discordant accounts, all that could be satisfactorily ascertained was, that such a bill had been changed at the time specified, for in this they all agreed; and the contradictory evidence given by persons, all of whom probably designed to speak the truth, served only to shew how little reliance is to be placed upon the recollection of trifling circumstances, when, after any lapse of time, they happen to become of consequence.

With the next witnesses a case of more importance was opened. By the testimony of Captain Huxley Sandon and Mr Dominigo Corri, it appeared that Sandon and Colonel French, having entered into a partnership to levy 5000 men, were introduced by Corri, a music-master, to Mrs Clarke, and bargained with her to procure them a letter of service. He received 200l. for this introduction, and Mrs Clarke 500 guineas, which Sandon was authorised by Colonel French to increase to 2000l., at his discretion, as the levy proved successful; 850l. of which he actually paid her. Having secured her influence, they applied in the regular form to the War-office, and obtained the letter of service. They requested afterwards that an increased number of boys might be included in the number of their levy, for they could be procured at a lower bounty than the men, and otherwise they could not go on with their undertaking. At one time the agreement was, that she was to have 1000l., and a guinea for every man that was raised. The agent to this levy proved also that Colonel French had applied to him for a loan of 5000l. to the Duke of York. The more the case was examined, the more flagrant did it appear. A letter from Brigadier-General Taylor, who inspected French's recruits in Ireland, when the levy was carried on, proved that it was a scheme of downright knavery throughout, for the purpose of obtaining

money from government; the whole system upon which the levy was conducted being to procure persons to whom scarcely any bounty was issued; and when bounty became necessary, that is, when the men were efficient, no steps were taken to produce them; so that the men who were raised stood government in 150l. a man. Most of these points were confirmed by Mr Dowler, whose testimony carried its own proof with it, in the clearness, manliness, and perfect propriety with which it was delivered. This gentleman's own case was of considerable importance. He had purchased a situation in the commissariat, of Mrs Clarke, for 1000l., having previously accommodated her with other sums, to a considerable amount. It was her proposal that he should assist her in her difficulties, by giving her this money, for which she promised to obtain him this situation. He never applied for the situation through any other channel, neither did his father, who supplied him with the purchase-money:—She recommended him to the duke, the duke to the treasury, and in the commissariat he was placed accordingly.

It appeared that Mr Dowler had cautioned her against such transactions as that with French and Sandon, least such an exposure as the present should be the consequence; and these expostulations had at one time offended her. He was asked, why then, if he perceived the impropriety of such things, he himself had bribed her to get him an office. "Because," he replied, "she was peculiarly distressed for money at the moment, and because the appointment would remain a secret in my breast; and nothing but such an inquiry as this could possibly have drawn it from me. The Duke of York's character and Mrs Clarke's would never have suffered from that which, unfortunately, I am now obliged to communicate to this House." Mr Huskisson and Mr Sturges Bourne, who were secretaries of the treasury at the time of his appointment, were questioned concerning it; but they knew not by whom he had been recommended, nor were there any documents by which it could possibly be traced. Mr Dowler had arrived from Portugal with dispatches on the preceding Thurday: He was asked if he had seen Mrs Clarke since, and answered, Yes; on the Sunday.—Had he seen her since that?—Just now, in the witnesses room.

Before the examination of these evidences was completed it was after midnight, and Colonel Wardle was evidently much exhausted. Lord Folkestone, upon this account, and in consideration of the lateness of the hour, proposed an adjournment, but he was over-ruled; Mr Perceval maintaining, the purposes of justice required that Mrs Clarke should be examined that night. She was called in; but she addressed the House, saying, she had been waiting eight hours, her feelings had been very much harassed during that time, she was exceedingly fatigued, and so unwell, that it was impossible for her to undergo an examination that night. The committee, she was told, in consideration of her fatigue, had ordered a chair for her. She replied, with proper readiness and spirit, "the chair will not take the fatigue off my mind." Upon this she was directed to withdraw, and a conversation ensued as to what should be done. Mr Yorke, betrayed by his violence into feelings altogether repugnant to the natural generosity of his character, observed, that "unless she were examined that night, she would have opportunities

of communicating with the other witnesses; to prevent which, if it were in the power of the House, she ought to be committed to the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, with orders to deny her access to any person whatever. It was of the greatest consequence, he thought, that one or other of these plans should be adopted; and she ought to be called in, and have the option given her." Mr C. W. Williams Wynn observed, that the committee had no such power. Mr Yorke thought they had; but the Speaker declared that there was certainly no such precedent in modern times; and he properly added, that "the House ought to pause before they came to a decision in which the liberty of the subject was so materially concerned." The impolicy, as well as the harshness of such a measure, was pointed out by Mr Sheridan, who observed that she had already had ample time to communicate with Mr Dowler. Mr Croker insisted that it was absolutely necessary to go on that night with the examination. Wiser, however, and better opinions prevailed. "If," Mr Adam said, "the evidence of the witness in question ought not to be influenced by communication with other witnesses, neither ought it to be given under such a state of mind, that she might afterwards declare she knew not what she said. In a cause of this nature and importance, the public opinion ought, in a proper degree, to be considered by the committee. They had better postpone her examination, and allow the fact of her intercourse with other witnesses to go to her general credit." Mr Whitbread asked the House whether a woman who had been eight hours in attendance, and of course suffering much suspence, had not some claim upon their feelings, without any reference to the immediate person to whom that feeling extended. To speak of committing her under such circumstances, he trusted would not meet the support of many in that House. In this sentiment Mr Canning agreed, deprecating any such severity; at the same time being aware of the necessity of inquiring whether she had had any communication with the witnesses who had been examined that night, he proposed that this should be ascertained from Mr Dowler. That gentleman therefore was called in. He had been in the same room with Mrs Clarke, but had no other communication with her than to offer her some wine and water, perceiving that she was very unwell. He knew the unfitness, he said, of communicating farther with her, and had acted accordingly.

On the next meeting of the House, before it resolved itself into a committee, *Feb.* 9. Mr Yorke wished to show that the proposal which he had made for detaining a witness in custody, to prevent communication with other witnesses, was supported by precedents since the Revolution,—the case of Prior the poet being one. But though his proposal was not unparliamentary, he admitted that he now thought the House had acted wisely in rejecting it. When Mrs Clarke was called to the bar, she appeared greatly agitated: It was some time before she could reply to the questions which were addressed to her; and she complained that she had been very much insulted before she got into the lobby. In the course of the evening Mr Whitbread moved, that, to prevent such insults in future, the serjeant-at-arms should be ordered to attend the witnesses to and from the House.

Mr Sheridan objected to this; first, because he did not wish it should appear necessary to make any such order; and secondly, because, he said, having made the most accurate inquiry into the business, he found that no insult whatever had been offered to the witness in question. There was some malice in this assertion:—Mrs Clarke's agitation was evidently real and involuntary. The fact was, that some persons had huzzaed her, and she, unused to such salutations, mistook these marks of applause for expressions of insult.

The matter of Colonel French's levy was first inquired into. She confirmed all that Sandon had stated, and added much which that witness, who gave his testimony with great unwillingness, had previously endeavoured to invalidate, by repeatedly expressing his belief that though Mrs Clarke undertook the business, and he paid her for undertaking it, she had yet nothing to do with obtaining the levy, or procuring any amendment in its terms. She had told the duke, she said, that she was to have some pecuniary advantages if the levy was granted, and he had promised her to grant it in consequence. 500l., which he received on this account, she had paid for a service of plate, and his royal highness paid the remainder by his own bills. French and Sandon teased her every day about the business, and she always gave their notes to the duke, never taking the trouble to read them herself; for she was not always aware of what they wanted, but his royal highness always understood it. French had told her, that if his royal highness would pass his accounts, (which had been some time standing, and which were very correct,) he would accommodate him with a loan of 5000l., upon good security, and at the regular interest. This she mentioned to the duke, and she believed he applied, as far as was proper in him; but he could not command the money from the different offices where it was to be paid, and the thing dropt: perhaps he was rather delicate on the subject of pressing, when he expected to receive the loan, which might afterwards become publicly known.

Here Colonel Wardle closed his questions to this witness upon this point. The examination was then resumed by Mr Croker, who, during the whole inquiry, made himself more conspicuous on the part of the Duke of York, than any person in the House, except the attorney-general and the chancellor of the exchequer. How often, he asked her, had she seen Mr Dowler since his return to England? Once, she replied, and the other night, at the House, before he was called in.—She had then seen him but twice? Certainly not, was her answer. He then asked her to state the names of all the men who were at her house on the evening when Corri the music-master was told that he saw Mr Mellish there. Her reply was, that if she did, no decent man would call upon her during the investigation; and she appealed to the Chairman. Many members objected to this mode of examination. Mr Whitbread thought it very likely that questions of this nature would arise, which ought not to be pursued. Sir Thomas Turton demanded that protection for the witness which would be afforded her in any court of justice, and without which a witness at the bar of that House would be in a miserable situation. Colonel Wardle wished Mr Croker to save her the pain which must arise from this course of interrogation, and reminded him how

easy it was to put the feelings of a witness in such a situation to the most painful trial; and Mr Fuller observed, it was impossible to foresee what mischief might arise from pressing such questions, if it should appear that a number of married men had been present. Coming from this member, the observation had little weight; but Mr Windham repeated it, saying, it had not been heard with the attention which it deserved. Mr Croker, however, persisted in the course which he had begun; and all that was produced by it was the discovery that the person who had been sportively represented to the music-master as Mr Mellish, was Colonel Wardle.

Mrs Clarke admitted that she had seen the account of the last day's proceedings in the newspapers; but she had not seen Mr Dowler, nor any one connected with the business, since she left the House. General Clavering had called upon her twice, begging that his name might not be brought forward. Another gentleman also came to her, she said, to propose that she should put a stop to the investigation. This person, during the evening, sent in a letter to her, in consequence of which he was taken into custody, and brought to the bar. After a long examination, it proved that he was insane. Much important matter, however, appeared in the course of the evening. Mrs Clarke stated, in answer to the questions of Lord Folkestone, that while she resided in Gloucester Place, under the protection (such is the phrase) of the Duke of York, she had an establishment of two carriages, six or eight horses, and eight or ten men-servants, of which she paid the expences. The duke promised her 1000l. a-year, in monthly payments, which he wished her to receive from Mr Greenwood, the great army-agent; but she would not subject herself to this, though it would have been regularly paid. For three months before his royal highness left her, he never gave her a guinea, though he was with her every day. Till that time, however, he paid the allowance, though not always regularly; and if any thing unpleasant happened, (which, she said, was always happening, for she was harassed for money during the whole time she lived with him,) he would sometimes contrive to get a little more, and bring her; but in cases of emergency, Mr Dowler relieved her sometimes, oftener, indeed, she thought, than his royal highness. Before she went to live in Gloucester Place, she was perfectly clear of debt: there she went on upon credit, and by the end of the first six months was so much involved, that she was frightened to think of her embarrassments. Her jewels were frequently in pawn, which the duke knew, for he once gave his own bill to redeem them. Most of the tradesmen whom she employed pressed her to get them places; but she always felt it was impossible to recommend a tradesman to any place, and especially one whom she employed. When they found themselves disappointed in this way, then they pressed for payment: many of them brought actions against her; so that costs, besides the debts, were incurred, to a very great amount. So far were all the sums which she received from the duke from being adequate to the expence of the establishment, that she convinced him they would not do more than pay the servants' wages and their liveries. This she often represented to him; and after they had been acquainted some time, he

told her, that if she was clever, she would never ask him for money. This hint she profited by, and the applications made to her to exert her influence with the duke were very numerous,—hundreds upon hundreds. He told her which were proper, and which not; and when they were improper, she was told to say that she could not interfere. Such applications they both trusted to memory: sometimes she gave him a list in writing,—once a very long one; upon which he said, that if she knew any thing at all of military affairs, she would know it was impossible for him to notice all these applicants at once, but he would do it by degrees. The duke was aware of every thing which she did in obtaining money by such means; but she never was indelicate with him upon those points. This system of ways and means began about half a year after the establishment in Gloucester Place was commenced. She did not begin it till she felt herself distressed, and had been shewn the way by the hints of his royal highness. He told her that she had more interest than the queen, and that she might use it.

The statement that the duke had allowed only 1000l. for the support of the prodigal establishment in Gloucester Place, made so strong an impression on the public, that Mr Perceval thought it necessary, on a subsequent evening, to contradict it, and declare that the whole sum paid by the duke for that establishment, from January 1804 to May 1806, was 16,761*l*. "This," he said, "he was prepared to prove by evidence at the bar; and he was also authorized to state, that his royal highness had at various times given to Mrs Clarke divers additional sums, which he had at present no means of ascertaining, though of considerable amount." This statement was received with considerable satisfaction by Mr Cripps, who did not seem to feel what an alternative the Chancellor of the Exchequer was reduced to, when he thought it necessary, in justification of the Duke of York, to avow to the nation that he had spent this sum upon a courtezan in two years,—he a married man, and at that time a debtor to the public. But when this set-off, such as it was, came to be scrutinized by the journalists, and the purchase of the lease of the house, the repairs, the furniture, the plate, and the jewels which were given to Mrs Clarke were placed against it, the balance of the account served to authenticate her statement, not to disprove it.

Feb. 17.

Mr Sheridan opened a new mine of discovery, by asking if she had ever any negociation respecting other promotions, unconnected with the military department,—in the church, for instance? A Dr O'Meara, she answered, who was well known in Ireland, had applied to her to be made a bishop; and some applications had been made to her lately for deaneries, by persons who supposed her influence still continued with the duke. Some of the letters which Colonel Wardle ran off with related to this subject. They came from Mr Donovan; but he, for she had just been talking with him, was determined to deny it. She herself never preferred any one in the church.—Mr Perceval then asked her if she had never received a letter from Mr Donovan, urging her to be very quick in her applications to the duke, or another illustrious person would get the preferment; and he asked also who that illustrious person was? I believe, she replied, he al-

luded to the first female personage in England, who takes almost all the patronage of the church.—Had she ever communicated Dr O'Meara's offer for a bishopric to the duke? Yes, and all his documents. It was in 1805, on the very night that the duke was going to Weymouth. The doctor, she believed, watched him out, and said it was a very good opportunity, for he was going to Weymouth himself; and he asked her to write him a letter of introduction to his royal highness, which she did. The result was, as the duke informed her, that he preached before his Majesty; but the King did not like the great O in his name.

Two other witnesses were examined on the fourth night, whose evidences, though of a very different complexion from each other, were both of great importance. Miss Taylor was the first: she was in some degree connected with Mrs Clarke, her brother having married that lady's sister. Colonel Wardle asked her if she was in the habit of visiting in Gloucester Place while Mrs Clarke was under the Duke of York's protection? She answered, very frequently.—Had she ever heard the duke speak to Mrs Clarke respecting Colonel French and his levy? Once only. His words, as nearly as she could recollect, were these: "I am continually worried by Col. French: he worries me continually about the levy business, and is always wanting something more in his own favour." Then, turning to Mrs Clarke, he said, "How does he behave to you, darling?" or some such kind words as he used to use. She replied, middling; not very well; and the duke said, "Master French must mind what he is about, or I shall cut up him and his levy too."—It now became the great object of the attorney-general and Mr Perceval to discredit this witness's testimony. The former, after a long string of questions relating to her own history and mode of life, demanded where her father lived; and she requested to be excused from answering. Upon this Lord Folkestone interfered, and said, she ought not to be compelled to answer: the disclosure might possibly prove injurious to her father, and no material benefit to the present inquiry could result from the question. The attorney-general replied, that much of the credit due to this witness would depend upon the degree of respectability which she and her connections in society held.—Sir Vicary Gibbs ought to have felt that every hour of this inquiry was lamentably disproving such a position—a position not more untenable, than it was immoral and unjust. He explained it away, by asking triumphantly, if the evidence of a prostitute, picked up in the street, was to be equally relied upon with that of a person who supported a decent and respectable character? It was material to the present inquiry to know where the father and mother of the present witness resided, as it was highly probable the knowledge of this circumstance might tend to extract truth from the mine of error in which it appeared to him to be involved. Mr Brand remonstrated against this mode of proceeding. "There might be circumstances," he said, "of real and serious difficulties, where it would be inconsistent with the best feelings of the heart, and a violation of filial duty, not to deny the residence of a father." Mr Wilberforce delivered an opinion on the same side, and objected strongly to the manner in which the question

was put, as it appeared like brow-beating the witness. But the chancellor of the exchequer maintained, that the question ought to be answered in a direct manner. Something, he suspected, would be disclosed by it, that would greatly, if not wholly, discredit the testimony of this witness. And Mr Yorke said it was utterly impossible to carry on the inquiry unless such questions were pointedly answered: the truth otherwise would never be found out, nor the obloquy removed under which the Duke of York had fallen, by a combination of some of the most abandoned characters. Miss Taylor therefore was called in, and the chancellor of the exchequer extorted from her a confession that her father's affairs were in a state of embarrassment, in consequence of which she did not know where he then lived. Lately he had been living with her. She and her sister kept a boarding-school at No. 8. China row, Chelsea. Her objecting to saying where she lived had been, because the House would thereby find she was poor, and doubt her veracity. Mr Perceval assured her, her veracity would not be doubted on account of her poverty; but the attorney-general had declared that much of the credit due to her testimony would "depend upon the degree of respectability which she and her connectionsheld." He spoke, however, his own opinion,—not that of the House of Commons, not that of the people of England, not that of the laws of England.

Mr Jeremiah Donovan was the other conspicuous witness of the night. He began by declaring, that he had never trafficked for any place under government in his life. The case, however, proved to be, as it was well expressed by Mr R. Dundas, that, not being a trafficker in places, he had yet a certain tendency to negociate them, and to take a pecuniary advantage by them; and it appeared, in the course of half a dozen questions, that he had offered to procure a situation in India for 3000l. This branched off into a distinct inquiry; a select committee being appointed, the next night, "to inquire whether any, and what corrupt practices had obtained in the sale or disposal of cadetships, writerships, or other appointments under the East India Company, or any negociations respecting the same." This was done with the special approbation of the Court of Directors, with whom, it was said, on their own authority, such a measure had been for some time in contemplation, in consequence of the rumours prevalent, that such a traffic, for the disposal of such places, had been carried on. Mr Donovan was next examined concerning his dealings in the church. "Of Dr O'Meara he knew nothing; but he had applied to Mrs Clarke for the deaneries of Salisbury and Hereford, understanding, from her, that she had very good interest with the Duke of Portland, and could obtain any appointment. For the former, 3000l. was offered, which, as he was instructed, some ladies had raised by subscription for the Rev. Mr Baseley; meaning that he should be agreeably surprised with the preferment; for he was on no account to know what had been done. The other transaction was wholly his own. He, of his own accord, very imprudently offered 1000l. to Mrs Clarke, if she would procure the deanery of Hereford for the Rev. George Henry Glasse. His very great friendship for Mr Glasse induced him to do this. He would him-

self have paid the 1000l.; for he intended that Mrs Clarke should retain money to that amount out of the commissions which they jointly disposed of. His intention was, to make this present to Mr Glasse, who was never apprized of the circumstance till within a few days, and was then exceedingly enraged at it. This, upon his sacred honour, was the truth."—In consequence of what had already been disclosed, Mr Perceval now observed, that the House must be convinced of the necessity of some legislative proceeding to prevent the scandalous practice carried on in the sale of commissions and places under government. Some step ought speedily to be taken to stop the evil. It was his opinion, that the advertising of such places ought to be made a crime; that the money advanced, or agreed to be given, should be forfeited; that heavy penalties should be imposed; and that all persons concerned in such traffic should be rendered guilty of a misdemeanour.

Feb. 10. On the following evening, before the committee proceeded in their examination, Colonel Wardle said, he felt it his duty to submit to their attention a circumstance respecting Miss Taylor. That lady had two brothers in the army, and one in the navy; and when he told her of his intention to have her examined at the bar of the House, she expressed great unwillingness to come forward; but when he urged the necessity for her appearance, her answer was, that if she was forced to come forward, and speak the truth, she must do it, at the risk of ruin to her nearest and dearest relations. He now delivered in part of the letters which he had taken from Mrs Clarke:-They were all from Mr Donovan, who, upon being called in, acknowledged them to be his hand-writing. Some of them related to the purchase of the deaneries for Mr Glasse and Mr Baseley, who, it was said, had been particularly recommended to her Majesty, for having published a pamphlet, entitled, "The Claims of the Roman Catholics constitutionally considered." Concerning this man, the Marquis of Tichfield requested to be examined. He then declared that Baseley having called upon the Duke of Portland, and not being able to see him, left a letter, in which he offered the duke 3000l., if he would procure him the deanery of Salisbury; telling him he was then writing a most interesting pamphlet for the benefit of administration; and desiring him to excuse this openness, and to burn the letter. This letter, which was now read to the committee, the Duke of Portland communicated to the Bishop of London, who replied, that this wretched creature Baseley had one or two chapels in his diocese; that he had long known him to be a very weak man, but till this insufferable insult upon his grace, did not know he was so completely wicked, and so totally devoid of all principle; and that he trusted the duke, being in possession of such incontestible proofs against him, would inflict upon him the disgrace and punishment which he so richly deserved.—The other letters related to places in the customs, and to paymasterships, for which Donovan was trafficking, in such plain contradiction to his former assertions, that Mr Cavendish Bradshaw said, he should move for his committal. Just at this time a letter from General Clavering was delivered to the attorney-general, who read it to the House. The general stated, that having understood his name had been introduced by Mrs Clarke in her last examination, he was desirous of be-

ing examined at the bar of the House that night; more especially touching his having called at Mrs Clarke's house, as his replies would go directly to impeach that lady's veracity. Upon this Mr William Smith observed, that "if it were intended to commit Donovan for having uttered gross falsehoods, the same proceeding must certainly take place with any other witnesses, who, by their conduct, placed themselves in the same predicament. If it could be proved that Mrs Clarke had been guilty of such gross breaches of veracity as Donovan seemed to have been, no person would be found who would oppose her commitment; and if the assertions of General Clavering were to be weighed against hers, no one could doubt which must kick the beam in the estimation of the committee. Still, however, there was a difference between convicting a person of probable falsehood by the testimony of another, and of absolute falsehood by his own." This remark proved applicable to the case in a very unexpected manner, when Brigadier-General Clavering, by his own desire, and in an evil hour for himself, was called to the bar.

"He had heard a rumour," he said, "that Mrs Clarke would call upon him, as being capable of speaking to her veracity. In consequence of this, he both wrote to Colonel Wardle, and called upon him, urgently requesting that he might not be brought forward, because, being a family man, the world would be inclined to attribute improper motives for his acquaintance with a lady in her situation; and moreover, because his testimony would mar the very point which she was desirous of supporting, since she had told him very lately that she was living with Mr Mellish. He called upon Mrs Clarke herself, to inform her, that if she did mention his name before the committee, he should be under the necessity of declaring what he had now the honour to state." Had he, Sir Thomas Turton asked, no other reason for impeaching her credibility, than her assertion that she lived under the protection of a Mr Mellish? None, he replied, that he was at present aware of. But he certainly considered her unworthy of belief, from having imposed upon him in this manner.—How had she imposed upon him? By making this assertion, which, as it appeared, had been disproved before the House.—Mr Herbert then asked him what reason he had to suppose that the Mr Mellish of whom she spoke was the member for Middlesex? To this question, which at once disconcerted his whole argument, General Clavering could only reply, that if he was correct, he did not say it was that Mr Mellish.—This futile attack upon Mrs Clarke's veracity fell to the ground at once; but General Clavering had chosen to appear at the bar, and having told his own story, and acquitted his character as a family man, by "declaring, upon his honour, that no criminal communication had ever existed between him and the lady in question, (as with a lady of that description might naturally be imagined,)" there were some members who as naturally thought of inquiring of what nature then his acquaintance with her was. Had he ever any communication with her on the subject of army promotions? He recollected none, except that she requested him to recommend a lieutenant Sumner to the Duke of York.—I understand you then to say, said Mr J. Smith, you had never, at any time, any communication or

conversation whatever with Mrs Clarke, on the subject of army promotions, except in the case of Lieutenant Sumner? The general replied, Certainly not, as being the subject of conversation.—Had you any incidental conversation with her upon that subject? He answered, A period of so many years having elapsed, it is impossible to speak positively and accurately to a question so close as that; but, to the best of my belief, I do not think I had.—This did not satisfy Colonel Wardle: He asked him whether he knew that Mrs Clarke had used her influence in favour of any person whatever in the army with the commander-in-chief? General Clavering replied, I do not. —Do you know of any person that asked her to use her influence with the commander-in-chief upon that subject? The answer was, I am not acquainted with any person that ever did: I have heard reports of that nature, but I cannot bring to my recollection any person positively.—Then you state positively, said Colonel Wardle, that you do not know of any transaction of that nature? None, he replied, to my certain knowledge.—Colonel Wardle insisted upon a direct and positive answer, and the general positively affirmed that he did not know of any transaction of that nature. When Mrs Clarke was called in, it appeared that the assertion by which General Clavering meant to invalidate her whole testimony proceeded from a mere misconception. He supposed she had been living with a person of the name of Mellish, and made some remark about contractors and beef, to which she made no reply; and upon this foolish ground he had ventured to appear before the House of Commons. There was another point also, she said, which she wished to clear up. She knew nothing about the office in the city, which Colonel Wardle had mentioned, and was very sorry he had said any thing about it; because every one who knew the lord chancellor must know, that he was not only one of the highest, but also one of the most honourable men in England; and if there were any insinuations about the Duke of Portland, she meant entirely to acquit herself of ever having pretended to any access to, or influence with him.

The case of Major Tonyn was brought forward in this evening's examination. It appeared, by the testimony of Donovan and Sandon, that the latter having been told by Mrs Clarke that she could get any of his military friends promoted, if they had money, applied to Donovan, and he mentioned the circumstance to Captain Tonyn, an old and honourable officer, who had served three-and-twenty years. It was agreed that this gentleman should give 500 guineas, whenever he was gazetted as a major; and a promissory note to this effect was given. About two months elapsed, and Captain Tonyn became impatient; told Sandon the business had been a long while upon the carpet, and he did not think they could effect what they had promised; and he desired that the security might be returned to him, for his father, General Tonyn, had procured a promise from the commander-in-chief to give him a majority. Sandon replied, he had better wait a few days, in which time he would probably be gazetted. To this he consented, saying, that if his name appeared in a week or ten days, the business should be as it originally was. Within a week from that time he was gazetted, and

the 500 guineas were paid. Mrs Clarke received 500l.: the remaining 25l. went to Donovan: Sandon had nothing; and though he received the money, and distributed it, he affirmed that he had no reason at all to believe this promotion was owing to the interference of Mrs Clarke, and that he doubted it exceedingly. It followed, as a necessary inference, that if he thought thus, he had defrauded Captain Tonyn of his money on false pretences. Mrs Clarke confirmed this statement; averring, that she recommended Captain Tonyn to the commander-in-chief; told the commander-in-chief she was to receive a pecuniary consideration for his promotion; and did in fact receive 500l. when he was promoted.

To invalidate this, Colonel Gordon was again summoned, with his official documents, by which he found that Captain Tonyn had applied for promotion in the usual manner, had also been recommended by his father, and had been promoted without purchase. A very large augmentation was made to the army at that time, and no less than 53 officers were appointed to majorities. When the list of those officers was completed, it was not possible to keep them entirely secret before the names were gazetted; and therefore such men as Donovan and Captain Huxley Sandon might have learnt that Captain Tonyn's name was in the list, and taken advantage of this knowledge to dupe him. Colonel Gordon was now asked, by Sir Arthur Wellesley, to give some account of the origin of purchases and sales of commissions in the army, and the effect which they had. He replied to this purport:—"In every other service in Europe, the head of the army has the power of granting pensions to the army officers, in proportion to their rank and services. No such power exists in the head of the British army, and therefore when an officer is arrived at the command of a regiment, and is, from long service, infirmity, or wounds, totally incapable of proceeding with that regiment upon service, it becomes necessary to place a more efficient officer in his stead. It is not possible for the king to increase the establishment of the army at his pleasure, by appointing two lieutenant-colonels where one only is fixed upon the establishment; nor is it consistent with justice, to place an old officer upon the half-pay, or deprive him altogether of his commission. There is, therefore, no alternative, but to allow him to retire, receiving a certain compensation for his former services. What that compensation should be, had been awarded by a board of general officers, about fifty years ago. They taking into consideration the rank and the pay of each rank, awarded a certain sum that each officer who was allowed to retire should receive upon retiring. This sum is called the regulation-price of commissions. The bearing that this has upon the army is a very extensive question; but there could be no doubt," Colonel Gordon said, "that it was extremely advantageous for those officers who could not purchase. Suppose, for example, the third captain of a regiment cannot afford to purchase; the first and second can. If those two officers could not purchase, it is evident that the third captain would remain much longer third captain than if they were removed out of his way, by purchase in the great body of the army. And if no officer is allowed to purchase, unless he is duly qualified for promotion, there

cannot possibly be any objection to such a regulation. Nor can it be said that any inexperienced officer is appointed by purchase over the heads of others better qualified than himself, no officer being allowed to purchase but such as is duly qualified by his Majesty's regulations. The average amount of the purchase and sale of commissions for the last three years annually exceeded considerably 400,000l. No part of this money passes through the hands of the commander-in-chief, nor has he any controul over it."

Feb. 13. Great part of the next evening's inquiry was occupied in examining Mr Rowland Maltby, a solicitor, who had taken up the unhappy employment of negociating for places under government. This gentleman and Mrs Clarke seem unintentionally to have deceived each other; and each giving the other credit for an imaginary influence, they deluded others with fallacious hopes, founded upon this deception. When this examination was over, Mrs Clarke produced two letters of the Duke of York's, and a letter of recommendation from the Archbishop of Tuam to Dr O'-Meara, in order to prove that what she had said of this Irish divine was true. The thing itself appeared so improbable at the time, that it weakened the general credit of her testimony. It was now, however, placed beyond all doubt; for in a letter of the duke's was this sentence:—"Dr O'Meara called upon me yesterday morning, and delivered me your letter. He wishes much to preach before royalty, and if I can put him in the way of it, I will."*—These letters also proved another more essential point. "General Clavering," she said, "had affirmed that he never had any thing to say to her upon military affairs; but being a distressed man

* The newspapers produced an additional confirmation. They found and reprinted the following article of intelligence in a morning paper, under the head of Royal Family, Weymouth, October 3.

"The Rev. Dr O'Meara preached on Sunday an excellent sermon (from Rom. c. xii. v. 5.) on Universal Benevolence. He expatiated with great eloquence on the relation which the *public* and *private* affections bear to each other, and their use in the moral system.

"He inveighed with peculiar energy against the *savage* philosophy of the *French deists*, who propose to erect a system of *universal philanthropy* upon the ruins of the *private* affections, which regard kindred, friends, benefactors, and the poor; thus inverting the eternal order of nature, by violently transferring all the lovely train of social affections from our relatives and friends to distant and unknown myriads; whilst under these vague terms of attachment to, and of advancing the general good, the practice of every debasing vice finds a shelter, and the perpetration of every horrid crime a subterfuge. We wish our young ecclesiastics would arouse themselves, and shake off that mental languor which oppresses them in the pulpit, and shew themselves *in earnest*. *Sacred eloquence* is certainly in *this country* feeble and unimpressive: no other excellence can supply the want of animation. That sweet charm, that celestial *unction* which Christian oratory demands, this gentleman possesses in an eminent degree. His lips are touched with 'the live coal from off the altar.' The king was very attentive, and stood for nearly the whole of the sermon, (which we never observed before,) and *expressed his high approbation to the earl of Uxbridge and others, whilst the queen and princesses, and the whole audience, were melted into tears.*"

when he was a colonel, she had spoken to the duke respecting him, and had a great deal of difficulty, more so than as to any other person that she ever applied for, in getting him any sort of employment. At last she prevailed upon the duke to give him a district, and with it he made him a brigadier-general, entirely through her means. Afterwards the general asked her to get him a regiment, and fearing they might all be given away before his royal highness came to town, she wrote to him when he was reviewing along the coast, and received, in reply, one of the letters which were now produced. "Clavering is mistaken, my angel," said the duke, "in thinking that any new regiments are to be raised: it is not intended—only second battalions to the existing corps. You had better therefore tell him so, and that you were sure there would be no use in applying for him."

General Clavering's attempt to overthrow the testimony of Mrs Clarke thus tended only to expose himself, and to implicate him in the consequences of this disgraceful inquiry. The ministry (for it cannot be concealed that from the beginning they acted as if they had been counsel retained on the duke's part) were no otherwise injured by this, than as he had been the means, most unintentionally, of proving that Mrs Clarke did use her influence with the commander-in-chief upon military affairs; and this he had done beyond all possibility of denial or evasion. He had volunteered in the service, and the disgrace was exclusively his own. But the means by which the ministry, and their adherent Mr Croker, endeavoured to produce the same effect, were, indeed, disgraceful to themselves. Mr Croker, who had on a former night extorted from Mrs Clarke a declaration that she had seen Mr Dowler only twice since his arrival in England, asked her if she would now abide by that assertion. She replied, that she would not be caught in a story about that, and therefore she would say she had seen him once besides.—But had she made that assertion?—Very likely she might.—Was it then true or false? he pursued. She answered, it is true that I have seen him twice, and it is also true that I have seen him three times.—When did she see him the third time? Here, in the House of Commons.—That then was the whole number of times that she had seen Mr Dowler since his return from Portugal?—Mrs Clarke's predominant feeling was anger at the indecent course of examination which she now perceived this gentleman was pursuing; and hoping to spare herself the pain of farther inquiries, by raising a laugh against him, she replied, I believe the honourable gentleman can tell pretty well, for his garret window is very convenient for his prying disposition, as it overlooks my house. In raising the laugh she succeeded; but it was not likely that a man who would think of putting the question at which he was aiming, would be shamed out of his intention; and Mr Croker pursued his examination upon this point, till she answered, if the honourable gentleman wishes it, I will say I have seen him oftener, if it will at all tend to any thing. I do not wish to conceal that Mr Dowler is a very particular friend of mine.—At what other places than those which she had already mentioned, and at what other times had she seen him since his return?—At his own hotel, the first night of his arrival; but it was

to have been a perfect secret, as she did not wish her own family or any one to know that she saw him that night.

Here the witness was ordered to withdraw, for Mr Wilberforce, with a sense of propriety consistent with his character, and honourable in any man, objected to these questions, as tending to no useful purpose. "The House," he said, "was already perfectly aware of the character of the witness, and there was no occasion for this method of elucidating it farther." Mr Fitzgerald and Sir George Warrender supported him. They argued, that this line of examination served no other purpose than that of bringing forward unnecessary scandal; and that in whatever manner the questions might be answered, they would not imply that sort of contradiction which could remove the impression of the evidence from the public mind. On the other hand, Mr Perceval declared, that he was never more surprised than at these objections. "For," he said, "it ought to be recollected that the whole of these charges, as they affected the Duke of York, principally depended on the credit of this witness, and in some measure upon that of Dowler. This Dowler had represented that he had only paid her one visit, in the morning, since his arrival, and that for the purpose of persuading her not to bring him forward. He had endeavoured to hold himself out as an unwilling witness. If, then, after what both these witnesses had said, it could be proved that she had seen him at his own hotel, and actually past the night with him, it would be a very material consideration, and would go strongly to impeach the credit of both." Mr Croker also insisted, that the fact which he was about to establish would undermine the credit of both witnesses. There was not an hour, from Dowler's arrival in this country to the time at which he appeared at the bar of the House, in which he might not have been passing his time with this woman, and plotting with her an attack upon the illustrious personage now accused.—Mr Bragge Bathurst and Mr Adam in like manner insisted, that if Mr Dowler could be convicted of saying what was not true in one case, it was by no means improbable that he might have spoken falsehood in both. In what school of law or of logic had these gentlemen learnt from such premises to draw such a conclusion?

Mrs Clarke therefore, in conformity to the opinion of Mr Perceval, was again called in, and Mr Croker pursued his questions. How often had she seen Mr Dowler at his hotel?—Only once.—At what time of the day was it?—At night.—Was she in company with him for a considerable time upon that occasion?—Here she threw herself upon the mercy, or rather the decency of the House. I have stated, she said, that I was in company with Mr Dowler, and I beg leave to ask the Chair, whether this is a proper question—whether it is not unbecoming the dignity of the House?—Mr Croker, however, was allowed to proceed.—Did you, he said, see Mr Dowler on the Friday morning; and she was compelled, in the face of the House of Commons, to reply, that her visit had continued till that time.—Disgraceful as this business was, it did not rest here. Mr Perceval was not satisfied with his triumph. On a subsequent evening he called for the master of the coffee-house, to confront her with him. Astonished at this, she exclaimed, sure you are

not going to send for him! And being told he thought it necessary so to do, she begged leave to ask whether it was necessary for him to be called in while she was there:—Might she not, she said, take the sense of the House upon that?—This ignorance of the forms of the House excited a laugh, (not very creditable to the members,) which was renewed when she, still shrinking from this naked exposure, asked if there was any precedent for having two witnesses at the bar of the House at the same time?—No other purpose was answered, or could be answered, by thus confronting them, than that of making it appear that the coffee-house-keeper had always believed, or affected to believe, that she was Mr Dowler's wife.

Mr Perceval must have known little of the English people, if he supposed that the credit of these two witnesses could be impeached by the detection of the falsehood into which they had been driven. The effect was completely opposite. Hitherto Mrs Clarke had appeared in no other character than that of an intriguing and extravagant courtezan. Whatever satisfaction might be felt by the radical reformers, at seeing these scenes of corruption laid open, there had been but one opinion concerning her. But when it was attempted to prove that she was unworthy of belief, because she had not utterly thrown off all modesty, and divested herself even of the instinctive decency which belongs, not merely to her sex, but to her species,—the public felt for her, as for one in whom womanhood had been outraged and insulted. She had been placed in a situation which made falsehood appear meritorious; and the unmanly means which had been used to expose her made good men ashamed, and factious ones triumphant.

Colonel Shaw's was the next case. He applied to Mrs Clarke, while a major, to be made a lieutenant-colonel, and to get into some situation upon the staff; promising her, she believed, (for she did not immediately recollect the sum,) 1000l. She acquainted the duke with his offer, and he was in consequence appointed barrack-master at the Cape of Good Hope. For this service she received 500l., and not being satisfied with that sum, complained to the commander-in-chief, who said, he had told her all along she had a very bad sort of man to deal with, and that she ought to have been more careful, but that he would immediately put him upon half-pay. This was done; and she produced a letter from Colonel Shaw, complaining of the severe and cruel injury, and promising annually to remit her 300l., if she would do away the evil. This was Mrs Clarke's statement, and the payment of the money was proved. When Colonel Gordon was examined upon this case, he stated, that Major Shaw originally applied through Sir Harry Burrard, who recommended him in strong terms, as having served long, always abroad, and very gallantly; and who seems to have exerted himself very sincerely in his behalf. His regiment was at Ceylon, and his object was to be allowed to exchange, and remain at home, being in infirm health, and his family in great distress from domestic losses. Colonel Gordon's answer was, that Sir Harry's wishes could not be complied with; his royal highness being of opinion that Major Shaw must join his regiment before any farther recommendation in his favour could be attended to. For an invalid and

a distressed man to join his regiment at Ceylon, in hope of being allowed to exchange out of it, and return to England again, was little less than ruin, if not death. He found a major of another regiment, who was as desirous of going to Ceylon as he was of escaping the voyage. This Sir Harry Burrard made known to Colonel Gordon; but though Colonel Gordon, in the case of Knight and Brooke, had declared, that an exchange, where there was no ineligibility in either of the parties, was a matter of course, and never refused,—the answer which he returned to this application was, that having twice mentioned Major Shaw's wishes to the commander-in-chief, he could not venture to do it again. Sir Harry Burrard, not yet deterred from attempting to serve his friend, wrote again in the course of a few months. He represented the state of Major Shaw's health, and the extreme distress of his family; and requested that his leave of absence might be extended for two months. This was granted, but at the same time it was hinted to the major, that if his circumstances were such as to preclude him from joining on so remote a service, he should retire upon half-pay, until some more favourable opportunity. Encouraged by this expression, Sir Harry ventured again to interfere, stating, that Major Shaw could not secure a passage to India under 400l., and was unwilling to sink so large a sum, if there was any possibility of avoiding it, especially as he had some hopes that an opportunity might offer of promoting him. Colonel Gordon replied, that his royal highness saw no prospect of any early opportunity of complying with Major Shaw's wishes, and therefore it was advisable that he should proceed to join his regiment by the earliest conveyance. Subsequent documents, produced by Colonel Gordon, proved that his royal highness had afterwards adopted more favourable sentiments towards Major Shaw, who was promoted in consequence. The cause of this alteration remained unexplained, unless the interposition of Mrs Clarke, to whom he had applied in the mean time, be thought sufficient to explain it.

In all the cases which had yet been brought forward, nothing had appeared detrimental to the service, (farther than that the existence of any secret influence must needs be detrimental to it,) nor derogatory to the character of the individual officers, except in the case of the levy. Colonel Wardle, however, thought he had a case in which the army had been disgraced; and he asked Mrs Clarke, whether she had once a footboy of the name of Samuel Carter?—Yes, she replied, I had; but Colonel Wardle told me he would not mention that.—Amid these scenes of intrigue and corruption, it is a consolation to arrive at one fact which is creditable to all parties. Carter was supposed to be the natural son of Captain Sutton, a man thoroughly debauched, both in his conduct, and, what is even worse, in his principles; but not without those good qualities which are capable of co-existing with debauchery. Being hopelessly embarrassed in his own circumstances, and overwhelmed with debt, he made no effort to advance himself: "A bird," he said, "whose wing was once well into the water could never get out again." But he was very solicitous to obtain a commission for this boy. To effect this, he applied to the Duke of York, of whom he had some personal knowledge; but

he died before any thing was done, and Carter seems then to have been left without any person to befriend, or even support him, except Mrs Clarke,* who had been his father's last and truest friend. He acted as a servant in her establishment, dined with the servants, did work with them, went out behind the carriage, if there was no other servant in the way, (for Mrs Clarke liked to spare him as much as she could,) and waited at dinner upon her and the duke. Every leisure hour he went to school. Mrs Clarke had a real regard for him, which he seems well to have deserved; and at her request the duke gave him a commission. In all this there was nothing corrupt,—it was an act of pure kindness, both on her part and the duke's. Carter had been a good boy; he made a good officer; and the sole point of accusation was, that the commander-in-chief had given a commission to a person whom he had known in the capacity of a servant. But if that person were worthy of being raised to this rank, (and it was admitted that this was the case,) his promotion should be imputed to the duke as a merit, not charged upon him as a fault. Colonel Wardle has been severely censured for carrying away Donovan's letters against Mrs Clarke's consent: far more justly might he be condemned for exposing the history of this young officer, when Mrs Clarke had requested him not to mention it, and he had promised silence.

A case of the existence and operation of undue influence with the commander-in-chief, in which Mrs Clarke had no concern, came out in the seventh evening's examination. Major Turner, of the 3d regiment of dragoons, applied for leave to sell his troop: the application was regularly made, and, in the regular course of service, would have been granted, as a thing which he was entitled to ask. But Mrs Sinclair Sutherland, who, it was admitted in evidence, had formerly been a mistress of the duke's, addressed a letter to his royal highness, requesting him not to accept Major Turner's resignation, "because," she said, "he had behaved with unkindness toward a lady who merited different treatment. It was of importance for her to know where to find him for six months, and if he quitted the regiment, he meant to secrete himself from her. Besides, it was not quite honourable for an officer to wish to leave the army while his regiment was under orders for embarkation. His royal highness would therefore perceive that the indulgence was not deserved: she depended upon him to prevent his obtaining it for some months, and flattered herself he would not refuse so trifling and just a request."—Colonel Gordon declared, that it was the practice at the War-office to attend to such letters, and even to anony-

* "How severe a satire," said Mr Whitbread, (in that admirable speech in which he went through the whole evidence,) "did she pass in the short, uncontradicted history which she gave of the life and death of this gallant officer of artillery! He sung to the gay, and revelled with the great: he had been the welcome guest of every festive board; the esteemed friend of princes! But when the spirits ebbed, and the voice was no longer tuneful; while disease slowly dragged him to an early grave, he lingered and died in poverty and neglect, a debtor to the kindness and bounty of Mrs Clarke alone!"

mous ones. Major Turner's permission was delayed in consequence of this interference, and the general of the district was instructed to make inquiry into the truth of the accusation,—utterly unconnected as it was with the affairs of the army. The report which he procured and transmitted from the colonel of the regiment was, that in no one instance had he ever had occasion to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Major Turner; having ever found him to be a perfectly gentlemanly, honourable man. He had indeed, unfortunately for his own peace of mind, formed a connection with an artful woman, who had brought him into much trouble; but this was a circumstance which could on no account warrant the putting any obstacle to his wish of retiring." Upon this no further impediment was opposed, and the resignation was accepted. But Major Turner being made acquainted with these circumstances, requested he might be allowed to retain his rank; not asking for half-pay nor future promotion, but merely in consequence of the unpleasant attack which had been made upon his honour. This was refused. Colonel Gordon said it was contrary to the rules of the service, and had not, in any similar instance, been acceded to since the duke assumed the command of the army.—Now an instance precisely similar had already been proved before the committee, by Colonel Loraine, who was assistant military secretary to the duke at the time of Colonel French's levy. He had accepted a civil situation in the barrack department, and was allowed to retain his rank. That which is granted to one officer as a matter of favour, is not, assuredly, to be claimed by another as a matter of right. But in Major Turner's case there was an especial reason why the favour should have been granted him, and the reason assigned for refusing it was false.

Another case, equally unconnected with Mrs Clarke, and of far heavier import, was discovered by Lord Folkestone. *Feb. 15.* "A gentleman," he said, "who did not wish to be brought forward, told him that he had seen, in the possession of a person in the city, some papers of an important nature, chiefly affecting the Duke of York. He did not name the person, but said he was solicitor to a banker, whom he mentioned, and that the papers had come into his hands in consequence of a bankruptcy." Following this clue, Lord Folkestone found out the solicitor, called on him, and asked him if he possessed such documents. He acknowledged that he did; but said that he wished not to produce them, lest he might be looked upon as an informer, and have his name held up to the public, coupled with some of the persons who had been examined at the bar of the House of Commons. Some pains were taken to obviate these objections, but he said he was afraid the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his connections might injure him in his professional pursuits. It was not a matter of etiquette in his profession, in cases of bankruptcy, not to produce such papers, but the matter had been taken up as a ministerial question, and he was afraid to produce them, as the consequence to his family might be injurious, and he should be ruined. "This case," Lord Folkestone said, "was, to his own personal knowledge, not the only one in which important evidence on this subject had been kept back on similar grounds; for he knew of several officers in the army who could

offer very important evidence in support of the charges, but who could not be induced to come forward, avowedly through the apprehension that they should suffer severely in their professional pursuits, and be ultimately ruined.—The last time he had seen this solicitor, was on the morning of the present day; and on asking him whether he still had the papers, he answered no, frankly declaring that he had purposely put them out of his possession, in order that he might assign that as a reason for not producing them: He had not, however, destroyed them, but handed them over to a friend." Lord Folkestone said, "he felt it his duty to communicate these circumstances, and to move for the production of these papers, and the attendance of this solicitor. As he had not seen the documents, he could not say that they would bear directly on the case of the army; but the disposal of places under government had been frequently mentioned in the course of this inquiry, and they bore directly upon that.

Accordingly on the following evening the solicitor, Mr Archibald Duff, appeared with the papers at the bar, and the following facts were proved upon examining him, Mr Greenwood, Mr Adam, and Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor. A man of the name of Kennett, who had been an upholsterer, a quack, and twice a bankrupt, and who had stood in the pillory for a conspiracy to cheat his creditors, wrote to Colonel Taylor, who was then private secretary to the duke, stating, that he had something to propose for the advantage of his royal highness. A meeting was appointed, and he then offered to procure a loan of 30 or 40,000l. for him; which proposal Colonel Taylor submitted to the duke, and was desired, in consequence, to refer Kennett to Mr Adam. Mr Greenwood also was consulted upon the business. After it had proceeded thus far, Kennett told Colonel Taylor that Sir Horace Mann was his friend, and would feel much obliged to the colonel to use his influence with the duke, to assist him in obtaining a situation. Upon this Colonel Taylor was directed by his royal highness to say, that he would apply for the situation of assistant commissary-general for prisoners at Surinam for Kennett; but that he should be able to do it with more effect, if Sir Horace Mann would write to his royal highness, recommending him. In the hope, and for the purpose of obtaining this loan, the duke applied to Mr Long and Mr Pitt, to grant the place to Kennett. There happened to be no such office. The collectorship of the customs at Surinam was then asked for: it had been previously engaged, or this adventurer would have obtained it. The duke then voluntarily applied for the appointment of army agent at Surinam. This Kennett declined, because the emoluments were but trivial, in regard to the risk of the climate, and the short time the colony might be in our possession; but he asked for the situation of vendue-master, at a per centage, on the same footing as at Demerara. This also was applied for. But it was found that the loan was not forth-coming; Colonel Taylor heard something of the man's character, and the duke then ordered him to drop all farther application in his favour. Here was a plain case, and so incontestibly proved, that no attempt was made to explain away any part of it. The slightest inquiry would have shown

that Kennet was not merely a suspicious character, but an infamous one. No inquiry was made: it was by mere accident that Colonel Taylor heard any thing of his history. No other motive than the hope of procuring a loan by his means was ever pretended, and it was admitted, that for that motive the duke had employed his direct influence with government to obtain this man a lucrative appointment.

It was the fate of the Duke of York, during this inquiry, to suffer as much injury from the efforts made by his friends to serve him, as from the direct attacks of his enemies. Colonel Wardle and Mrs Clarke had been so little provided with proofs which could bring home their accusations to his royal highness, that if the case had rested solely upon what they could produce, however strong the impression might have been upon the public mind, the investigation would soon have been closed by a verdict of complete acquittal. Mr Perceval, seeking every where for evidence against the credibility of Mrs Clarke, as if the character in which she appeared at the bar did not necessarily excite sufficient suspicion, discovered that she lodged in the house of a baker, by name Nicholls, at Hampstead; and this person was summoned to the bar, to prove that she had called herself Mrs Dowler,—a fact in itself, and in all its bearings, utterly irrelevant to the inquiry. While she lodged with him, she had sent a great number of letters down stairs to light the fire with: they were thrown into a closet, and taken out when wanted for that purpose. Mrs Clarke, while the investigation was going on, happened to hear that some of these letters had not been destroyed, and Colonel Wardle, by her authority, went to Nicholls and demanded them. She owed this person money: he refused to deliver them, fancying them of some value, and brought them to the House of Commons. They were referred to a select committee, and such as related to the subject before the House were produced. Some of them were from Samuel Carter, stating his distress for money, and expressing the warmest gratitude for the supplies she sent him. Others were from General Clavering, and they contained the most damning proofs that he had solicited her to use her influence with the duke in his favour; that she did use that influence; and that he thanked her for her attempts to serve him. Some were from Baroness Noleken, who wanted a pension; some from Mr Elderton, for whom she obtained a paymastership; the duke, she said, obliging Mr Greenwood to give it, very much against that agent's inclination.

Another circumstance, which it was thought at first would weigh very heavily against Mrs Clarke, proved yet more remarkably in her favour. On Saturday the 4th., when the committee had only proceeded two evenings in the inquiry, Colonel Digby Hamilton, of the waggon train, to which Sandon belonged, informed Mr Adam and Mr Perceval, that Sandon (who had not then been examined) had called upon him, and informing him that he was implicated in some of the charges, and, among others, in Major Tonyn's case, told him, that when Major Tonyn became impatient, Mrs Clarke sent to show him a note from the duke, respecting him. Its contents were to say, that Tonyn's case should remain as it was. It was designed to show that the

person to whom it was written possessed influence with the commander-in-chief; and in consequence Major Tonyn consented to let his security remain. After he was gazetted, Sandon was directed to show him another note, purporting also to have been written by the duke, and saying, he would be gazetted that night. This Sandon gave to the major, and it had not been returned. The former he produced to Colonel Hamilton, and said, he thought he had better burn it; but the colonel strongly dissuaded him from destroying so material a part of the evidence. In this state the matter rested when Colonel Hamilton communicated it to Mr Adam and Mr Perceval: they imparted it on the same night to his royal highness, who utterly denied all knowledge of the transaction, and declared the note to be a forgery. As to the fact of the note relating to the appearance of Major Tonyn's name in the gazette, he could not be so positive: it was not impossible that he might have written such a note, in answer to one which might have been addressed to him: he could not call the circumstance to mind; but the other note he most positively denied having written. It was agreed upon, therefore, by Mr Adam and Mr Perceval, that Colonel Hamilton should instruct Sandon to keep himself clear of all interference on either side, till he should come to the bar; but, above all things, not to destroy the paper. But when the colonel saw him next, he said he had destroyed it. Ten days afterwards, Mr Perceval stated these *Feb.* 16. circumstances to the House. When they found the note had been destroyed, he said, Sandon was left to come to the bar, and state what case he should think proper. He had come there, and had suppressed this important feature in his evidence, which, whether the note were a forgery or not, ought to be communicated to the committee, in order that, if it were a forgery, the authors might be detected and punished; and if not, that it might have its due weight in the pending investigation. If there was any impropriety in delaying the communication till this time, Mr Perceval added, the fault was his.

Sandon was immediately called to the bar. After a long examination, he declared, that he had not destroyed the note, but had lost it; and in the course of his answers he prevaricated so grossly, that he was taken into custody, by an unanimous vote. He then requested to be brought to the bar again; begged pardon for his extraordinary behaviour, which, he said, proceeded from confusion; declared he was come to offer every thing he possibly could in atonement; that he had the note, and could lay his hand upon it, and if the House pleased, would go and fetch it. Who wrote it, he could not take upon himself to say: Mrs Clarke told him it was written by the duke. He was now sent in custody to his chambers, to fetch the note, and Mrs Clarke, who was altogether ignorant of what had past, was called in in the mean time. She was asked if she had sent any written paper by Sandon to Major Tonyn, and she said, she did not recollect: She was always very cautious of giving any written paper out of her hands: She did not think she had, but she could not speak positively. As you were so cautious, said Mr Perceval, in putting any paper out of your hands, would you not have recollected that circumstance, if it had occurred?

From the number of questions, and the way in which they were put to her, she now began to suspect that some writing of the duke's was meant, and she replied, that if Captain Sandon meant to insinuate there was any writing of the Duke of York's, she never gave any in her life to any one, except lately.—If you had sent such a paper by Captain Sandon to Major Tonyn, Mr Perceval pursued, is it possible that you should have forgotten it?—She answered, no, she should not have forgotten any thing of that sort, belonging to the Duke of York.—Did you, or did you not, send any note by Captain Sandon?—I never recollect sending him any note, she replied, but more especially any note of the duke's, because I should have been afraid of intrusting it to him.—Why did it occur to her to think that Captain Sandon had insinuated any such thing?—Because, said she, I think he might have insinuated any thing: I think he is very equal to it.—If Captain Sandon has presented any note to Major Tonyn, purporting to be a note written by the Duke of York, and given to him by you, is it true?—She replied, I do not think it is, and I am almost sure it is not: perhaps he has written one himself.

The serjeant-at-arms returned with Sandon, and all the papers in his possession relating to the matter under investigation. The note was read: it contained only these words: "I have just received your note, and Tonyn's business shall remain as it is. God bless you." It was inclosed in a cover, addressed to George Farquhar, Esq., the usual direction of the duke to Mrs Clarke.—Sandon was examined as to the motives for his conduct, and he could assign none. He declared he had no motive whatever for his extraordinary behaviour; that he was ashamed of what he had done; and he again requested the House to excuse him for telling these falsehoods. Mrs Clarke was again called in, the paper was shown her, and she was asked if she ever recollected seeing it before? I suppose I must have seen it before, she replied, for it is his royal highness's writing.—What reason had she to suppose she had seen it before?—She did not know how it could have got into that man's possession, unless she had given it him; and it was a direction which the duke frequently used.—Mr Perceval then asked her if she now recollected having given Sandon a letter upon that subject?—No, I do not, she replied, nor do I recollect giving him that; but I think I must have given it to him, because it must have been in my possession first.—Afterwards she said that she thought Sandon must have taken it without her permission, as she could recollect nothing about it.

No evidence could possibly carry with it more convincing marks of sincerity than that of Mrs Clarke upon this occasion: But Mr Perceval came prepossessed with a belief that the note was a forgery, (which, indeed, all the former circumstances seemed to render probable,) and his object now was to fix the suspicion of having forged it upon her. For this reason he examined her respecting some bills which she had drawn in her mother's name, guiding her mother's hand. This, it appeared, she always used to do, her mother having so little use of her hand, that it was impossible for her to write in any other manner.—Had she never imitated any body's hand-writing?—Not to make any use of it, she said.—But she had done it then?—Here,

too, her answers were like those of an innocent person. She did not know that she had done it; but very often when women were writing, they might say, Come, you write a hand, and see whether it is like any one's writing. I have done it lately, she said. Several of us were sitting together, and we were playing at some kind of game:—Perhaps there might be some bad construction put upon that.—When she was questioned further upon this, she continued,—It is very ridiculous to mention here, I think.—There is a game you play at: You put down a man's name, and then a woman's, and where they are, and what they are doing, and then make a long roll of it. It is very likely, when you have written a man's name, to say, it is very like the way in which he writes it himself;—or when speaking of a woman's, it is very like the way in which she writes hers,—if they should be friends whom you name.—As for the duke's name, she had never signed it in her life, except when he was present, and they were trying together how near she could write to him, and he to her.

Feb. 17. On the following evening, the opinion of various persons who were acquainted with the duke's handwriting was taken respecting the note. Colonel Gordon said, it bore a very strong resemblance to the duke's writing, and if it had had his signature, he should not have hesitated to act upon it. General Brownrigg did not think it was the duke's, though, if there had been no suspicion about it, he should very probably have acted upon it, the similarity was so strong. Mr Adam thought it was like the duke's. The clerk at the duke's banker's said, there seemed to him to be a difference between the note and the acknowledged letters of the duke's. A Jew, who had taught Mrs Clarke to paint on velvet, declared, he had heard her say she could forge the duke's name, and that he had seen her do it; but whether she had written Frederick, York, or Albany, he could not remember. Persons in the bank and the post-office, whose business it was to compare hand-writings, for the purpose of detecting forgery, were called in. Four of these persons thought the note was in the same hand-writing as the letters: one was of a contrary opinion. Here the investigation upon this point ended. It was impossible to obtain any legal proof of the authenticity, or of the forgery, an therefore every person was left to form his own opinion. It was generally thought that the note was genuine, and that both the duke and Mrs Clarke had forgotten it, as they easily might forget any thing which was of so little importance at the time. Sandon's conduct was not so easily explicable. That he had forged it no person suspected. Perhaps, as Mrs Clarke once seemed to think, he had taken it away without her knowledge, and on that account might have felt some shame at producing it. More probably he thought it a document which bore strongly against the duke, and therefore hoped to get his own price for concealing it. This motive would be consistent with the character in which he appeared throughout the whole of these transactions; but even upon this supposition, it would still be difficult to explain the extraordinary folly with which he proceeded. It ended in his committal to Newgate, for gross prevarication.

The proceedings against Sandon, and the remarks of the journalists,

who did not fail to observe, that the like offence called for the like punishment, whatever might be the rank of the offender, could not sit easy upon General Clavering, after the production of those letters which the Hampstead baker had saved from the fire, to rise in judgement against him. Clearly, however, as he was convicted, by his own hand-writing, of having given false testimony, his evil genius would not suffer him to profit by that forbearance which the House of Commons seemed willing to have shewn towards him; and he addressed a letter to the chairman of the committee, requesting that he might be called again before the House, in order to explain a seeming inconsistency in his evidence. Upon this Mr Williams Wynn observed, that if General Clavering chose to be examined again, he must remember it was at his peril. The general however appeared, and was asked what part of his evidence he wished to explain. "It was intimated to me yesterday," he said, "that an idea had gone forth that part of the evidence I had given on a former evening was not correct. I certainly started at the idea, having been thoroughly satisfied in my own mind, that it was my intention to state every thing to the very best of my knowledge. Yesterday, however, I referred to the minutes, which I had not seen before, and it did certainly appear to me that the answers I had given to the questions were not perfectly such as I should have given, had I clearly comprehended those questions; and however extraordinary this may appear to the committee, I pledge my sacred honour and word, the mistake was perfectly involuntary on my part; and it was my entire intention, as well as my wish, to give every information in my power; and I should feel myself particularly honoured and flattered by as many questions as the committee shall think it proper to put to me on this occasion."—He then declared, that when he was asked whether he had ever any communication with Mrs Clarke on the subject of army promotions, he understood that conversation was meant, not communication by letter; and that when he had been asked if he knew whether Mrs Clarke had used her influence in favour of any person whatever in the army with the commander-in-chief, he thought that question related to other persons, and did not include himself.

The letters which had been found at the baker's were then produced, and acknowledged by General Clavering to be his writing. Mr Whitbread closely examined him; and he declared that he had himself offered Mrs Clarke 1000l., if she could obtain him permission to raise a regiment. She wrote to him in reply, that his royal highness would not hear of it; and from that answer it was his decided opinion that she did not possess any influence over the duke, in the distribution of military promotions. After a long examination, he was directed to withdraw, and Mr Williams Wynn rose, to discharge a painful duty, he said; but painful as it might be, it was a duty, and he would not shrink from the performance of it. The committee must be aware of the nature of the testimony given by the witness who had just withdrawn, and as he had been warned that he was to give his evidence at his own peril, and had exposed himself to the animadversion

of the House, he moved that General Clavering had prevaricated in his evidence. General Montague Matthew called upon Mr Wynn not to press a motion which went to affect the honour and feelings of a gallant and deserving officer. He had listened attentively to the evidence, and could not say there was any prevarication. Sir Matthew White Ridley also defended the general. Mr Perceval said, he was not zealous to cover him; but though there existed contradictions between his letters and his verbal testimony, he still did not think it could be proved that he had prevaricated. Mr Yorke observed, that General Clavering had come to the bar to explain his former evidence: it was not therefore a trifling variation that was to be considered prevarication. He thought it would be better to put off the consideration of such points, except in cases of gross and wilful falsehood, till the inquiry was concluded. The day of reckoning would come, when the House ought to take up the consideration of the various acts of corruption, imposition, and swindling which had come out in the progress of this business. Sir T. Turton also, and the secretary at war spoke in favour of the general. Upon this Mr Wynn exposed in a perspicuous manner the contradictions involved in General Clavering's testimony, and warned the committee what the public would think, if they saw that delinquents of a higher rank were suffered to escape, while men in humbler life were punished for the same offence. Mr Wilberforce reasoned to the same effect, but advised Mr Wynn to adjourn the discussion. This Mr Perceval advised also, till the inquiry was concluded; and Mr Wynn, yielding to that advice, withdrew his motion for the present.

On the last evening of the inquiry, Miss Taylor *Feb. 22.* was again called in. The solicitor-general asked her if her father did not go by the name of Chance. Mr W. Smith objected to this mode of examination, the fact being of little consequence; and Mr Whitbread, observing that the present questions pressed upon the witness were very severe, maintained that any temporary change in her father's name, arising from embarrassment, or other circumstances, could not affect her credit. The question, however, was insisted on, and she answered, that she had never heard him called by any other name than Taylor.—But, said Mr Cavendish Bradshaw, might he not, to avoid his creditors, have taken the name of Chance, or any other name, without your knowledge?—Then how should I know it, she replied.—Mr Perceval now took up the examination. Is your father alive?—He is.—Has your mother been in custody for debt within a short time?—I cannot answer that.—Do not you know that your mother has been in execution for debt? And here he expressed his regret that he should be thus compelled to hurt her feelings, for she burst into tears, and replied, My mother has nothing to do with the present subject.—The question, however, was repeated, and she was informed that she must answer it. Still she hesitated, saying, I must appeal to the indulgence of the chairman: I cannot answer it. The chairman said, it was his duty to call upon her for an answer; and upon its being again asked, Do you know that your mother is in custody for debt? she acknowledged, in tears,

that it was so. How long? She replied, still weeping, nearly two years. Then she was directed to withdraw, and Mr Perceval said, the gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, when ready to condemn his mode of examination, appeared to forget that this witness had represented herself, on a former night, as the legitimate daughter of married parents; though it was now proved, by the imprisonment of her mother, that her parents were never married. Mr W. Smith replied, he did condemn his mode of examination. First, it had been attempted to cast imputations upon the character of the witness herself, and when that had failed, her veracity was to be questioned, because she had the misfortune to be the offspring of an illicit connection. In his opinion, her delicacy in endeavouring to conceal that circumstance, instead of weakening, strengthened her yet unshaken claims to credit. The same opinion was maintained by Mr Whitbread. The question for the decision of the committee was not, he said, whether Miss Taylor's birth was respectable, but whether her testimony was creditable. Besides, he believed the chancellor of the exchequer had assumed more than the evidence would justify, when he asserted that she had represented herself as the daughter of married parents. Her former evidence was then read, and it was found that she had made no such statement. She had been asked, what are your parents, and her answer was, my father was a gentleman; an answer which Sir John Sebright declared, impressed him at the time with an opinion that she was an illegitimate child. Mr Barham cried out against this attempt to discredit a correct witness, not upon her own testimony, but upon the errors of her parents; and Mr Williams Wynn said, it was not to be endured, if, because her explanation was not made at once, without regard to decorum or natural feeling, that therefore a suspicion was to be cast upon her veracity. The feeling of the House and of the country were most decidedly with Mr Wynn upon this subject; and the prejudice which prevailed against the duke was materially heightened by the indignation which was felt against the means that had been used to defend him.

Before the committee concluded its inquiry, Mr Yorke questioned the general officers in the House as to the improvements which the Duke of York had made in the army. General Chapple Norton affirmed, that he had done more service to the army than all his predecessors, the commanders-in-chief. He was the instrument, through that House, of giving bread to the soldier, when he had little or nothing to eat. He first got an allowance of bread to the soldiers, and afterwards of beer, and then their pay increased, upon which they are very comfortable. Before that time they had a very scanty pittance to subsist on in this country; so scanty, indeed, that when the 33d regiment was about to return home from a foreign station, and the commanding officer, according to the articles of war, made known to the men, that any one who wished to remain behind upon that station was at liberty to do so; the men informed him that it was their intention all to remain behind, and continue abroad, because where they were they had sufficient to eat, and if they came to England, they should not have a dinner. This evil his royal highness had remedied. The York hospital also had been instituted in the duke's time, and, he

took it for granted, very much by his means; and men, when they were discharged now, were not left to perish. Mr Yorke asked, whether, in his opinion, the discipline of the army was improved since his royal highness took the command? General Norton answered, I am one of those, unfortunately, who think there was a very good system of discipline in the army before his royal highness came to the head of it. Not satisfied with this, Mr Yorke asked if the state of the army was not improved since Lord Amherst's time; but the general replied, there was a very good system then, or our regiments would not have gained the advantages which they did. General Fitzpatrick, however, declared, that the army had derived very great improvement, in every respect, from his royal highness's management. Sir James Pulteney was certain that its discipline in the field had improved to a very great degree. He recollected when it was a matter of difficulty to place five or six regiments upon the ground, so as to be enabled to act against an enemy: that operation was now performed with as much ease as that of placing a company. When five or six regiments were so placed, it was once a matter of great difficulty to make them move in an uniform line: this, also, was now done with the utmost precision and facility. Unquestionably he thought the discipline of the army, and their power of action, had been very considerably improved by the system of the Duke of York, and to that system great part of our military glory was owing. Sir Arthur Wellesley's testimony was more full and comprehensive. "I can say, from my own knowledge," he said, "as having been a lieutenant-colonel in the army when his royal highness was appointed to command it, and having a very intimate knowledge of it since, that it is materially improved in every respect; that the discipline of the soldiers is improved; that owing to the establishments formed under the directions of his royal highness, the officers are improved in knowledge; that the staff of the army is much better, and much more complete than it was; that the cavalry is improved; that the officers of cavalry are better than they were; that the army is more complete in officers; that the system of subordination among the officers is better than it was; and that the whole system of the management of the clothing, the interior economy of the regiments, and every thing that relates to the military discipline of the soldier, and the military efficiency of the army, has been greatly improved since his royal highness was appointed commander-in-chief." "Do you," said Mr Yorke, "consider the improvements you have specified to be owing to the personal superintendance and personal exertions of his royal highness?" Sir Arthur replied, "the improvements to which I have adverted have been owing to the regulations of his royal highness, and to his personal superintendance, and his personal exertions over the general officers and others who were to see those regulations carried into execution." General Grosvenor rose last, to testify his high sense of the advantages the army had derived from the zeal, attention, and care of his royal highness; and this evidence in favour of the duke's general merit as commander-in-chief having been entered in the minutes of the investigation, the committee concluded their sittings. *Feb. 22.*

CHAP. VII.

Duke of York's Letter to the Speaker. Mr Williams Wynn's Motion against General Clavering. Debates upon the Evidence. Motions of Colonel Wardle, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr Bragge Bathurst, Mr Bankes, and Sir Thomas Turton. Final Acquittal and Resignation of the Duke.

Feb. 23. WHEN the House assembled on the following evening, the Speaker received a letter in these words from the Duke of York:—

"SIR,—I have waited with the greatest anxiety until the committee appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into my conduct as commander-in-chief of his Majesty's army had closed its examinations, and I now hope that it will not be deemed improper to address this letter through you to the House of Commons.

"I observe, with the deepest concern, that, in the course of this inquiry, my name has been coupled with transactions the most criminal and disgraceful; and I must ever regret and lament that a connexion should ever have existed which has thus exposed my character and honour to public animadversion.

"With respect to any alleged offences connected with the discharge of my official duties, I do, in the most solemn manner, upon my honour as a prince, distinctly assert my innocence, not only by denying all corrupt participation in any of the infamous transactions which have appeared in evidence at the bar of the House of Commons, or any connivance at their existence, but also the slightest knowledge or suspicion that they existed at all.

"My consciousness of innocence leads me confidently to hope that the House of Commons will not, upon such evidence as they have heard, adopt any proceeding prejudicial to my honour and character; but if, upon such testimony as has been adduced against me, the House of Commons can think my innocence questionable, I claim of their justice that I shall not be condemned without trial, or be deprived of the benefit and protection which is afforded to every British subject, by those sanctions under which alone evidence is received in the ordinary administration of the law."

When the Speaker had read this to the House, he suggested, that, instead of the usual course of ordering the letter to lie on the table, it should immediately be copied into

the votes and journals, that no delay might occur in placing it in the possession of every individual member.

On the following evening, Mr Whitbread said, that "though he had not objected to the order that this letter should lie on the table, a few minutes reflection had convinced him that the true mode of proceeding would have been to have adjourned the debate. The letter in question affected the privileges of that House more deeply than any thing which had ever occurred since he had the honour of a seat in it. It struck at the privileges of the Commons, by stating, that they had examined evidence which they ought not to have done. His royal highness was as competent to have written to the House in the first instance, that it ought not to institute and carry on any inquiry on such evidence as would be produced before it. If it was the intention of any one of those who had advised his royal highness to write this letter hereafter to make any motion on the subject, the House would then be enabled to judge what line of conduct ought to be adopted respecting it. Till he received some answer on that head, he should content himself with repeating, that he deemed the letter to be a gross violation of the privileges of the House." Mr Perceval replied, "all he understood by the letter was this:—his royal highness supposing himself to be attacked in such a manner as to make it necessary to go into an inquiry, in order that the whole truth might be elicited in the most open mode, and finding that the evidence was closed, intended to lay before the House an allegation of his innocence; and if the House should, after that allegation, be inclined to doubt his innocence, he stated, that he hoped the House would not enter upon any proceeding which might have the effect of condemning him before he could have a trial, in which he would have the advantage of evidence under all the sanction and solemnity of the law. His royal highness, he was certain, had not the smallest intention to attack the privileges of the House; and how the letter could be thought an attack upon them, he could not conceive. For his own part, he had no intention of moving any thing on the subject, nor did he understand that any one else had. The letter was now become a document on the table, and, like any other paper or petition which was ordered to lie there, might be referred to by every member of the House; and any individual who referred to it might make what remarks he pleased, or adopt any proceedings relative to it which he thought necessary." Lord Henry Petty then observed, that "the letter was not objected to as containing an allegation of innocence, but as going beyond that allegation. It was subject to the obvious meaning, that no declaration could be come to by the House on the evidence laid before it, but such as would carry it out of the province of the House; and that the House ought not to determine on the evidence laid before it, which was the only evidence that it could receive."

Feb. 28. A few days afterwards, Mr Williams Wynn, premising that this was a business upon which the opinion of Parliament ought to be taken, gave notice of his intention to move a resolution, "that it was consistent with the duty and privileges of that House to come to a determination on evidence examined at that bar, without submitting the case to any other tribunal. He

should, however, defer the motion till all the proceedings, in consequence of the inquiry, were concluded."

March 3. Before those proceedings came on, Mr Wynn again moved a resolution, declaring that General Clavering had been guilty of prevarication; but, upon the motion of Mr Perceval, the debate was adjourned till after the decision of the great question.

That question came forward on the 8th of March. Colonel Wardle opened it.. "However I may feel hurt," said he, "that motives highly injurious to my character, and not more injurious than false, have been indirectly attributed to me, as the grounds of my proceedings; and though I may also have thought that, in the early stage of the inquiry, I was harshly treated, on these points I shall make no comment, but proceed to the more pleasant task of offering my thanks where I feel them due:—To the House, for all its indulgence to me during the arduous investigation,—to his Majesty's ministers, for the attention which they paid to my request, when, exhausted by fatigue, both of mind and of body, I applied for one day's respite from my labour." Then, after expressing his obligations to Mr Whitbread, for standing manfully forward in his defence, and regretting that Sir Francis Burdett had been prevented by indisposition from continuing the assistance which he had begun, he spoke of Lord Folkestone's exertions in his behalf. "He not only," said Colonel Wardle, "rendered me, in the early stage of this important inquiry, every assistance which his zeal and great talents could command, but voluntarily committed himself with me as a direct party in the proceedings; and that, too, at a time when the danger and difficulty of the undertaking was the only theme on both sides of the House, and when public odium was held out as likely to fall on me. Vain would it be for me to say how much I feel indebted for his powerful exertions: the country will do ample justice to his manly conduct, and appreciate the merits of his true patriotism." Then adverting to those who had acted as counsel on the other side, "I rejoice," said he, "that his royal highness has been most ably defended. If his Majesty's ministers and the crown lawyers thought it their duty to do so, they have acted most openly, which does them honour;—at least it will convince the public that nothing has been left undone in the defence, to render it effectual. But the representatives of the people ought as religiously to maintain the rights of the people, as the servants of the king do those of the crown: and there is one consideration which I trust the House will not be insensible to—that whatever may be due to the rank of his royal highness, much is also due from the representatives of the people to their constituents and to the country."

Colonel Wardle then entered into a succinct and clear summary of all the cases, shewing in what manner they were brought home to the duke, and concluded by moving an address to his Majesty, to this effect: "That information having been laid before the House, and evidence produced to support it, of various corrupt practices and abuses existing in the disposal of commissions and promotions in the army, and diligent inquiry having been made, it was with the utmost concern and astonishment that his Majesty's faithful Commons found themselves obliged most humbly to inform him, that the information was

substantially true. They were restrained by motives of respect and attachment from entering into a detail of these transactions, being convinced that they could not be stated without exciting the most painful sensations of grief and indignation in his Majesty's breast. Without entering into any other of the many obvious consequences which might be expected to follow from the belief, once generally established, of the prevalence of such abuses in the military department, there was one great, essential, and inseparable consideration, which they humbly begged in a more particular manner to submit to his Majesty; namely, that if an opinion should prevail among his land forces that promotion might be obtained by other means than by merit and services,—by means at once unjust to the army, and disgraceful to the authority placed over it,—the effect must necessarily be to wound the feelings and abate the zeal of all ranks and descriptions in the army. It was the opinion of the House, that these abuses could not have prevailed, to the extent in which they had been proved to exist, without the knowledge of the commander-in-chief; and even if, upon any principle of reason or probability, it could be presumed that abuses so various and so long continued could have prevailed without his knowledge, such a presumption in his favour would not warrant the conclusion, that the command of the army could with safety, or ought in prudence, to be continued in his hands. On these grounds and principles, his Majesty's faithful Commons most humbly submit their opinion to his Majesty's gracious consideration, that his Royal Highness the Duke of York ought to be deprived of the command of the army."

When Colonel Wardle had concluded, Mr Burton rose; a judge, far advanced in years, and blind. "He had risen thus early," he said, "lest he should be too much exhausted to deliver his sentiments at a late hour. The habits of his life (for during the last thirty years he had been engaged in the examination of criminal cases) qualified him to understand the nature of evidence, and he had bestowed his best attention upon this important case; the more willingly, because few persons were so unconnected as himself with the commander-in-chief. I never," said he, "had the honour of exchanging a single word with him; and it so happens, that I have not in the army any relative, any friend, or even any intimate acquaintance, nor any one for whom I have ever received, or can expect to receive, a single favour." The first step to be taken, he argued, was to clear away all extraneous matter from the real subject of investigation, which was confined to the official acts of the commander-in-chief, respecting commissions, exchanges, and promotions in the army. "Now, one thing which forms no object of our consideration, in the way of crime or punishment, is a circumstance which none of us can contemplate without the deepest regret—I mean the breach of the marriage vow. I trust that it will not be suspected that I am an advocate for the sin of adultery, or that I have any desire to excuse or extenuate it; but this is no tribunal for the trial and punishment of that sin against the law of God; so that, how much soever we may lament, we must be cautious not to

confound it with the proper subject of our deliberations—an offence against the law of the land. Upon the same grounds, the inquiry being limited to the official acts of the commander-in-chief, all that concerns mere recommendations to offices or emoluments not in the army, nor within the duke's patronage, is to be laid out of the present consideration, except inasmuch as they may tend to throw any light on the question before us."

Mr Burton proceeded upon this principle in his speech; but it was the naked, unqualified principle; for he omitted not only all irrelevant matter, but every thing which was not immediately connected with the army, however strongly it might bear upon the direct charges. Not the slightest mention did he make of Dr O'Meara, nor of Kennet,—two cases of the utmost importance; the latter proving that the duke, for pecuniary considerations, had solicited a lucrative situation for a man of whom he knew nothing; the former, that by the desire of his mistress he had obtained permission for a preferment-hunter to preach before the king. Upon the question of the mysterious note, as he called it, he pointed out a circumstance which involved it still more in mystery. The envelope in which it was wrapped, according to Sandon's account, by Mrs Clarke, was post-marked four days after the date of the gazette in which Major Tonyn was gazetted,—consequently too late to have answered its alleged purpose, even if the note were admitted to be genuine. Mr Perceval also laid great stress upon this, as proving that a note received from Mrs Clarke in that cover could not possibly have been shewn to Major Tonyn before his promotion. This inference indeed is palpable; and if Mrs Clarke had corroborated Sandon's story respecting the note, it would effectually have convicted them of collusion and falsehood. But her denial that she had ever given such a paper, and her surprise when it was produced, were such strong and unequivocal marks of sincerity, that no suspicion could rest upon her; and the only solution of the difficulty seems to be, that Sandon had carried away the note and the cover at different times. Major Tonyn's testimony, had he been in England, might have thrown some light upon the subject. As for the authenticity of the note, though it was never allowed by the ministry, they admitted that the general opinion was in its favour; and it was in fact proved by Mr Bathurst, who discovered that Major Tonyn's name was correctly spelt there, whereas in all Mrs Clarke's letters it had uniformly been miswritten.

Upon the conversation reported by Miss Taylor, which brought the charge of connivance home to the duke, Mr Burton commented in a very remarkable manner. "His royal highness complained that French worried him continually about the levy; and, turning to Mrs Clarke, said, 'How does he behave to you, darling?' Now," said he, "is it not a rule of ordinary justice, that if words are equally capable of two constructions, that sense shall be put upon them which is consistent with innocence? and in the present case, the opposite appears to me an overstrained and unnatural construction. To my understanding, the question obviously means, Does he worry you as he does me? and to that question the answer may be true; whereas in the imputed sense it is obviously otherwise; for he

had already behaved more handsomely than she had any right to expect." Thus easily can men whose minds are strongly biassed delude themselves by the shallowest arguments and most wretched subterfuges. "It may perhaps be imputed to me," the blind old judge concluded, "that I have some wish to conciliate the favour of the crown. Against such imputations I can only say, that if gentlemen will consider my years and my peculiar circumstances, I believe they will find very few who have so little to hope, and so little to fear, on this side of the grave. It is indeed beyond it that I have been looking,—it is to that tribunal before which we must all account for our actions here; and with that awful scene in contemplation, I am prepared to pronounce my sincere opinion, that there is no ground for any of the charges. I am, however, by no means inclined to assert, that the immoral connexion which has led to so many unhappy consequences ought to pass wholly unnoticed; on the contrary, the occasion seems to require some expression of regret that the commander-in-chief should have deviated so widely from habits of domestic virtue, of which his royal parent has furnished, to the blessing of the country, so bright an example."

Whatever impression this speech may have made in the House of Commons, its effect upon the people was exceedingly unfavourable. So strongly were they persuaded that the charges against the Duke of York were well founded, and so satisfied were they with the evidence which had been adduced, that this solemn affirmation of a man who believed them groundless, and appealed to his age and blindness in proof of his sincerity, shocked them, as something monstrous. They felt as if it had been a stage trick, concerted for the purpose; and they did not consider that even a less degree of prepossession than that which made them judge thus uncharitably of Mr Burton, might well have enabled him conscientiously to acquit the duke. Mr Perceval followed on the same side. He condemned the address which Colonel Wardle had moved, as being inconclusive, because it did not directly pronounce that the charges had been proved against his royal highness; but, leaving the question of corruption, of such high guilt or innocence undecided, called upon the king to remove him, as if the truth or falsehood of the allegation were a matter of indifference, and it amounted practically to the same thing whether these corrupt practices existed with his knowledge or without it. "If the crime of the accused personage," said he, "would be so greatly aggravated by his rank, are we not to take into consideration also what is due to him, or rather what is due to the public, on account of that rank? Let us recollect who it is that we are called upon to dismiss from our bar, and send forth into the world with a doubtful character: Let us recollect that it is a person not only high in office and in rank, but one whose birth places him so near the crown, that events, however much to be deprecated, yet quite within the reach of possible, nay, almost probable occurrence, may one day call him to the throne itself. Shall we then, with such a possibility before us, leave it doubtful and uncertain whether this high personage has, or has not, in the opinion of this House, been found clear of all public guilt, or has been disgraced by the lowest and most infamous corruption? I

am sure there is not an honest or just feeling in the House, that will not go along with me in condemning and deprecating so unfair, so timid, and yet so dangerous a course; a course which would for ever disgrace and destroy the character of this House in the eyes of the country. It is a measure framed with complicated ambiguity, or rather with an insidious alternative, as if for the mere purpose of picking up some of the straggling votes of those, who, not agreeing with the accuser as to the nature and extent of the offence, may yet concur from any other motives, public or personal, in desiring the removal of his royal highness from office. If the honourable gentleman had continued to be actuated by that feeling which originally impelled him to come forward in the business, he would certainly never have proposed to the House the address which we have heard from him. He has yielded to other counsels, or he would not thus have frittered down his charge. Whether his offence amounts to corruption or not, let the Duke of York be removed, is no language of his. If he had consulted his own manly feelings on this subject, he would have scorned to offer such a proposition to the House. But he has mixed with others in counsel: he has advised with cooler heads; heads that mean more than he means, and more than they will let him know."

"If the address were adopted," Mr Perceval argued, "the king must be compelled to direct his attorney-general to institute a public prosecution against the Duke of York. But," said he, "is there any man in this House who would consent to impose upon his Majesty such a duty as that of directing the attorney-general to prosecute the Duke of York at the Old Bailey, or at the King's Bench? Is there a man in the House who would wish to impose on him so painful a sacrifice of his parental feelings? Would it be consistent with the dignity of this House to impose upon the king that duty, which, from whatever motives, we are afraid, or decline to perform ourselves? If we think these charges are established, the result ought to be, and must be, to send them ourselves to the bar of the House of Lords, and by the constitutional and appropriate proceeding of impeachment, put the duke upon his defence, and upon his trial. In my judgement, the Duke of York is not guilty of corruption or connivance. This is the opinion which, in my judgement, we are imperatively called on by the justice of the case to pronounce." Then avowing his own prepossession upon the case, he continued, "I certainly did come to the examination of the illustrious person under accusation strongly influenced by the desire that he should be exculpated, and cleared from every imputation of blame. I came to it with every prejudice against the truth of the accusation. Whatever may be the language of pamphlets and libels, published and circulated with malicious industry, for the purpose, not merely of destroying the character of his royal highness, but through him of exciting sentiments hostile to the family on the throne, (the effects of which libels are now operating strongly against his royal highness, both within this house and out of it,) I had formed the opinion, notwithstanding these attempts to poison the public mind, that there never was a time in which there was less ground for the suspicion of personal corruption in persons either illustrious by

birth, or exalted by rank, office, and station, than the present moment. The age has its vices, no doubt; but the vice of pecuniary corruption in the higher ranks of society is not (on my conscience I state it) the vice of the present day. These prejudices, which I have thus avowed, were undoubtedly strong in my mind; and as they were strong generally in favour of any public men, so does it appear more particularly improbable to my feelings, that such charges could apply to one in so peculiarly elevated a station as that of the illustrious person now the subject of our inquiry. I never could bring my mind to believe, that, for so mean and despicable a consideration, (for the whole amount of Mrs Clarke's iniquitous gains, according to her own evidence, does not much exceed two or three thousand pounds,) his royal highness should have lent himself to this base conspiracy against the public interest and the interest of the army; that he should have assisted Mrs Clarke with the power of his official situation; that he should have become a partner in her infamous scheme; that he should have so humbled and degraded himself, as to have rendered his rank, and influence, and authority, subservient to her designs; and that he should so far have forgot what was due to his birth, his family, his own character, and to the public, as to have told this abandoned woman, (for such is her evidence,) pointing out to her these corrupt practices as the source of pecuniary supply, that 'if she was clever, she could never want money;' and that he should have done this for the purpose of feeding and supporting the expence of their adulterous connection." At this he was interrupted by reiterated acclamations of—Hear, hear! "Sir," he pursued, addressing the Speaker, "I hardly understand that cry. Is it that any honourable gentleman imagines, that, in using an epithet to characterise the unfortunate connection between his royal highness and Mrs Clarke in appropriate language, I have inadvertently slipped into a censure which I should wish to retract? Does any one who hears me defending his royal highness from a charge which I feel to be false, imagine that I am therefore here to defend vice, or to palliate it with epithets that may disguise its character? Nothing, sir, can be farther from my intention. I lament, I deplore as deeply as any man can do, the errors, the moral guilt into which, in an evil hour, his royal highness suffered himself to be plunged, by his infatuated attachment to this most profligate woman. I will not, out of delicacy to him, withhold any censure which it may be due and becoming for an individual in this House to pronounce upon it. But surely it is not inconsistent with that sentiment, and with that determination, to suppose that he cannot have been guilty of such a departure from the duties of his public station; that he cannot so far have forgotten the consideration of every thing dear and valuable to a person of his exalted birth, (for the higher a man rises in society, the more must he feel the value of character, and the importance of public opinion,) as to have so degraded, so debased himself, as to have become the willing instrument of Mrs Clarke and her associates. Under this impression, I confess, that every prejudice in my mind was against the idea that his royal highness could be personally implicated in the practices pointed out by these charges. I certainly had the means of knowing that cer-

rupt practices did exist with regard to the sale of offices, though not by persons in office, or in government, but under the assumed and pretended authority of government. I had recently directed my endeavours to detect and to pursue them in one instance, in which I had been furnished with a clue to them. I knew there were low and mean persons, who, pretending to possess an influence in disposing of public employments, civil and military, carried on a lucrative traffick by means of the delusions they held forth to the public. But I knew at the same time, that, at least as far as respected those civil offices and places under government with which I had any means of being particularly acquainted, their pretensions were wholly false; and I did consequently believe that such would eventually, and in proof, turn out to be the fact in the case of the Duke of York. That his royal highness had formed a most intimate and unfortunate connection with Mrs Clarke, cannot be denied, and must ever be lamented; that Mrs Clarke was, during the continuance of this connection, concerned in most corrupt transactions, cannot be doubted;—and that she has continued in the practice of them ever since that connection was dissolved, is also clear, and ought never to be forgotten. The question in dispute is, whether his royal highness was privy to these transactions? Did he authorize them? Did he countenance them? Did he connive at them?"

Mr Perceval then entered into an examination of the evidence on each of the cases. Great part of all the numerous speeches which were made upon the subject was employed in attempting, on the one side, to destroy the credibility of Mrs Clarke as a witness, and, on the other, to establish it. To repeat any of these arguments would be equally wearisome and useless. That she was a woman who scrupled at no misrepresentation, no calumny, and no falsehood that would serve her turn, has abundantly been proved by her subsequent conduct; and if the charges against the Duke of York had rested upon no other evidence than hers, they could now no longer be maintained. But upon this investigation she had sense enough to perceive that nothing but perfect sincerity could bear her through; and, in fact, upon no system of collusion could she have withstood the long, and severe, and repeated trials to which she was exposed. Mr Perceval displayed great lawyer-like ingenuity in sifting the evidence, discovering all its flaws, and exposing and magnifying its contradictions. No pleader ever made a better defence when the merits of the case were against him. Having, as he conceived, acquitted the duke of all public and official misconduct, he proceeded to examine the question upon principles of general policy and expediency. "I am far," he said, "from being desirous of conveying an opinion that policy should generally be considered as wholly separated from morality and religion, or even as not being most intimately blended and united with them; or that, in this particular case, political considerations, connected with the individual whose conduct is the subject of our inquiry, should exclude either those feelings or those expressions which considerations of morality and religion may suggest. I mean no such thing. Policy, as well as a sense of what is due to morality, requires of us that the facts which have appeared before us should not pass unnoticed; and therefore the acquittal of his

royal highness from all charge of public delinquency, so as to render his removal from office wholly unnecessary, could not, without some expression of our feelings on the other parts of the case, be a satisfactory, a seemly, or a justifiable termination of this inquiry. But called upon by what we conceive to be due to a sense of public morals and of religion, we should not forget to have some indulgence for human frailties as a part of our morality; and we should also, feeling as statesmen upon this particular question, take into our gravest consideration the circumstances of expediency and policy connected with it, and view the question in all the various and important bearings which it has upon the public interests of the country at large—admitting, certainly, as I have admitted, that considerations of morality and religion have most important bearings upon those interests.

"Those, indeed, if there are any such, who think that his royal highness is an unfit person to hold the situation he has so long filled; who think that, during fourteen or fifteen years which this illustrious prince has been at the head of the military department of the country, the army has not prospered under his command—that the regulations which he has introduced have not been most beneficial—that he has not, as a father, watched over its interests, increasing the comforts of the soldier, promoting the interest of the meritorious officer, establishing charitable and useful institutions for the orphans and children of soldiers, providing for the better education of officers in military knowledge—that he has not laboured, and successfully, for the improvement of the discipline of the army, and has no merit for having brought it to the high standard of perfection at which it exists at this day;—those who think thus of the Duke of York, may undoubtedly, with a just regard to the interests of the country and of the army, wish for his removal, upon grounds totally independent of this inquiry; and if they can look to any probable arrangement which may furnish the army with a better commander-in-chief; if they see the means of obtaining such an arrangement, by which there would be less room for the exercise of party feelings, less jealousies, less interference of improper influence in military promotions,—they may then, politically speaking, not unwisely seize this opportunity of accomplishing what they would deem a great public benefit, in procuring his removal. But those, on the contrary, who, upon a near and accurate inspection of all these circumstances, think otherwise, will deprecate his removal as a national calamity; and if they see no ground for charging him with public guilt, will feel anxious to retain him; and whatever measure of censure or regret they may think proper to adopt, will feel it an important consideration so to temper the severity of their censure, as not to accompany it with any thing that shall necessarily compel the removal of his royal highness from the situation of commander-in-chief;—above all, they will abstain from addressing for any removal connected with this inquiry; because such an address, so connected, would necessarily imply an opinion of some corruption, which I trust this House will negative, or some guilty participation in the offences which this inquiry has brought to light."

Mr Curwen, in speaking upon this

subject, had warned the House that the country would decide on their conduct. "I should now conclude," said Mr Perceval, "but for the necessity of adverting to this observation. If it was meant merely to remind us that, as public characters, we ought to keep in view the opinion of the public; that it becomes us to take a proper estimate of its value, as all our hopes of public usefulness must be founded on the good opinion and confidence of the country, I perfectly agree with the honourable gentleman; and if his observation is to be carried no further, and implied no more, I have no objection to it; but if it may be supposed to refer to any existing impression in the public mind, to which the opinion of this House must conform, or that the country will, as the honourable gentleman expresses himself, decide against the conduct of the House, I deprecate the doctrine, as most unconstitutional, and as most unjust. What, have we been sitting week after week upon a painful examination of this case, and are we at last to decide, not upon our own view of the evidence which we ourselves have heard, but upon the opinion which has been formed of it by others? An opinion, too, how formed? Formed, through the most indecent abuse of the liberty of the press, upon those garbled extracts of the evidence which have been circulated during the inquiry, and commented upon with an industry as unprecedented as it was malicious. Are we to be threatened with the judgement of the country upon our conduct, if we do not bend our decision to such an opinion? Against the doctrine, that this House is to decide upon any opinion but its own, even when sitting in its legislative capacity, I beg leave to enter my strongest protest; but that this House can think that, in a case of a judicial nature, on which we are to decide upon the interests and honour of an individual, we ought so to be influenced by an opinion which we must know to have been so mischievously excited, I cannot, and I will not believe.

"We must, I admit, for the efficiency of our measures, and for the dignity of our character, keep in view the public opinion; we should so conduct ourselves, that our conduct ought to be approved by our constituents and our country; and we may confidently trust, that if we do our duty conscientiously, the enlightened understandings of the people will give us credit for having done it faithfully, however it may be at variance with their present impressions. If there are those who, forming a premature judgement, have thought differently, they will retract their erroneous opinions, and they will do justice to their representatives, provided their representatives do justice to themselves—provided they do not desert the station, and surrender the functions which they hold under the constitution of the country.

"But if to flatter the people, or basely to court their favour, we surrender our correcter judgements to their misguided and inflamed impressions, we desert our duty, we abandon our trust; our place, our functions in the constitution are gone. It were better there should be no House of Commons at all; it were better at once to accept as our constitution a wild, unrepresented democracy, without the controul of the House of Commons or parliament, than to degrade ourselves by consenting to become the mere instru-

ments of that democracy, to adopt its opinions, and to register its laws."

Mr Perceval concluded this able speech by moving, first, a resolution that the House should pronounce a distinct and direct opinion upon the charges; and secondly, that there was no ground for charging his royal highness, in the execution of his official duties, with the personal corruption alleged against him in the evidence, nor with any connivance at the corrupt and infamous practices which are therein disclosed. This second resolution he proposed to insert in an address to his Majesty, which should proceed in these words:—"His Majesty's faithful Commons think it their duty further to state to his Majesty, that whilst this House has seen with satisfaction, in the course of this inquiry, the exemplary regularity and method with which the business of the commander-in-chief has been conducted under the direction of his royal highness; and also the many salutary and efficient regulations which have been introduced into the army during his command of it; some of which regulations have been specially directed to prevent those very abuses which have in this inquiry been brought under the notice of the House of Commons,—they could not but feel the most serious regret and concern that a connection should ever have existed, under the cover of which transactions of a highly criminal and disgraceful nature have been carried on; and that an opportunity has been afforded of falsely and injuriously coupling with such transactions the name of his royal highness, whereby the integrity of his conduct in the discharge of the duties of his high office has been brought into question: That it is, however, a great consolation to this House to observe the deep regret and concern which his royal highness has himself expressed on the subject of that connection, as from the expression of that regret on the part of his royal highness, this House derives the confident assurance that his royal highness will henceforth invariably keep in view that bright example of virtuous conduct which the uniform tenour of his Majesty's life, during the course of his whole reign, has afforded to all his subjects, and which has so much endeared his Majesty to the affections of every rank and description of his people."

Mr Bathurst declared himself unable to concur with Colonel Wardle in a vote which implied total condemnation, or with Mr Perceval, in one of complete acquittal. Concurring entirely with the latter, that no corrupt motives could be imputed to his royal highness, "it yet," he said, "appeared to him too clearly established that the duke had exposed himself to an undue influence. It was evident that Mrs Clarke had applied to him upon the subject of military promotions, and that, instead of being repelled, or receiving a warning not to meddle with such business in future, her applications had been most graciously attended to. This certainly did not amount to a proof of personal corruption; but he would ask any man whether the encouragement of such interference on the part of such a woman did not tend directly to corruption? He objected to the mode of proceeding by address, for unless the House had something to communicate to his Majesty respecting the result of its proceedings, it was neither advisable nor constitutional to vote one. Thinking, therefore, that it would be absurd to lay at the foot

of the throne an address containing merely an account of their proceedings, and dissenting in opinion from both which had been proposed, it was his advice, that the House should come to a resolution, acquitting his royal highness of personal corruption, but at the same time so clearly and decidedly pronouncing its opinion upon the other parts of the case, that his royal highness should feel the necessity of resigning, rather than that the parental feelings of his Majesty should be disturbed by an address from that House for the removal of his own son." To this purport he suggested a resolution, "That while this House acknowledges the beneficent efforts of the regulations adopted and acted upon by his royal highness in the general discharge of his duties as commander-in-chief, it has observed, with the deepest regret, that in consequence of a connection, the most immoral and unbecoming, a communication on official subjects, and an interference in the distribution of military appointments and promotions has been allowed to exist, which could not but tend to discredit the official administration of his royal highness, and to give colour and effect, as they have actually done, to transactions the most criminal and disgraceful."

There were now three motions before the House: Mr Bankes proposed a fourth. He dissented from Colonel Wardle's address, because it implied too much; no personal corruption appearing to attach to the duke. "That which Mr Perceval had proposed," he said, "was a mere echo of a letter presented to the House, in a very extraordinary, and, in his mind, in a very exceptionable manner. It was the custom to say that the address of the House to any speech from the throne was generally the echo of the speech; but he never could suppose it possible to be said, that the address of that House should be the echo of a letter. In this case, however, it might be said with justice, and he never could persuade himself to subscribe to such an echo. If the House could not only endure to receive a letter, which was itself an infringement on its privileges, but could submit to send an address to his Majesty in obedience to that letter, it must be contented to sink in its own estimation and that of the country. But he differed widely from the opinion which this address was intended to convey. Was there a man who could doubt the influence of Mrs Clarke, after the letters which had been produced? No doubt, the honourable and learned gentleman who affirmed to the House that the duke had never had any communication with Mrs Clarke upon military subjects, stated only what he believed to be true, and what the Duke of York himself might have believed also, considering the fallibility of human memory. But it was against the reasonable presumptions of probability; against the general conceptions of human nature; against obvious inferences from evidence, in the allegations of unquestionable documents, to believe that such communications had not frequently and unreservedly taken place.—There was another point, which he was sorry to see gentlemen so anxious to overlook, and separate from the main question; for there was no question, in his mind, of more importance. That House was the guardian of the liberty and property of the people:—but it was the guardian of something more—of public morality; and it should take care to discharge the important duty

which belonged to it in this respect. If it kept that duty at all in view, how was it possible, even in the present lax state of morals, to overlook the immoral connection which was coupled with these transactions, and in which they had originated?—to let that which had given so much offence to all good men—which had produced so much public scandal, escape without reprehension? Such conduct, in such a quarter, could not, consistently with the honour of the House, be passed lightly over; he trusted that it would not; he felt that it ought not: and he was decidedly of opinion, that that House would not do its duty to the country, to its sovereign, nor to itself, if it did not communicate its sentiments to his Majesty, that, after what had been disclosed, the Duke of York could not any longer at this time remain a useful servant of the public."—Mr Bankes concluded by proposing, as an amendment upon Mr Bathurst's amendment, an address, "to assure his Majesty that it is highly satisfactory to this House to find no ground for charging his royal highness, the commander-in-chief, with personal corruption, or participation in any profits derived through undue means; but that while we readily do justice to the exemplary regularity with which business is conducted in his department, and the salutary regulations which have been introduced by his royal highness, some of which are calculated to prevent such practices as have been brought under our review, we are obliged to express our opinion that such abuses could scarcely have prevailed, to the extent to which they have been proved to exist, withou having excited the suspicion of the commander-in-chief; and we humbly submit to his Majesty, even if it can be presumed that abuses so various and so long continued could have prevailed without the knowledge of his royal highness, whether the command of the army can with propriety be continued, or ought in prudence to remain any longer in his hands: To express to his Majesty that the abuses which have been disclosed during the progress of this examination have unveiled a course of conduct of the worst example to public morals, and highly injurious to the cause of religion, which, if not discountenanced by his Majesty, and by this House, cannot fail to have a pernicious effect upon those main springs of social order and well-regulated society which it has been his Majesty's uniform care to support and strengthen by his counsels, and to illustrate by his example."

Sir T. Turton agreed with none of the courses which had been proposed. "The original address," he said, "required too much: Mr Bankes's insinuated much, but charged nothing. He should therefore reserve himself for the vote upon the chancellor of the exchequer's resolution, upon which he should propose this amendment, containing a distinct charge, to form the ground of an ulterior proceeding, 'that it is the opinion of this House that there is ground for charging his Royal Highness the Duke of York with the knowledge of the corrupt practices which had been proved at the bar."

The entire innocence of the duke, both of all corruption, all connivance, and all knowledge of the practices which had been proved, was maintained, with Mr Perceval, by Mr Adam, Mr Rose, Mr Long, Mr Wortley Stuart, Mr Leach, the Honourable Mr Ryder, Lord Castle-

reagh, the lord advocate of Scotland, the attorney-general, the solicitor-general, and the master of the rolls. This last personage took up the question of immorality, the only charge, in his opinion, which could be brought home to the Duke of York. "They were not sitting there," he said, "to pass sentence on the morality or immorality of private life; it was the public character only of his royal highness they had to judge of; though, at the same time, he admitted, that ostensible public situations ought to be an additional inducement to private virtue, and a strict observance of the moral duties, as the conduct of such men was likely to become the model of the conduct of many other classes of the people. This rigid observance of duty was, indeed, a price that the higher classes of people had to pay for their rank and advantages. In the eye of the law, certain immoral practices were penal, but he did not wish the House to reserve in its own hands an arbitrary power so indefinite; or if they did wish to exercise such a moral power, why confine it to one man? why not extend the same moral censure to all ranks of men in employment? Was a man to be expelled the House of Commons, because he had been discovered, in any instance, to be an adulterer? Was a public man to be removed from office, merely because he had transgressed the strict laws of moral obligation? In this case they might institute an inquiry against every public man, and attempt to displace every minister on the ground of his immorality."

In such reasoning the master of the rolls found few persons to agree with him; for whether the charges were proved or not, whether or not the public offences had grown from the private one, still the sin had occasioned the scandal, and corrupt practices, by the admission of all parties, had been proved, which could not have existed, had it not been for the breach of morality. Sir James Pulteney, the secretary at war, spoke on the same side. This was the feeblest speech upon the occasion. He affirmed that the army was in the worst possible state when his royal highness assumed the command; that he had effectually reformed it, and made it, both in character and discipline, equal to that of any military power in Europe. Mr Leycester declared, that, in his opinion, such information had been given of the unexampled order and regularity of the War-Office, and of his royal highness's unremitting attention and singular industry in discharging all the duties of it, that the duke stood much higher at the close than at the beginning of the inquiry.

There were, however, other speakers, of more pith and weight, who, taking the same view of the question as Mr Perceval, brought with them, like him, to the defence of the duke, subtlety and eloquence. Mr Yorke, while speaking under the same strong prejudice which had warped his judgement during the whole inquiry, delivered his opinion with characteristic manliness. Objecting to Colonel Wardle's address, as undefined, and asserting nothing, he exclaimed, "If the Duke of York was criminal, why not send him to trial at once? why not impeach him before his peers of high crimes and misdemeanours? If he was found guilty by that tribunal, parliament could not go too far. It would be the duty of both Houses to bring in a bill for his exclusion from the throne. He had no hesitation in saying, that if he was guilty of these

practices, he never ought to sit upon the throne. This was the constitutional law of the land. It was the penalty of apostatizing from the established religion of the land. The brilliancy of the crown would be tarnished, the ermine of the royal robes would be sullied, if a prince so disgraced should ever be destined to wear them. It was impossible that a prince convicted of such practices could sit upright upon his throne, or look his people in the face." Afterwards he adverted to the question of responsibility; for the argument of those persons who, before this investigation was brought forward, wished to see the duke removed from office, was, that no person ought to hold any employment who was not responsible for his conduct, and it was idle to look for responsibility in a son of the king. The manner in which the capitulation of the Helder had been suffered to pass over afforded strong support to this reasoning; but it was not the rank of the Duke of York that protected him:—the anti-jacobin ministry permitted no inquiry into the conduct of those whom they intrusted with command; and there was as little actual responsibility in Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, for their conduct in the West Indies, and in Sir James Pulteney, for his failure at Ferrol, as in his royal highness. Adverting to this objection, "Could any one continue to say," cried Mr Yorke, "that the duke was not responsible? What was he now? Was he not in fact upon his trial? Might he not be called upon to pay the penalty of the neglect that was imputed to him, of the corruption of which he was accused?"

Mr Croker spoke at great length. He chose to interpret the question of the Duke of York concerning French's behaviour as Mr Burton had done; and, like that judge, he chose to discard all consideration of Dr O'Meara, of Kennett, and of Elderton. Sir Francis Burdett had said, he should as soon believe that Mrs Clarke had written *Macbeth*, as that she had invented her whole story. "Alas!" exclaimed Mr Croker, "this story has too many points of resemblance to that celebrated play, in which a weak man becomes the instrument of a daring woman; where ambition and ingratitude plant a dagger in a royal heart; where there are dark contrivers and juggling fiends, who lead, by their fallacious testimony, to the overthrow of moral order and civil society. Well, indeed, may this story be called a drama! There is in it plot, and fable, and assumption of character, but there is neither reality nor truth. Mrs Clarke has acted well—but it is only *acting*. She is playing a fictitious part, taught her perhaps by others; and, like most dramatic heroines, we should think differently of her were we to see her off the stage, stript of her disguises and adventitious decoration. I own I have not seen and heard without deep indignation the credit and the applause which this woman has received; the praises we have heard of her talents and her wit. Her talents are audacity, and her wit falsehood; and any other person who would equally dare to cast modesty and truth as far aside as she has done, would merit the same eulogies. I do not mean to say that she is altogether unartful in her falsehood, or thoughtless in her audacity. I do not mean to say that she has not had cunning advisers, and that she does not execute with some show of success their concerted projects.

I believe she does, and to this it is that we owe the apparent reluctance with which she appeared at our bar. She was, I doubt not, informed, and very truly, that the voluntary evidence of an accomplice would be received with great caution, and to give a contrary and false colour to her testimony was, therefore, her earliest care. But when we find that this reluctant witness is herself the feeder and the fanner of the flame; when we see that she testifies in public what she concerts in private; when we know her to be not only a witness, but a procuress of witnesses; when we find her raking for evidence even among discarded servants, and forgetting even her sex and her assumed station in this pursuit; and when, to finish the picture, we behold her trying to conceal all this under the masquerade dress of reluctance, —what honest man will credit so profligate a witness? Of this masquerade which she had assumed she was soon weary. The disguise, of itself so thin, and even at first so carelessly worn, was at last thrown aside altogether. Behold her then, with avowed malice at her heart, detected falsehood upon her tongue, and flagrant impudence on her forehead, straining her invention and torturing her imagination for circumstances of guilt to charge upon him whom she but just now represented herself as unwilling to accuse!"

Lord Folkestone and Sir Francis Burdett had laid great stress upon the credibility of Mrs Clarke's testimony. "I am not surprised," said Mr Croker, "that the honourable baronet should agree with the noble lord, but I shall deeply regret if they can influence any other person in the House to entertain the same opinion. In courts of law witnesses are sworn, and they speak under the sanction of sacred obligations, and the peril of future, as well as temporal punishment: before us, witnesses are not on their oath; they are only bound by considerations of reputation and character. But for Mrs Clarke, who is neither bound by the sanctity of law, nor restrained by any deference for society, to speak falsely, is no new dishonour to her. *Unsworn* as she was, we had no pledge whatsoever for her truth, unless, indeed, one might figuratively describe her as laying her hand on that large volume of revenge and malignity, her heart, and swearing by its unhallowed contents. For my own part, when I consider the merits of this 'amiable woman,' this 'benevolent creature,' this 'incontrovertible witness,' of the noble lord's, I am of opinion that, but for her sex, she would be now expiating her misconduct and prevarication by the side of Captain Sandon in Newgate.

"Sir, I speak strong language, and use no restrained expression, in speaking of this woman; not merely because she has put herself out of the pale of the respect due to the delicacy of her sex, but because I conceive the applause with which she has been encouraged is poison to society, and warrants, nay, requires the administration of the strongest antidote. If the Duke of York is innocent, much as I must lament the libels, the calumnies, and the trials, to which he has been exposed, yet I do not so much lament them, I would not so earnestly have deprecated them, as I do the approbation conferred on Mrs Clarke. The former is a temporary inconvenience or injury to the individual; the latter saps the foundations of society. The stream of time will wash away the transient

stains of false accusation; truth, however clouded, will at last be cleared; and reparation, late perhaps, but ample, awaits the innocent: but to applaud depravity, is to abet it; it is to encourage an evil, whose extent is indefinite, whose progress is uncontroulable. If we place profligacy in a triumphal car, the brains of thousands that see the procession will be dazzled and perverted by her success, and crowds of imitators will aspire to share the splendour of victorious vice. Much evil has already been done, and much more is to be expected and feared. The delusion has spread widely through the land: I hope it has not extended itself far amongst *us*: I trust that there are many here who will venture to stem the torrent of prejudice, though it should still increase in height and violence, and who, even at the expence of their popularity, will dare to do their duty by the people."

It had been admitted on all sides that the case of Samuel Carter was rather a merit in the Duke of York than an offence. Mr Croker was not satisfied with this. In the heat of his abhorrence of Mrs Clarke, he contrived even from this circumstance to extract matter of invective against her. "If there is one case," said he, "that more strongly than another impresses on my mind a conviction of her worthlessness, it is this: it combines every trait that ought to induce us to abhor her disposition, and to discredit her testimony. In it she again attempted the masquerade of reluctance. She would be thought the friend and protectress of Carter, and she charges Colonel Wardle with a breach of faith, in having introduced his name. If that honourable gentleman has broken a promise, even to Mrs Clarke, and has done so for the purpose of fixing public ignominy on a deserving young officer, undoubtedly his conduct is deeply culpable; but Mrs Clarke, whom I will not credit against the Duke of York, I will not credit against him. Who but she could have represented Carter to him as a foot-boy? for that is the *gravamen* of the charge, and of that there is no proof. He did not receive wages; he did not wear livery; and you have only the coachman's testimony that he went behind the carriage; and if this testimony were true, (which I do not believe,) surely the easiest solution is, that the boy, then only seventeen, got up in a frolic. See, then, what Mrs Clarke, in her benevolence and veracity, has done, or, happily, rather attempted to do. To throw one more weight into the scale against the Duke of York, she breaks all ties, disregards all duties; nay, the very favours she has conferred she turns into matter of charge, and proof of baseness. Having falsely represented herself as having raised Mr Carter from the situation of a foot-boy to that of a gentleman, she now turns round, as it serves her present purpose, to degrade a gentleman to the level of a foot-boy. She had, as his letters gratefully own, assisted him with money for his outfit; with accidentally classical malice, she had adorned the victim she meant to sacrifice; she had given him money, and she fancied, in her mean calculation, that she had purchased a right over his character. Let us consider, too, the actual situation of Carter when she makes this attempt. Where now is this object of her ruinous kindness? Under a burning sun, in a distant and fatal climate, fighting the battles of the country that at this moment rings from side to side with

his dishonour! Perhaps she concluded he was dead. The chances of sickness and the sword were in her favour: at all events, he was absent; and to add one trivial offence to the account of the Duke of York, she takes advantage of this absence, and endeavours to reduce this poor young gentleman to a situation to which eternal absence, nay, death itself, would be preferable, in the feelings of an honourable mind. The peculiar circumstances of this case have warmly interested my feelings; and it is with pride and pleasure that I congratulate, not Mr Carter alone, nor the Duke of York, but the army, the House, and the country, that every stain is wiped off from the character of the individual, and the honour of the service."

Mr Croker told the House that they were uniting the functions of a judge and a jury. He himself appeared in a third capacity, and acted like an advocate in a court of justice, whose vocation it is, by all means that are professionally allowable, to support one side of a cause, and vilify the other. Toward the close of his speech he assumed a semblance of impartiality, regretting that he could no longer use the language of defence; that he was even constrained to adopt that of censure; that a more painful feeling could not well be inflicted, but that his public duty compelled him to undergo it. It might have been supposed that the connection with Mrs Clarke,—the original sin of the case,—was what occasioned this language; but Mr Croker set that aside as easily as he had done Dr O'Meara and Kennett. "The House," said he, "must lament, but it is not within its province to punish such irregularities; and I cannot but regret that so much stress has been laid on this *moral* offence, because it has tended to prejudice the public opinion as to the political charges now under trial. There is in this country a strong sentiment against all violations of domestic decency and duty; but when I know that, unhappily, these breaches are by no means uncommon, and yet so often pass unnoticed; when I see that they have drawn upon the Duke of York a violence of reproach which they have not caused in any other case, I cannot but suspect that something of this flagrant zeal, this righteous indignation, has been *assumed* for the particular occasion, and that the offender, rather than the offence, has been, in many instances, the object of these pious and angry attacks.—The point in which I think his royal highness culpable, is the communication which he permitted Mrs Clarke to have with him relative to General Clavering. Perhaps no practical evil occurred, perhaps it only happened in one or two instances; but it was wrong in principle and in essence; and I do most sincerely regret that this unfortunate circumstance, this (however venial) indiscretion, prevents my giving to the Duke of York that unqualified approbation, that triumphant vote, which otherwise I would be the first to propose. Had this fact not intervened, the triumph of his royal highness would have been unclouded and complete; but it is by no means of such a nature as to prevent our pronouncing a complete and honourable acquittal of all corruption, and of all shades and degrees of corruption."

Sir Francis Burdett had said, "that if the people looked with any jealousy to the conduct of the House upon this occasion, it was only from the suspicion that justice would not be

done; and so conscious," said he, "am I of that being the case, that if the chancellor of the exchequer would but get up before we come to the vote, and request of those gentlemen on the treasury bench with him, and others around him who hold offices of emolument under the crown, or whose immediate relations do; if he would but rise, and request of those persons to have the goodness to follow him out of the house before we come to the vote, I have no doubt but that vote, though probably of a thin House, would nevertheless give more satisfaction than any vote from the time of the Revolution down to the present moment. The people would be completely satisfied, whether the duke was acquitted or not, because they would believe that honest justice would be done." When Mr Croker referred to this opinion, that no official person should vote upon this subject, Mr Herbert of Kerry cried Hear! hear! "Why, sir," said Mr Croker, addressing the Speaker, "it seems the honourable gentleman is of the same opinion!" The Irish member at this expressed his assent. "I own, sir," pursued the ready orator, "I do envy the honourable gentleman his simplicity of heart. I was just going to observe, that the honourable baronet had only thrown this out as a topic of argument *ad captum vulgi*, and not as a serious proposition; but I find that he has to answer for having abused the honest credulity of the honourable gentleman, who, it seems, seriously and solemnly, and in deep earnest, is gravely of opinion, that every man who holds an office, or, I suppose, ever expects to hold one, should take his hat, and walk away from the decision of this question. I will, however, venture to assure the honourable gentleman, that this proposition of the honourable baronet's was purely ironical; and to advise him to be in future a little more suspicious of that grave waggery, which is mischievously calculated for leading pure and confiding simplicity into ridiculous mistakes. There is, sir, I suppose, no man in this country, except the honourable gentleman, who does seriously think, that, on a public question, public men ought not to vote; that those whose talents have raised them into office, and those who look with a laudable ambition to similar stations; that all who are, or ever hope to be, servants of their country, should, at this time, on this occasion, abandon their duty, and skulk from the expression of the sentiments which the nation anxiously expects from them. I do not much regard, sir, the imputation of improper motives attempted to be thrown on public men. The gentlemen on both sides of this House do, I trust, equally despise such insinuations; and the country, I hope, will feel, that, if the ambition of official distinction; if the love of honest fame and merited rank, acquired in the public service, be once extinguished, the national spirit will decay, and patriotism will become palsied by inaction. Whenever the name of statesman becomes dishonourable, or even suspected, the liberties and glories of England will vanish. Honesty will not enter a degraded profession; genius will not be found where it is no longer honoured; and men destitute of talents, and patient of degradation, will tremble at the helm when the empire is sinking."

Mr Croker concluded by objecting to the mode proposed, of proceeding by address instead of resolu-

tion. "Let us," said he, "convict his royal highness, or acquit him; let us dismiss him from the command of the army, or retain him in it; but let us do either boldly: And whatever we intend, I implore the House, in justice to the duke, in justice to the country, and in justice to ourselves, to do it in the face of day, and not to huddle up the question in the endless intricacies of these ambiguous and obscure addresses. In a most deep and conscientious conviction do I address this House, and entreat them honourably to acquit his royal highness of the base corruption, and the no less base connivance at corruption, which have been so injuriously charged upon him. For my part, in all sincerity, and in the full contemplation of my responsibility, I shall not hesitate to give my unbiassed verdict of—Not guilty."

On the other hand, Colonel Wardle's address was supported by Mr Curwen, Mr Henry Martin, Sir Samuel Romilly, Lord Stanley, and Mr Calcraft. Mr Coke of Norfolk spoke briefly, but with great violence. "He would say in conscience," he declared, "that there was corruption in the extreme personally attached to the duke; and he was determined to oppose corruption, whatever form it might assume, and its defence he would leave to those who were likely to thrive by it. When he looked to the situation of the honourable gentlemen on the other side of the House, he would no longer pay any attention to what they said on this subject." Loud cries of—Order, order! reproved him for this language. Lord Folkestone commented severely upon Colonel Gordon's evidence. "He did not," he said, "say a word of the pencil marks on the official document concerning the exchange of Colonels Knight and Brooke, till that most important fact was accidentally discovered. He did say, that it was an invariable rule that inferior officers could never rise above their superiors in the same regiment; and it afterwards turned out that this invariable rule had oftentimes been broken. He did say also, that he never knew an instance of a person being promoted to the rank of captain without service; and when he was examined on the charge respecting Captain Maling, this evidence appeared most conclusive. The charge appeared to have so completely failed in the proof, that Colonel Wardle wished to withdraw it; but the friends of his royal highness triumphantly insisted, that this charge having been once brought, must be disposed of. It happened that a question or two more put to Colonel Gordon proved that there was another Captain Maling, who had been raised to that rank without seeing any service, and with whom Colonel Gordon was intimately acquainted, and in the habit of meeting every day in his office, and with respect to whom the charge did apply. The mistake which his honourable friend had made, was only about Christian names, and yet Colonel Gordon never chose to say any thing about the other Captain Maling, to whom he knew the charge did apply, until a direct question was accidentally put to him, which he was of course obliged to answer. Did not this conduct look like a wilful suppression of facts most important in the case? Colonel Gordon had also represented, at first, that it was impossible that the Duke of York could expedite the exchange, and that every attempt of that sort must be extremely futile, and would not expedite it one half minute. From this evidence, the natural im-

pression would be, that the duke could not have interfered, as his interference would have been futile; and yet, afterwards, this word futility was explained away, and made only to apply to the days for laying military papers before his Majesty."

Lord Folkestone examined Mr Adam's evidence with equal severity. Then he eulogized Colonel Wardle, by enumerating the difficulties which had opposed him. "He had had to struggle against the authority and influence of the Duke of York, in the plenitude of his power, and at the head of an army more extensive than at any former period. He had to contend against ministers, who took upon themselves (he would not say improperly) the situation of advocates for his royal highness, rather than his judges. He had been impeded in his investigation by unwilling witnesses, from whom it was almost impossible to extract the truth. After he had first brought forward his charges, he could not avoid hearing his expulsion rumoured; and yet, notwithstanding all those obstacles and difficulties, he had come forward manfully to prove his case, and had proved it, as he conceived, to the perfect satisfaction of every unprejudiced man. It was to be recollected also that a threat of infamy had been thrown out against him by a right honourable secretary, (Mr Canning,) in the most offensive manner; for such a manner that right honourable gentleman well knew how to assume. Infamy, he said, was to attach either upon the accuser or the accused; and he had repeated the word accuser every time he had opened his mouth since. The evidence was now over, and his honourable friend had not only proved his charges, but had proved a great deal more than he had stated, and yet the right honourable secretary had not yet come forward to retract that expression. If, then, the right honourable gentleman should not express, by his vote, that the infamy attached to the person accused, and did not withdraw the expression with respect to the accuser; if infamy must attach somewhere, it must remain with him who had used the expression. This threat appeared to be thrown out with no other view than to damp the zeal and exertions of his honourable friend. Even the getting witnesses to give evidence at the bar of the House, was a matter of the utmost difficulty. It was viewed with equal horror, as if the persons called on had been to be carried as culprits to the bar of the Old Bailey. Whatever might, however, be the opinion of the public, some honour, instead of infamy, would attach to the conduct of his honourable friend. Wherever he went he would be accompanied by the love and gratitude of his fellow-countrymen, and by their admiration, for that matchless and persevering resolution which had enabled him to surmount so many and such great obstacles. Publicity was what the friends of his royal highness affected to court: the publicity they had demanded had been obtained. It ill became them now to complain of the public mind being led astray by misrepresentations in newspapers. He did not know what misrepresentations were alluded to; but, for his part, he was quite astonished at the accuracy with which the examinations had been detailed. The House had now an opportunity of retrieving what, he believed, they had lost in public opinion. He could recommend to them nothing better than to recollect that prayer which was always

said before the House entered upon business, imploring the Almighty 'to enable them to lay aside all private interests, prejudices, and partial affections.' If they did so, and came to the vote as judges, and not advocates, he had little doubt of the result."

Mr Whitbread spoke more at length, and his speech was the ablest and the most eloquent that he ever delivered in the House. Boldly meeting and confuting the insinuations which had been thrown out, that he was the secret mover of the whole business, "the chancellor of the exchequer," said he, "has affirmed, that Colonel Wardle had not consulted his own manly feelings in offering his proposition to the House, but that it was the production of cooler heads; heads that mean more than he means, and more than they will let him know. If by this he would say, that my honourable friend has lent himself to further the selfish views of mischievous people, or that he himself entertains any views other than those which an honourable man ought to entertain, and such as are worthy of an independent member of Parliament, those assertions I venture flatly to deny. The supposition, also, that in the beginning he had advisers whom he did not chuse to bring forward, and who dared not avow themselves, is as unfounded as it is unworthy of my honourable friend, and of those who have supported him. Some things were said in the earlier part of the investigation, evidently with a view to induce a disclaimer of all connection with him and his cause; and some advantage was attempted to be taken of him in that way, at the time when one of the charges which he exhibited against the duke was supposed to have failed; which charge bears a very different aspect now from what it did on that day. I own, I then thought the whole of the charges would ultimately amount to nothing. We had *then* a good deal of idle vaunting. It was said, there were persons behind the curtain, who sheltered themselves in silence. The case was deemed desperate. But the moment when the case of my honourable friend appeared desperate, was not, in my mind, the moment for me to disclaim him, or to state that I was not his adviser. The attack which was made was unparliamentary and irregular. No member of this House has a right to call upon another to state what share he has had, or whether he has had any share, in advising the commencement of any measure. From the manner of it, I supposed the attack was directed against *me*, although, when repeatedly called upon, the right honourable gentleman (Mr Secretary Canning) who made it, did not think proper to say so. This is the fit and convenient time to say that I did not advise any part of this proceeding. It is now many years since an intimate acquaintance commenced between my honourable friend and me. Events separated us, and for nearly twenty years our intercourse had been interrupted. It was renewed in this house. Before my honourable friend gave public notice of his intentions, he called upon me, and told me the charges he intended to produce, and stated the nature of the evidence by which they were to be supported. I frankly told him, that the substance of the thing appeared to me incredible; that the testimony by which his allegations were to be made good was of the most doubtful sort; and that there seemed to be many links deficient in the chain of proof. I warned him

of the heart-burnings which the discussion of such a subject would excite; of the numerous enemies he would create; and I painted to him, in strong colours, the storm to which, in the event of failure, he would inevitably be exposed. He was, however, resolved. Finding him so, I told him, Since you are determined to bring forward these charges, I shall attend in my place in the House of Commons. Upon a bare statement of the facts, I shall vote for a committee to inquire into them, and I think no man will be found to vote against it.—Such is the history of all the communication I have had with Colonel Wardle upon this subject; thus ends the tale of my advice to him, and of the share which I have taken in secret; of the assistance I have given him behind the curtain. What share in the business I have taken before the curtain, it is needless for me to say: the House has seen it."

Mr Whitbread was not less successful in vindicating Miss Taylor against the argument that she was not worthy of belief, because she was intimate with Mrs Clarke. "She is accused," he said, "nay, convicted, on her own confession, of the inexpiable crime of having been acquainted with, protected, assisted, relieved, and harboured by Mrs Clarke. What, is no person credible who has ever kept company with her? Is Dr O'Meara—a clergyman recommended by the Archbishop of Tuam, one of the dignitaries of the church of the united empire—not credible, because he was known to Mrs Clarke? The worthy, grateful, but unfortunate Samuel Carter—is he an outcast from courts of justice, because he was protected by Mrs Clarke? Captain Sutton—is a perpetual stain to be fixed on his memory, is his veracity to be eternally impeached, because he was known to Mrs Clarke, and preserved by her from the extremity of want? The Baroness Nolleken, it is indisputably proved under her own hand, not only kept company with, but was an intimate acquaintance of Mrs Clarke—is she therefore not to be believed? The Duke of York himself—will they consign him, with the rest, to eternal infamy and discredit? Equal justice must be done, and his is the most aggravated case of all. Of all these persons, Miss Taylor is the only one who has any justification for her intimacy with Mrs Clarke. The chancellor of the exchequer, when he pronounced his anathema against her, was silent on the material fact proved, of a family connection between the two. Miss Taylor's brother is married to Mrs Clarke's sister. Her justification is complete. A circumstance from the existence of which such harsh and unwarranted inferences were drawn, is properly accounted for. Has it happened to the right honourable gentleman, in the course of the experience he has acquired of the world, to find, that where the path of chastity has been deserted, all communication with the sinner and every branch of her family has been cut off? I feel that the arguments which he has used in this part of the case are weak; that they do not deserve the labour I bestow upon them; but I am unwilling, in such a case as this, that a mole-hill should remain unlevelled. I cannot pass over the cruelty of the right honourable gentleman towards Miss Taylor, in the observations he has made upon the profession she had undertaken for the maintenance of herself and her sister. Was it not enough that her means of procuring her livelihood had been destroyed in consequence of her examination at

the bar? Was it not enough that her scholars had all left her? that her creditors had pursued her, and seized upon her goods? that she was thrown destitute and friendless upon the world, without the power of doing that mischief to society which the imagination of the right honourable gentleman created, and which his eloquence stated in terms of such gross exaggeration? Was it necessary for him to trample upon her when fallen, and to taunt with the bitterness of reproach the victim he had so largely contributed to destroy? Had she herself been shewn to have been a woman of doubtful character, the fact of her keeping a boarding-school would not therefore have rendered her unworthy of belief as a witness. But no stain upon her has been discovered; and no pains, I will venture to say, have been spared to detect any that might have been supposed to exist. Into what inconsistencies with his general philanthropic character has the right honourable gentleman been betrayed!—Provide a Refuge for the Destitute! Build Penitentiaries, wherein to place abandoned females, and thereby reclaim them to the paths of virtue! Send them again forth to the world, to gain the bread of industry in the service of the moral and the good! Establish Magdalen Hospitals, and associate for the Suppression of Vice! But if you find a lowly woman endeavouring to preserve herself from infamy by habits of industry, with unimpeached propriety of conduct; should she, unfortunately, have any family connection with one of immodest life, hunt her out, persecute her, hold her forth as practising a standing fraud upon the public! Ruin her, leave her no resource to satisfy the cravings of hunger but prostitution! Then you may undertake the work of regeneration; you may raise her from the abyss into which you have hurled her; she may then become a fit member of general society, capable of undertaking any of the duties of life!"

Mr Whitbread entered into an ample and most able examination of all the cases, for the minuteness and extent of which, he said, he would not apologize; for the question was of the first magnitude, being no less than a question upon the life and death of the character of the Duke of York. "I am not disposed," said he, "to question the truth of the panegyric bestowed upon the commander-in-chief: the usefulness of his regulations in the army; the claim he has upon the gratitude of the officer, and the affection of the soldier; or his pure administration of the patronage of the profession, as far as relates to politics. But these merits cannot avail him against his own acts, and must not be allowed to influence our determination, in opposition to that which has been proved. I wish to uphold the character of the royal family, and should have been glad to prevent the degradation of the Duke of York; but to attempt the latter would be vain: he has made it impossible. Moreover, I am compelled to say, that to me there appear the strongest objections to the placing any member of the royal family in a responsible employment. Such are the salutary prejudices of mankind, that it is impossible for us to treat this royal personage as we would do any other public servant. Such is the fascination of royalty. See how its magic shield is thrown over the Duke of York! Put out of the question for a moment the charge of connivance at corruption,

does any man think that if a tenth part of those things which by universal consent have been brought home to the Duke of York, and which the right honourable gentleman has proposed to the House to censure, had been proved upon any other subject, filling the same office, he could have retained his situation for a single hour? Would it have been endured, that any person, except one of the blood-royal, should have remained commander-in-chief of the military force of the united kingdom for a moment after the disclosure of only a few of the facts which have been unhappily proved at your bar? Sir, the state must not be left without remedy for the evils which, unredressed, would lead to its destruction. If the delinquencies of the commander-in-chief cannot be punished, for fear of degrading the Duke of York, I deem it a matter of deep regret that he was ever appointed to that office; and a conclusive argument is afforded to me against any branch of the royal family ever in future filling a situation of public trust.—Sir, I would willingly check myself. I wish not to enter into a detail of the failings of the Duke of York. Each of us has but too many. God have mercy upon us all! But if there are, in the conduct of the Duke of York, immoralities of such a nature, as that, connected with his high station, the indulgence of them threatens to bring this country to its ruin; if the proof of such immoralities is brought before us, we must not, we cannot shut our eyes, and say we do not see them. Having seen them, and witnessed the miserable result to which they have led, we must dismiss all inferior considerations: we have but one course to pursue.

"Is it possible, the chancellor of the exchequer has asked, that the Duke of York should have so conducted himself? Time was, that *I* asked that question. But we have here before us, (holding up the evidence,) with sorrow and deep regret I say it, damning proof of the fact. Let me not be misunderstood. I do not believe that the Duke of York was guilty of so base and foul a crime, as that he pocketed or coarsely partook of the wages of iniquity; but I cannot disbelieve his privity to the existence of corruption. Is it possible, it is said, that the Duke of York could have defied her, if he had not been conscious of his innocence? So should *I* have said heretofore. Extraordinary instances of blindness have since been developed. In 1808 Mrs Clarke wrote to the friend of the Duke of York, soliciting the payment of her annuity, and in default, declaring that she must publish. Who, that had committed even the follies proved, would not have thought an oblivion of them cheaply purchased by the payment of a stipulated annuity of 400l. a-year? Yet the Duke of York defied this publicity. A volume of nonsensical letters might have been put forth to the world, which he and his friends would afterwards have given the world to have retrieved. The Duke of York, if he had been well advised, would have complied with her just request. Nay, sir, the pledge of his word could alone be redeemed by his so doing. Her claim upon him has been talked of. She made no claim. He had voluntarily offered the annuity. It is preposterous to say that the refusal of the duke to accede to the terms proposed is a conclusive proof of his innocence. Sir, again the proof goes too far. I would ask of

any man who hears me, whether, putting out of the question all connivance at corruption, or any letters or documents from which it may be inferred, would he not have given a large sum to have stifled the publication of such trash as has been read at your table? But trash as it is, it was money's worth. He who would risk such an exposure, might, in my opinion, possibly have risked much more from negligence, inattention, or in the confidence that she would not have the courage to publish. I wish, sir, that the annuity had been paid with all my heart. It ought to have been paid. The painful exhibition we have witnessed would then have been spared; you, sir, would have been spared the trouble of listening to the reasoning upon which I build my conviction of the guilt of the Duke of York; the House would have been spared the shame, and the public the disgust too fatally attending this whole proceeding."

Mr Burton had excused the duke, upon the score of his ignorance of the value of money, saying, that forty years ago one of the preceptors of the princes had told him he could never teach them this, though they were quick enough at Greek and arithmetic. "But," said Mr Whitbread, "forty years have since past over the head of the duke, and have they brought with them no information, no experience? To say that he did not know the value of money, is but a weak defence against the strong presumption created by what is proved to have happened in Gloucester place. When he sat down to the exquisite dinners, and saw the retinue of servants, the carriages and horses, the lavish profusion in every way, and knew how slender were the means *he* contributed towards the expenditure, I think it absolutely impossible that his suspicions should not have been excited. When, amidst boundless waste, he heard perpetually of distress;—when the applications of creditors were incessant, and he knew that *he* but rarely afforded any relief from their importunities;—when things occasionally came to such a pass, that the woman he adored was compelled, in order to procure a temporary supply, to part with her jewels and other ornaments; to divest herself of the dearest objects of her vanity;—when these pledges were again redeemed; carriages, horses, expences of every description renewed; unceasing clamour—no money, yet the establishment not broken up;—is it possible that, under such glaring circumstances, the Duke of York could be blind to the fact, that the recommendations she presented to him were the sources whence she drew the means of continuing her wasteful, but tottering establishment? Had Mrs Clarke applied only in favour of her relations and known friends, his suspicions might have slept. Had she entreated him to promote a brother, that would have caused no alarm. If, with a gentle rebuke at the application, and a request that it might not be repeated, the man had been promoted, I do not think much blame would have been imputable, and a meritorious person might have been placed in the army. But when the Duke of York saw that applications were daily and hourly made on the behalf of persons with whom Mrs Clarke had no family alliance, for whom she could feel no warm interest, and with many of whom she could have no justifiable acquaintance, can it be believed, by any ra-

tional man, that he was not only ignorant, but unsuspicious of the existence of corruption?

"We cannot help being forcibly reminded, by the incidental circumstances of this inquiry, how deeply nations are concerned in the private conduct of those connected with the monarchs appointed to rule over them. The chancellor of the exchequer has called to our recollection, that this service of plate (the joint payment of which by Mrs Clarke and his royal highness forms one of the incidental proofs against him) belonged to the Duke de Berri, a branch of the house of Bourbon, once so mighty and illustrious. The last unhappy sovereigns of that family were murdered by their own subjects, and the few of its members who survived the promiscuous carnage of those bloody days are wanderers on the face of the earth, or supported by the charitable munificence of this country; affording a melancholy, but instructive lesson, of the near connection subsisting between the private lives of princes and the fate of nations. It might have been expected that the Duke of York would have started at the name of the Duke de Berri, and contemplating his sad reverse of fortune, would have resolved upon such an alteration of life and conduct, as would have precluded the necessity of this painful inquiry. He might have reflected on the state to which a man of such high descent was reduced; on that surprising vicissitude of human affairs which had driven to such expedients for support, in the metropolis of the kingdom which had for centuries been contending against the ambition of his family, a near relation of the ruined throne of France. He might have accepted the warning thus offered. A man of sound understanding could hardly have overlooked it. Tracing effects to their true causes, he might have seen that the revolution, of which that royal house and its appendages have been the peculiar victims, and which has in its consequences convulsed the whole moral state of Europe, was brought about, not by the theories of speculative men, but by the vices of individuals, and the foul corruptions of the state; finally drawing down upon the innocent, as well as upon the guilty, one universal ruin. Such were the real causes of the destruction of the ancient monarchy of France. It has been truly said, that philosophy has no such triumphs to boast. In the national effects produced by the vices and follies of the higher orders of society are to be found the reasons which take the matters now under our consideration out of the private transactions of the Duke of York. It is the influence which the moral behaviour of persons of exalted rank has upon the public weal which gives such vast importance to all they do, and makes it decisive of the fate of empires. Let us, for the sake of example, trace back the history of France to the La Valieres, the Montespans, the bigotted Maintenon, through the profligate period of the regency, down to the Pompadours and the wretched Du Barrè, who lived to suffer in that revolution which was hastening to its fatal crisis with the velocity of a comet, unperceived by those who were indulging in their gorgeous vices. Look how the strength of France was blasted; how England flourished in her decline! When vice and corruption reigned paramount in France, was not France humbled to prostra-

tion before the power of England? To what cause but that of the weakness produced by her corruption, can that prostration be ascribed? Sir, I feel that I have dwelt at great length upon so painful a topic, but this instance of the instability of all human greatness is so striking, that I could not refrain from expressing my astonishment that it failed to make such an impression on the mind of the Duke of York, as to induce him to abandon the course of life in which he was engaged, and to trace back his steps to the paths of prudence and decorum. At the bare possibility that his name might be implicated in deeds so odious, he might have shuddered. This magnificent and awful monument of fallen pomp and greatness might have served, for the remainder of his life, as a beacon to direct his course; and he might have thanked his Creator for his rescue from the abyss over which he hung, with a resolution immoveably fixed, thereafter to lead a life of virtue!

"Unhappily this effect was not produced, and after what has been shewn, there is no way left for the restoration of the character of the Duke of York, but through his submission to the censure of the House of Commons. Through that ordeal he must pass. Then, indeed, if the event alluded to should take place, the clouds of these days, so far from obscuring, may add lustre to his reign. He who ascended the throne after having incurred the censure of the representatives of the people, would, by his submission to that censure, have recognized the power of that tribunal, to which the people of the British empire can appeal in case of any extraordinary emergency—he would have felt that in England all that is connected with royalty is subject to the law, and not above it—that the eventual heir to the throne has no exemption from those penalties which attach upon him, as upon the most obscure inhabitant of the realm. If, by the dispensations of Providence, it should hereafter happen that the Duke of York should rule over this people, it may be well for him, and for us, that in the school of adversity he should have been taught the lessons of temperance and wisdom. Then may he rise, as many of illustrious birth and character have done before him, purified and greater by misfortune; better qualified for the discharge of the important duties he would have to perform.

"This is the true method by which the malignant spirit of jacobinism will be quelled. Expel it from the palaces and chambers of the great, and it will no longer be found in the hovels of the lowly and the poor. My honourable friend who has made the motion which I support, is no jacobin, but the true anti-jacobin, who would save the Duke of York from the fangs of those vultures and harpies who fatten upon the corruption they create. Of the publications, not to say libels, with which the press has teemed against him, and all who in these perilous times have dared be honest, I cannot speak without contempt. If to gloss over to the public the errors of princes and the weakness of ministers; if to jingle in rhyme, and to turn patriotism into ridicule, be the test of anti-jacobinism, then has not my honourable friend any claim to that appellation. But if to stand forward for the relief of royalty from the machinations of a profligate crew; if to oppose the

hydra of corruption, be the business of a true anti-jacobin, then is my honourable friend an anti-jacobin, in the most legitimate and extensive sense of the term.

"In the early part of these debates it was said, by a right honourable secretary, that whatever might be the result of the charges, infamy must fall somewhere. I would now ask of him, Where is the infamy to fall? That it falls upon my honourable friend no man will now have the boldness to assert. Will the defenders of the duke allow that it rests upon the head of his royal highness? No. Where then is it to be placed? It must return whence it came. It is in the custody of the right honourable gentleman until he shall think proper to tell us where is now its appropriate place. Sir, my honourable friend is not one of those grovelling, despicable characters, who give birth to plots and conspiracies which exist only in their own fancies, and are promulgated only for their own purposes. He is not one of those who paint in odious colours all who stand between them and their own wishes. He is not one of those most pernicious of jacobins, who would approach the throne with the fatal language of falsehood and adulation. He has shewn himself courageous, candid, and consistent; nor can any eulogium which can fall from my lips add to the sum of his merits, or to the esteem in which he is held by a grateful country. Let the House of Commons follow his example in the courageous discharge of its duty. The country totters to its ruin, but it may yet be saved.

"Let us forthwith set about the work of reform. Let the House of Commons shew that true regard for the throne which consists in taking the measures best calculated for its preservation. That throne is the most powerfully supported which has its foundation in the hearts of the people. There fix it, by shewing to the people of England your determination to support their rights, and to destroy corruption, in however lofty a branch the canker may be found. In so doing you will act nobly by the Duke of York himself. Let the censure passed upon him by this House be remembered only as the chastisement by a parent of a beloved child, whose welfare and happiness are the only objects of the infliction. Let us, by voting the address proposed, avert the fatal consequences which I greatly apprehend may result from a refusal to do justice to the feelings of the country.

"I cannot pass over the letter which his royal highness has been advised to address to this House. It is a melancholy task he has imposed upon the representatives of the people to pronounce upon his guilt or innocence, after having solemnly pledged his word to his utter ignorance of facts to which it is charged that he was privy. Against the conviction which I feel upon this point, arising out of the proofs, what can I put which ought to make the scale preponderate? The honour of a prince? What is the honour of a prince more than the word of a man? If the pledged honour of the Duke of York is suffered to have the slightest weight in our deliberations, against the evidence of facts proved at the bar of this House, there is an end at once to all freedom of discussion: all inquiry must hereafter be fruitless. There was no necessity for this assertion on the part of the Duke of York. The alternative to which we are reduced by it is by no means ho-

nourable to him, and very miserable to us. What can avail such asseverations? The hour must come when all distinctions will be levelled by death. The innocence and guilt of all will at some time appear; but to the protestations of the accused we must turn a deaf ear. Have we not heard wretches led to execution, with the rope about their necks, on the brink of eternity, in the last vain hope of escaping from punishment, call on their Maker to witness that innocence which could not by possibility exist? Such protestations are horrible to my ear, feeling as I feel, and acting as I shall be compelled to act, when called upon to give my verdict as a member of this House.

"I trust we shall hear no more of prosecutions for libels on the Duke of York, on the subject of army promotions. Vile and calumnious as such publications have been, I hope they will be suffered to rest. After what has been seen, we know too well what foundation has been given, upon which such false and exaggerated statements have been built. Let a veil be thrown over the past: it is for the interest of the community that it should. I know that in some gentlemen there is a disposition to restrain the press. Its perfect freedom is, in my opinion, as essential to liberty, as the circulation of the blood to the existence of animal life. Its licentiousness is under the controul of the law. If, then, the learned gentleman shall think it right to draw the vengeful pen of indictment, let him not forget the well-known pamphlet called the 'Plain Statement,' which issued from the press in the course of the last summer, than which a more calumnious libel was never uttered, either against the Duke of York, or against the British constitution. The fact charged by the greatest characters of the present reign, that there does exist an interior cabinet, controuling the operations of the executive servants of the crown, and thwarting their measures, is there directly avowed; and the Duke of York is named as the head of that dark and dangerous cabal. If any thing calls for prosecution, it is *that*, the grossest of all the calumnies which have been published against his royal highness.

"I will now conclude, by again calling upon the House of Commons carefully to perform the solemn duty which they owe to their constituents. In this awful crisis of our fate, the safety of England depends upon the firmness and decision with which this House shall execute its trust. The passing moment is big with danger. The plague is amongst us. Bring incense quickly! This House alone can effectually interpose; alone can stand between the living and the dead, and stay the plague!"

This was in all its parts an admirable and most impressive speech; for Mr Whitbread displayed as much close reasoning in examining the evidence, as he did power of mind in treating the whole question. The manner of Sir Francis Burdett's argument was not so unexceptionable: it was addressed as much to the passions of the people as to the House. "It was impossible," he said, "to pass over the very extraordinary treatment which Colonel Wardle had met with in venturing to discharge his duty, by bringing forward these charges. Was it not very extraordinary that the chancellor of the exchequer, the attorney-general, the solicitor-general, and all the crown lawyers, on all former occasions the arraigners of public delinquents, and

conductors, on the part of the public, of public prosecutions, should, on this single occasion, have completely changed sides, have arranged themselves on the part of the accused, and not only have withheld all assistance from the mover of the charges, but, to the best of their power, have obstructed and opposed him in his honest attempt to detect and extirpate most scandalous public abuses. Scarcely had the charges been made, when all his Majesty's public officers volunteered themselves as advocates: they forgot that they were members of parliament; they forgot that they were judges; their eagerness to plead so far outran their patience to hear, that they appeared anxious to acquit before they could possibly be competent to decide: they began with denying, resisting, and extenuating, when they ought to have recollected that they could not be supposed to judge well before they had heard fairly. The country, therefore, must naturally suspect that such men had previously made up their minds; that they had prejudged the cause; and had entered into the investigation with a stubborn resolution to shut their ears against conviction. Sharp-sighted as the crown lawyers were upon other occasions, where humbler subjects were concerned, where spies' and informers' oaths, and trifles light as air, appeared to them strong as proofs of holy writ, no circumstance in this case, however strong, could excite a suspicion; no document, however undeniable, could cause a doubt; no evidence, however pointed, was sufficient; nor could all together weigh against the character of his royal highness the Duke of York; though here was a body of evidence which would, in old times, have rendered a jury, if they had given a verdict against it, liable to a writ of attaint.

"It was the advice of the famous Dunning, that if your cause was bad, the best counsel you could pick out for it would be the greatest fool at the bar; 'for a man of sense,' he said, 'is so hampered with a bad cause, his mind can never go along with it, and he never makes any thing of it; but a fool hardly knows whether he is right, or whether he is wrong; a bad argument is as convincing to his mind as a good one; he gets confused, and confuses others; never places or sees the prominent features of the case in their true light; and having great zeal at the same time, he makes an appearance of something like a good defence.' This appeared to me," said Sir Francis, "the condition of Mr Attorney-General upon this occasion: He was a good lawyer, but not in a bad cause: he was perplexed in the extreme, and so hampered by his legal science, and ability, and good sense, that at the last he gave it up altogether. It put me in mind of what I had seen in the country,—a poor ass on a common with a great stiff thistle: he takes it in his mouth and puts it out again; then puts his nose to it, and pricks his nose; then he paws it a little; then gets hold of the stalk, and nibbles the stalk a little. At length, having turned and twisted it about for some time, and made his nose sore, he looks wistfully at it, and abandons it altogether. Mr Attorney did not, however, abandon easily his client: though heavily loaded, he staggered on, and toiled over many a dreary waste; over 'many a frozen, many a fiery Alp, and many a region dolorous;' till at last, quite overpowered, like Christian in the Pil-

grim's Progress, he got fast set in the Slough of Despond, where he left his royal highness up to his neck in mud, and all the place-men, pensioners, and anti-jacobins in England will never be able to pull him out."

"Here was more evidence in this case than would be sufficient to hang any man charged with any crime. The legal gentlemen argued that there was none, and that the character of Mrs Clarke destroyed her credit; but on trials of blood, which go to the extirpation of whole families, the crown lawyers entertain very different notions in this respect. In cases of high treason they can maintain the evidence of spies and fellows whose oath no man would take, even for a groat, as unexceptionable witnesses, when supported by other circumstances; and even with such witnesses they elude the law, and maintain and rule, that it is not necessary to have two of them to prove one fact. But here they can see no evidence. I am not surprised at their feeling some asperity with respect to Mrs Clarke. She stood at the bar like a potent witch; and no sooner did the sable band encounter her, than their faculties seemed to be withered, as it were, by the wand of an enchantress; she routed the whole troop, horse, and foot, and chariots, they 'and all their Memphian chivalry.' But finding themselves thus routed, they endeavoured to turn their defeat into an argument in favour of their cause. If they, with their united ability, were unable to withstand the power of this formidable enchantress, how was it to be expected that the Duke of York should have been able to defend himself against her magic spells? The legal gentlemen were all in amazement at the power of Mrs Clarke in baffling their skill, and she was at the same time decried as the worst of human beings, and as a prodigy of wit, genius, and understanding: she had always an answer ready, and such an one as they least of all wished to hear. Recourse was had to miracle to account for all this, without considering that it was easily and naturally explained though it had escaped the cunning of the lawyers, by supposing that she spoke the truth,—the simplest and easiest of all explanations; but then that would not have suited the defence, of course it never occurred to the gentlemen of the robe. Mr Attorney-General verily believed he had got a witch at the bar, but still returned to the attack, and still retired baffled, vexed, and defeated. He knew not what to make of it: he never met with such a witness before; and yet all the art she used, and which so foiled the learned gentleman, was speaking truth: her only weapon was truth, most simple, although the most powerful. It always puzzles a lawyer: he never knows what to make of it: it is like the red rag to the viper—it extracts the venom from a lawyer's tooth.

"Against this powerful witness, and the mass of evidence which so incontrovertibly confirmed her testimony, the honour of a prince was offered as a defence. The honour of the Duke of York! What had been his conduct to the woman who had appeared at the bar? He had separated from her, not, certainly, because she had taken money for commissions; but how had he behaved to her? He had cast her off, fulfilled none of his promises, left her in debt and distress, and threatened her, if she complained, or troubled him, with the pillory. It quite

confounds the understanding, that the Duke of York should threaten with the pillory, and leave to misery and want, the woman with whom he had so lived, to whom he had written the letters on the table. His excessive affection and tenderness could alone mitigate the severity of censure upon his folly: but no; she was shaken off like an old shoe, and threatened with infamy. Here was immeasurable folly, but no tenderness; the fault without the excuse. Where was the honour of a prince? The honour of Mrs Clarke induced her to offer to sacrifice her annuity, if the duke would pay the debts, (his debts as much as hers, be it observed;) but this was refused. Where then was the honour of a prince? The annuity was no mighty settlement, considering the terms on which she had lived with his royal highness: it was not performed; and when required, the answer was, 'You have no bond, no legal demand:' and there was 'the honour of a prince!' I know not what are the component parts of the honour of a prince, or in what it differs from that of another man; whether truth and justice, which are the essence of the honour of another, are no ingredients necessary in the honour of a prince: if so, his royal highness might still possess the honour of a prince, but it would not weigh a feather in opposition to the evidence before the House, and it was the most worthless pledge that could be offered to the consideration of the House. His royal highness's honour, 'the honour of a prince,' rose from this discussion like Banquo's ghost, 'with twenty mortal gashes on its head,' each one a death to reputation."

Mr Bankes's motion was supported by Mr W. Smith and Lord Milton. Lord Temple spoke on the same side. "If he were allowed," he said, "to approach his royal highness, he would advise him to resign his office; and if ministers did their duty, they would recommend to his Majesty to give him this advice. Unless they did so, they would fail in the sacred duty which they owed their sovereign. The most urgent motives for his resignation would meet his royal highness at every corner and at every step. The time was perhaps approaching, when the independence and existence of Britain might be fought for on British ground. Of such a contest the successful event must in a great degree depend upon the confidence which the country reposed in the individual intrusted with the chief command of our army. Could his royal highness suppose that he retained that confidence? If so, the sentiments that were staring in every eye, and ringing in every ear, would speedily undeceive him. There was no alternative for him but to resign his office. In retirement, in fulfilling his duties as a prince, in completing that reform, assurances of which he had thought proper to convey to the House of Commons, he would find opportunities for recovering the confidence and affections of the people; but in times of peril, like the present, the Duke of York was not a fit person to retain the command of the British army." Mr Williams Wynn supported the same opinion, and he suggested the propriety of proposing a resolution, "that it was the privilege of that House to inquire and decide, and act upon their decision, without proceeding to any other mode of trial whatever. For it might often happen," he argued, "that the evidence, without being sufficient to support a penal conviction,

might be strong enough to warrant that House in an address for a removal from office. Upon this privilege the Duke of Lauderdale had been removed from office on an address of the House, for having asserted that the King's proclamations had the same force as acts of Parliament. In some modern cases, the High Court of Parliament has considerably narrowed its jurisdiction. In the old cases of impeachment, the charge had been generally that the accused had misdemeaned himself in his office, and the Peers had only to pronounce upon the evidence generally, whether it was, or was not, sufficient to support that charge. In the cases of Mr Hastings and Lord Melville, the impeachments had been drawn out in particular articles, and the Lords were thus obliged to decide upon each singly; so that a mass of evidence, which would be fully competent to warrant a decision of guilty on the whole, was thus frittered away. The judges might justly hesitate to pronounce the accused guilty of a misdemeanour on one case, or upon each singly, when they could have no difficulty whatever in deciding if the whole were taken together, and permitted to throw light upon each other. But the modern method of proceeding rendered the proof so difficult, that it was almost impossible to get at the delinquent.

"The case of Kennett," Mr Wynn pursued, "which he considered as weighing heaviest upon the duke, was one which could not be brought forward at all upon a trial. If that business had gone forward, if the Duke of York had, in consideration of the loan, procured this man a situation under government, then the case would have been complete, and it might have been brought to trial; but the transaction was broken off, and therefore could form no ground of subsequent proceeding. But did it not appear from this that improper practices were permitted by the duke, in the disposal of offices? Kennett first went to Colonel Taylor, and being perhaps aware of the anxiety of his royal highness for money, proposed to raise a loan for him: at the second interview he stated his wish to be appointed to an office in the West Indies, and produced a letter from Sir Horace Mann, intimating a desire to serve the bearer. This letter to a notorious money-lender, and a bad character, certainly made it probable that he had acquired some power over Sir Horace Mann, of the same nature with that which he endeavoured to establish over his royal highness. It was impossible to believe that the transactions of the loan and the office were not connected together. The man himself talked to Greenwood of the office as the condition of the loan; so Greenwood represented it to the Duke of York; and both proceeded in conjunction, till the duke was informed that Kennett was a bad character. The real cause of breaking it off was not the character of the man, who had been a fraudulent bankrupt, but the presumption that, owing to this circumstance, he was not a person of sufficient consequence to procure the loan which he promised. If the transaction had succeeded, it would have appeared to all who became acquainted with it, that in order to obtain an office under government, nothing more was necessary than to have gone to the commander-in-chief with the offer of a loan."

In the same concise, clear, and convincing manner, Mr Wynn went through the other cases, and conclu-

ded a speech which was as much distinguished by its dispassionate and becoming temper, as by its parliamentary knowledge and sound reasoning, with referring to Mr Perceval's proposed address. "That address," said he, "expresses the confidence of the House that, from the regret which his royal highness had stated himself as feeling on account of his connection with Mrs Clarke, no such connection would be formed in future. In that confidence I am sorry that I cannot join. The letter of his royal highness does not express any general regret for his conduct, but merely a regret that he had ever formed a connection which had been attended with such consequences. I do not say that the delinquency was equal on the duke's part, whether he knew of Mrs Clarke's taking money for these appointments, or whether he imagined that she gave them gratuitously; but this I must say, that, with respect to the army, the effect would be equally pernicious. If a kept-mistress was known to have influence, the officers of the army might be desirous of paying their court to her; they might be seen in her company, and at her parties; and it might be even more agreeable to those gentlemen to deal with her for money, rather than be found in constant attendance at the levees of a courtezan. Long before this inquiry commenced, reports were current of the sort of influence exercised over his royal highness's mind, and the truth of these was confirmed by the evidence which was now before the House. There was but one way to remove these impressions, and that was by removing his royal highness from office. The bare influence, independent of taking money, was sufficient to warrant an address to that effect."

Mr Ponsonby, supporting the same opinion, dwelt likewise on the strong and unanswerable case of the money-lender, Kennett. Some of the ministry had warned the House against suffering itself to be governed or influenced in any degree by popular clamour. "In this sentiment," said he, "no man can agree more heartily than I do. But it must be recollected that this case is one in which, of all others, the educated and well-informed part of the community were perfectly capable of drawing correct conclusions, and of forming rational and proper decisions. Authenticated copies of all the evidence and proceedings have been daily issued to the public, and the well-informed part of the community, persons of birth and education, forming in this kingdom no inconsiderable number, are not only capable of exercising the functions of jurymen, but are, many of them, in the frequent habit of executing that duty: they are accustomed to weigh, consider, and compare evidence, and are as fully capable of forming a correct judgement as we are. What danger then can arise from a certain degree of attention to the opinion of the public on a case in which they have the whole of the evidence before them, and in which it is not possible that we can possess any superior information on the facts which are the ground of our decision? I trust, therefore, that that decision will not be in opposition to the general sentiment; for it were vain to expect the public sanction of our proceedings, if they are contrary to the good sense of the people; and never was there a period in which it was so material to the peace and happiness of this coun-

try that the House of Commons should be deemed to do that which is right in the eyes of the nation. The confidence of the people in the House of Commons is imperiously necessary; but there is yet one thing more, and that of no inferior importance—that the people should think us honest, and that we should really be so."

As almost every member, who ever spoke at all, delivered his opinion upon a subject which engrossed so great a part of the public attention, it required no little ingenuity in those who spoke late in the discussion to devise new arguments, or place the old ones in a stronger point of view. In this difficult task Mr Windham was eminently successful, and never, on any occasion, did he display to more advantage the subtlety and acuteness of his mind, and that candour, humanity, and high honourable feeling with which nature had gifted him, and by which, often as he suffered party, or prejudice, or passion, or even the meaner stimulus of vanity to lead him astray, he was still in all his individual actions so peculiarly distinguished. Much as had been said respecting the credibility or worthlessness of the two main witnesses, Mrs Clarke and Miss Taylor, nothing of what Mr Windham said concerning them had been forestalled, and yet nothing had been said so fair, so philosophical, so deserving of attention. "Mrs Clarke," said this able reasoner, "is the life and soul of the whole evidence. Her testimony, if it is to be received implicitly, is at once conclusive: We must consider, therefore, what there may be to render any part of it doubtful. Her general situation in the cause is certainly such as to expose her to great suspicion. She is so circumstanced, as to be open to strong temptations to falsehood, both on the side of interest and of passion; and what ground of assurance is there that these motives will have been resisted? She is, in the first place, a woman without that virtue which is the great pride and ornament of the sex, and is, in the universal estimation of mankind, the great foundation and pledge of all others. However it happens, or in whatever way it is to be explained, it must be confessed, (without wishing to bear too hard upon the frailties of the sex) that the loss of chastity in women does carry away with it a great portion of all their other virtues. But Mrs Clarke is a woman who is not only unchaste, but is publicly known to be so; that is to say, who is not only without virtue, but without shame; who has long incurred and become familiar to the opprobrium of the world; and has therefore set herself free from another security for right conduct, and one which is hardly less strong than virtue itself. It is impossible to have seen her here without seeing what the effect of her trade has been in hardening her against those feelings, which would have operated on most of her sex.

"These are presumptions arising from her general character and habits of life. There are others arising from the particular situation in which she stands with respect to the transactions under discussion. She appears in the character of an accomplice. If the acts charged would be scandalous and flagrant in the person to whom they are imputed, she cannot be blameless or guiltless, who carried on a systematic traffic for procuring them to be done. Mrs Clarke is undoubtedly an accomplice, and on that, as well as on various other ac-

counts, is to be heard with great distrust. But still her evidence is not to be rejected nor disregarded. Though it may be too much to say that she is, generally speaking, an unwilling witness, yet we know that she has been so in some instances, and must fairly be said to have given proofs of a great degree of moderation and forbearance. These are virtues often to be found among women whose lives and conduct have not been more regular than Mrs Clarke's, and which she has displayed in several instances in a very marked manner. She would have suppressed all the circumstances connected with Colonel Tonyn's business, if she had not been forced to produce them, by the foolish and scandalous attack made upon her by General Clavering, which left her no option between the production of these facts and the confession (at the moment too when her evidence was correctly true) that she was a woman wholly undeserving of credit. She evidently cannot be treated as a woman who is borne away by a spirit of resentment which knows no bounds, because she has shewn that she is not so borne away. Various attempts have been made to entrap her in her answers, and to find out parts of her testimony in which she may appear to be inconsistent, either with others, or with herself. I must fairly confess, that these attempts did not, in any instance, appear to me to be successful. Many of the inaccuracies or inconsistencies which were supposed to have been discovered were upon points which she had no interest in representing one way more than in another, or on which, when the opposition was to the testimony of others, there was just as much probability of her being right as they. In general, they were of that sort, which instead of detracting from the authority of her evidence, only gave to it, in my eyes, a greater character of genuineness and authenticity. I should have suspected it more, had the inaccuracies in it been fewer. There was just about as much incorrectness as might be expected in the answers of a person who spoke without design or premeditation on transactions some time past, and which, many of them, had not been at the time the subject of particular attention. It was impossible, indeed, not to be struck by the general air of frankness and facility with which her evidence was characterized throughout. There was nothing of stiffness and preparation: there was no time taken to look for an answer, or to give to it any other shape than that which it first received in her mind. She wrote a running hand. 'She poured forth,' as a great critic says of one of our poets, 'a negligent profusion, certain of the weight, and careless of the stamp.'

"With this description of the general character of Mrs Clarke's evidence, on what grounds, it will be asked, do I afterwards reject the truth of it? And admitting the truth of it, how can I resist the conclusion, that the Duke of York is guilty to the full extent? The answer is, that I do admit the truth of her testimony in all the parts to which the description above given will apply; but that the description does not apply to those parts by which alone the Duke of York must stand convicted.

"Mrs Clarke's evidence must be divided into two great heads, very unequal in bulk, and very unequal in consequence, and the largest not that which was most important. In all that part of the cause, being nine-tenths or ninety-nine hundredths of

the whole, which related to the existence of a corrupt traffic for the disposal of commissions, Mrs Clarke's evidence deserves the character which I have given of it, and is, I believe, true. But all this, without farther aid, told nothing as to the guilt of the Duke of York, whom no extent or variety in the existence of the abuse would touch, unless it could be shown that he was, or ought to have been, cognizant of it. Now, this it is, that makes what may be called the second part of Mrs Clarke's evidence, to the truth of which no inference can be drawn from the truth of the first. It consists of half a dozen sentences, in which she speaks without the possibility of detection or confutation, or indeed, even of contradiction, except from the party himself. When she has told with perfect truth all her transactions with Knight, with Donovan, with Sandon, with Clavering, nay, many with the Duke of York himself, that which is to give effect to the whole, which is necessary to make any part bear upon its object, is a declaration that she in private conversations (conversations so private, that nobody was, or, it may be, could have been present) had made known all that she had been doing to the duke. Without this, all the story comes to nothing; and what connection is there between the truth of the story, and the truth of the declaration of her having told that story to a particular person? Mrs Clarke delivers her evidence throughout with the confidence and facility of a person who was speaking truth; but the presumption thence arising as to the actual truth is not the same in all the parts of her evidence. Where it relates to matters falling within the cognizance of others, she proceeds fearlessly, she speaks confidently, because she is in fact speaking truly; but in other parts far more material, she may speak with confidence, only because she knows that, whether speaking truly or falsely, she is safe from detection. No one can ever convict her as to the truth or falsehood of conversation said to have passed only between her and the Duke of York. Here she is covered with a shield of impenetrable darkness: She may say whatever she pleases: Conviction can never reach her. In all the other parts of her evidence, she might safely tell the truth, because the truth was abundantly sufficient for all purposes, if it could be shown only that the duke was acquainted with it; but this rests entirely upon Mrs Clarke, with no other support than she can derive from Miss Taylor. I am far from approving the attempts that have been made to discredit and disparage Miss Taylor, or from thinking that they have been at all successful. Indeed, their success would have been, in a great measure, their justification. If Miss Taylor's character was really bad, so as to render her undeserving of credit, the interests of justice required that it should be shown to be so, however the means employed for that purpose might be attended with consequences painful or prejudicial to her. But the attempts were neither successful, nor did they seem, many of them, to have been fairly directed to their object. What idea could we entertain of Miss Taylor's credit being destroyed as a witness, because she had not the virtue (if virtue even it would have been, in all the circumstances of the case) to break off all communication with Mrs Clarke, her relation and benefactress, the moment she found she had formed an imprope

connection with the Duke of York? This might have been right: I will not say that it was not: but it was a stricter right than we were accustomed to exact from persons from whom it might more fairly be looked for. Would we take this rule in our hand, and apply it to the trial of all that might be found in higher life?

"The fact is, that if Miss Taylor's testimony is to be arraigned, it must be on the ground of circumstances in the testimony itself, and not of the person who gave it. The case here is the very reverse of the former. Mrs Clarke is a bad witness giving a good testimony. Miss Taylor is a good witness giving a testimony liable to considerable suspicion. Let Miss Taylor's evidence be examined in this view. The most unpleasant part of it is the expression, "How did he behave to you, darling?" Many gentlemen have thought that this might be explained to mean what was his general conduct towards you, in respect to being importunate and troublesome: But it is difficult not to understand the word "behave" in a more restricted and technical sense, well understood among persons in the class of life in which Miss Taylor might be placed; and it is no answer to say, that Miss Taylor, or those whose expressions she was repeating, might not be persons very nice and critical in the use of their terms. There are no persons more correct in the use of such terms as they employ at all, than those whose vocabulary is small, and who use it without reflection or premeditation, merely to express ideas of daily occurrence in conversation with persons as little studious of language as themselves. There is nothing so true as habit. While there is no ambition in the speakers to speak beyond themselves, the same words are used to denote the same ideas, and contract by use a degree of precision which can never be given them by thought and study. I cannot satisfy myself at all, therefore, that if this expression of 'how did he behave?' was truly cited, it did not signify all that was meant to be imputed to it. But I may easily doubt, whether the expression was truly cited; and whether in the recollection of a conversation, not very recent, and having nothing at the time to impress that particular part immediately on the mind of the witness, a little change may not have been introduced, insensible at the moment, but so establishing itself after a few repetitions, as to maintain its ground against any subsequent effort of recollection to set it right. The real circumstance of suspicion is, that Miss Taylor comes here with her story evidently ready cut and dry. It was not a point that had arisen unexpectedly in the course of examination, and on which she had related what her recollection furnished at the moment, as was often the case with Mrs Clarke, but she is brought to tell this very thing. It is impossible not to regard a testimony so circumstanced, considering what it is in the cause, from what quarter it comes, and in what manner it is produced, with some degree of suspicion, and to suspect here is to suspect the whole foundation of the question. The persons who look at this cause loosely and carelessly, in the way in which it is looked at by ninety parts out of a hundred of what are called the public, never perceive upon what a slender foundation the whole rests, upon what slender pivots it is made to turn; they see a vast deal of charge, a vast deal of suspicion, a great mass of abusive practices, a great variety of facts,

much the greater part of them proved, and they conclude from hence, that a great portion of the charge is proved. But when the matter comes to be examined, as those ought to examine it who are to sit in judgement upon it, it is found that the only two points in which this bulky and imposing mass is made to touch the Duke of York, are in the evidence of Miss Taylor and Mrs Clarke; Mrs Clarke speaking to communications made by her to the duke with no person present, and Miss Taylor coming in in support of her friend, in a solitary instance, and where the whole force of her testimony depends upon her correctness in the report of a particular expression. What is wanted, is a direct proof, or adequate presumption, that the duke accepted her recommendations, knowing them to have been obtained corruptly; and evidence to this effect we have none, except in the declarations of Mrs Clarke, and the story of Miss Taylor.

"This was all that we had upon that head in the shape of testimony. There was, it was urged, the general presumption, arising from the rate at which the duke saw his mistress live, compared with the money which he allowed her. Knowing that the one was inadequate to the other, the allowance to the expence, he must have been satisfied, it is said, that she had indirect means of profit, and these could be no other than bribes received for the exertion of her influence. It may be true, that the duke ought to have made this calculation; but nothing appears to me more natural and likely than that in point of fact he did not. Persons bred to small fortunes and to economical habits, may find a difficulty of believing how any one could much mistake in the proportion between his income and expenditure; yet surely examples of such mistakes are not wanting, nor fail to occur daily, even in the lower walks of life; and much more may they be expected in persons placed from their infancy above the want of money, and whose minds have been directed to any thing rather than to the management of their own affairs. There is no limit to the errors which such persons may commit, when endeavouring to form such estimates; and who knows that the Duke of York ever thought upon the subject? He had not only his habits of idleness, but his habits of diligence to contend with; and if any one would form to himself an idea of the business which a commander-in-chief had to go through every day of his life, and which the Duke of York did go through, he would neither wonder at, nor be much disposed to blame, any instance of ignorance or inattention that might occur in the management of his private affairs. The reasoning, therefore, that would fix upon him the gross charge of having connived at his mistress's corruptions, inasmuch as he must be presumed to have known that she could not otherwise have gone on without a greater debt than she was found, in fact, to have contracted, is of a nature infinitely too loose and uncertain to be allowed of for that purpose.

"The moral part of the question, as it is called, is one, that many gentlemen think ought of itself to call for the animadversion of the house. I certainly do not mean to set up a justification of that part of the royal personage's conduct; but not feeling that this is a matter on which the house is called upon to animadvert, I do not feel that I *am* setting up a justification of it, by endeavouring to

dissuade the house from taking any cognizance of it. Something must, after all, be yielded to the general habits and manners of the world; and something also to the situation of persons placed in the rank of life of the royal duke; who, being deprived originally in marriage, of much of that free choice which is the happy privilege of persons in humbler stations, ought not, perhaps, to be called upon for an equally rigorous discharge of the duties attached to that state. There must be something, moreover, of general harmony and uniformity in the conduct both of individuals and of collective bodies, if they would wish either to gain credit for their motives, or to give authority to their example; or not to risk the exciting feelings of ridicule, where they are anxious to impress sentiments of deference and respect. I am afraid, that the present state of manners in this country will not admit well of a solemn resolution of the House of Commons, to censure the commander-in-chief for keeping a mistress. Those, indeed, who urge this topic, hardly seem to consider it as a ground of charge which the house would have done right to take up originally, though they are willing now to treat it as a substantive charge. By the bulk of the house, it seems only to be considered as a subject of animadversion, in as far as it has practically led to consequences injurious to the public service. These consequences are of two sorts; first, the injury done to the service by the adoption of recommendations likely, in many instances, to lead to improper appointments. Secondly, the scandal given to the service and the country, by the suspicion that appointments were to be so obtained. From the former of these, the Duke of York stands, in a great measure, acquitted; because Mrs Clarke herself states throughout, that the recommendations which she delivered in could only expect to succeed on the supposition that there was, in the things themselves, nothing improper; but there is often a wide difference, if I may so say, between what is not improper, and what is proper. The mistress might recommend a man to whom there was no formal or official objection, but who yet was very far from being the person whom the commander-in-chief ought to have selected. There is no greater abuse either in the army, or in the whole service of the state, nor which leads to more extensive consequences, but which is at the same time more inherent in the nature of things, and more impossible to be got at, than the abuse of patronage, in giving to favour what ought to be given only to merit. But I wish I could think that this was confined to commanders-in-chief's mistresses, and that, in failure of theirs, other influences would not succeed, by which, in the allotment of promotions and preferments, merit would be quite as much disregarded. Would the influence of members of this house, for instance, be solely guided by the consideration of merit? Would the recommendations of fashionable ladies in the society of this town be always directed to purer objects, or not sometimes to the very same, as those with which Mr Donovan or Captain Sandon supplied Mrs Clarke?

"Of persons chosen, or of things done at her recommendation, absolutely out of rule, and improper in themselves, French's Levy was a very bad case. There is another of a different description, of a description indeed peculiar to itself, that of

Samuel Carter. There was no case in which the Duke of York lay so much at the mercy of his accusers; it was a case for which there was no defence, but for which, in every generous and liberal mind, he should have thought there would have been all possible excuse. Was there a bad motive to be found in it from beginning to end? Mrs Clarke had here none of those interested motives, which were apparent, and were avowed in other instances. She had no money to make; no favourite to serve; no one whom she could wish to benefit but from motives that did her credit, and which belong to that part of character which is often found not to be lost when other virtues are no more. Had the Duke of York any bad motive? A compliance with the wishes of a mistress is surely not criminal, where those wishes are such as would do no discredit to a woman the most virtuous. But the thing itself, it would be said, was wrong. It was an indignity and insult to the army, to put among its officers a person taken from the condition of a servant, and that too, a servant in the family of your mistress; but what is done clandestinely, and with a purpose of being for ever concealed, though it may be an injury, can hardly be called an insult. As for the injury, it must here, as in every other instance, be estimated by the peculiar circumstances of the case; and who shall say, that there are not daily admitted into the army, and unavoidably admitted, persons more discordant from its character and manners than the person here in question? He is stated to have been well brought up, to have been well disposed: He was probably, though illegitimate, the son of an officer, and of an officer who had claims upon the service, and who, though too poor to educate this young man as his own son, had not so entirely neglected him, as not to have qualified him, in some sort, for what fortune might do for him. While those who wish to depress him to the utmost, with a view of giving to the charge every thing that can be most invidious, are studiously characterizing him as a foot-boy, they are not aware, that what they mean as the greatest aggravation of the act, is, in fact, a mitigation of it. To have been a foot-*boy* is much less than to have been a foot-*man*. The circumstance of the duration of the time is not a little; no one can be a foot-*boy* for very long. He will not be equally known to have been so, nor (which is not of less consequence) will he be equally remembered. He will not be equally liable to be recognized by his companions, walking into the parlours and drawing-rooms of those houses, where he has formerly waited in the lobby. But what is still more important, he will not have been equally contaminated by the manners and habits of that condition of life. Every one has done and suffered in their youth without degradation, what would be disgraceful and intolerable at a more advanced period. The stains contracted in youth may be purged off and disappear before the boy becomes a man. The mark wears out of his mouth; and there is no reason not to believe, that, but for this unfortunate inquiry, and the very unnecessary and cruel manner in which the fact has been brought forth, the appointment of this young man would have been an act perfectly innocent as to its consequences, neither injuring any interest, nor shocking any feeling, which persons most jealous of the honour of the army could have enter-

tained. It was impossible not to contrast the conduct of many gentlemen upon this occasion, with their language respecting Miss Taylor. What shall be said of their conduct pursued towards Mr Samuel Carter? Was it less cruel and cutting to his feelings, an officer bearing his majesty's commission, to have these circumstances of his early life brought to light, for which certainly he was not blameable; and himself held out as a disgrace to his profession, and one, possibly thus branded, who may find it impossible to remain in it? Here is a pretty good attack upon his feelings, and upon his interests into the bargain. And where is the necessity for it? Mrs Clarke has expressly stated, that she entreated and stipulated, as far as she could, that Samuel Carter's case should not be brought forward. The honourable mover, therefore, if this assertion of Mrs Clarke is not mere pretence and grimace, has not acted with much gratitude towards his witness and informant, even if he should be able to acquit himself upon the score of good faith. But what was the necessity of this for the interests of the cause? Was not it charge enough against the Duke of York, that he had connived at the sale of his patronage, for the purpose of putting money into his mistress's pocket, but that you must take in, merely *ad invidiam*, and to excite against him the clamours of the army, and of those who had the honour of the army at heart, that, without any such base motive, and through mere compassion and kindness, he had bestowed a commission upon a person, whose condition of life, if known, would make the appointment highly offensive? We have all heard how pathetic the lamentations were, which were poured forth over the suffering of Miss Taylor, and how fierce the indignation was against those who were in any degree the cause of them, while in the same breasts, the most stoical apathy had prevailed towards the wounds so unsparingly and wantonly inflicted on Mr Carter, who seemed to be of no more account with the honourable gentlemen, than a mere stock or stone, forming a very fit weapon to be hurled at the head of the Duke of York, but having no capacity of feeling or of being hurt himself.

"Many gentlemen had thought that a distinction could be taken between connivance and criminal connivance. I am not interested in such a distinction, because I am prepared to deny connivance altogether. If nothing more was meant, than that men turned their eyes unwillingly to facts, the existence of which would give them pain, that they were slow to admit unwelcome truths, there was nothing more easily understood or more familiar to every man's observation and practice. What cases were more familiar than those of persons resisting to the last moment the belief of misconduct in those near and dear to them? not because they wished well to that misconduct, not because they were desirous of its continuance, but, on the contrary, because the existence and continuance of it was a subject of the greatest dread, was the greatest affliction that could befall them. Would any one say of such persons, that this slowness of belief, this unwillingness to be convinced of the misconduct of their wives or sons, was criminal connivance, and that they were parties to these acts which they deprecated? Were people criminal parties to the dreadful maladies that threaten their own existence, because they shun inquiry into them, because they long disguise them to

themselves and conceal them from others, because they dread to take opinions, for fear of what those opinions may discover to them?—a species of connivance, it was to be feared, to which numbers were daily falling victims. A blindness of this description is very likely to have existed in the instance in question, and may account for much of that with which gentlemen seem to have been so much embarrassed, between the unwillingness of imputing to the royal person a wilful tolerance of such abuses, and the difficulty of believing that no suspicion of their existence ever entered his mind. A suspicion might very possibly have entered it, and have passed away, as such suspicions often do, without leaving any trace behind, or have been dismissed, as men do subjects that they are afraid to contemplate. We might surely allow to the Duke of York as much incredulity about Mrs Clarke's infidelities in respect to bribes as about her infidelities of another sort. If he could be so blind as not to suspect her with Dowler, where suspicion might be expected to be pretty much awake, we surely have no right to presume that he must have been so vigilant and clear-sighted with respect to her transactions with Donovan and Sandon.

"Giving therefore a decided negative to the charges of participation or connivance, it still remained to be considered what it was fit for the house to do, in respect to the continuance of his royal highness in the high and confidential situation which he had held. Nothing was more clear than that the degree of proof necessary to convict a person of a crime, was far different from that which was sufficient for the removal of him from a situation of trust and confidence. However hard it was that any one should fall a sacrifice to unjust suspicions, the hardship was less, and the danger to society less, when the suspicion was grounded on acts of the party, and those acts such as were in their own nature culpable. No one could claim from society the same protection against the consequences of his own misconduct, as was due to a person, who, if not wholly guilty, was wholly innocent. The royal personage must abide the consequences of such a connection as he had formed, and the opportunities which he had afforded to such a testimony as had been given against him. It was not fit that a person of his description and situation should be allowed with impunity to place himself in a state in which suspicions of the most injurious nature could be entertained against him, by persons of good intentions and of reasonably sound and good judgment. 'Cæsar's wife ought not to be suspected.' While he was anxious, therefore, that the house should declare emphatically its disbelief of the accusations brought against his royal highness, he should hear, he must confess, with great delight, that no necessity existed for any further opinion, but that the royal personage had of himself decided to quit a situation, which he could not hold, with satisfaction to himself, longer than while he could hold it to the general satisfaction of the country. Such a decision could not be construed as admitting in the smallest degree the truth of any thing that had been charged against him. If it was a submission to public opinion, it was not a submission of an unworthy sort, nor to those parts of public opinion which were undeserving of consideration. Nothing could do more credit

to the feelings of the country, nor, at the same time, show more strongly the general purity of the administration of its affairs, than the commotion excited by any thing that had the appearance even of a departure from that purity. It was a feeling, which one could not wish less, however the effects of it might be at times irregular, and productive of injustice in particular instances. A homage paid to such a feeling was no admission of the truth of its application in the particular case."

Having gone through the subject with such distinguished ability, Mr Windham adverted to the charge which had been triumphantly urged against the opposition, that, at the commencement of the inquiry, they had not appeared forward to encourage it. "He had not been present," he said "but if he had, his conduct would have been the same. What else could he have done, than keep aloof from a charge, with the grounds and with the author of which he was equally unacquainted, and which certainly did not exhibit at the outset any thing so attractive, either as to the spirit in which it was conceived, the manner in which it was conducted, the success to which it was likely to lead, or the objects which it might be suspected to have ultimately in view, as that all to whom it was proposed must instantly fall in love with it, and rush impetuously to its support? In fact, the cause, as known to the honourable mover at the time, was not such as many men would have chosen to engage in, whether their own credit or the interests of the public had been the principle to guide them. For it must never be forgotten, that the cause was now in a very different state from that in which it was originally contemplated by the honourable mover; and that the principal part of the evidence, by which i was now supported, was as little known to him, and could be as little anticipated by him as it could be by the house. But the matter did not end here: If much was wanting that was necessary to invite support, there was much, on the other hand, that must have the effect of repelling it. It did not tell greatly in favour of a cause, that it began by a breach of confidence, and that it owed the possession of the main part of its evidence to an act of violence committed in a house, to which admission had been procured upon terms of apparent friendship. Mrs Clarke says, that the papers were taken from the table in her presence, but both without her consent and against her consent. If this protest of hers, made at the time, was mere pretence; if her resistance was merely feigned; it was not treating the House very respectfully, in a matter pretty important, if, upon such grounds, they were to be made believe that Mrs Clarke was an unwilling witness, and entitled to all the additional credit on one side, which such a character would give her. But if the facts really were as she stated, and as the honourable mover did not seem to deny, if the papers were in truth taken by him from her table, he entering the house as he did, and she protesting *bona fide* against the proceeding,—other gentlemen must think as they liked, but he must declare, for his own part, that there was no one article of the charges, proved or unproved, which he would not rather confess to, than be guilty of the act so described."

Mr Wilberforce, like Mr Windham, displayed great novelty, as well as ingenuity of argument, in commenting upon the evidence, bringing

into view the minutest points of corroboration and confirmation. Then, as was expected from him, he dwelt upon that part of the question which Mr Windham argued ought not to be taken into the consideration of Parliament. "Some reparation," he said, "it was necessary to make to public morals and decency. Things were called in that House by very soft and gentle names. That which used to be called adultery was now only 'living under protection;' but the applying these delicate expressions to acts of immorality was striking at the root of the morals of the country, and it would be found throughout all history that religion and morals were the best preservers of states, and that when they were upon the decline in any country, it was a sure prognostic of that country's approaching fall. As to the slight censure conveyed in the resolutions of the chancellor of the exchequer, it would have been better not to have touched upon the subject at all, than to have touched upon it so slightly: it seemed as if the laws of courtesy were more to be attended to than the laws of God. The spokesman of the Kirk of Scotland, who was sent to reprimand Charles II. for licentious conduct, desired him, when next he pleased to indulge himself in such practices, to shut the window shutters; even such advice as this would be better than the courtly flummery which Mr Perceval had proposed. The slight regret which his royal highness himself had expressed was not for violating the laws of religion and morality, but for a connection which had, in its consequences, exposed his name and character to animadversion. This was referring his conduct not to known and sacred rules, but to the fashionable and fanciful ideas of modern honour. The address of the chancellor of the exchequer was in this respect a mere echo of the letter,—a letter which ought never to have been received, and which had better be forgotten.

"The House," continued Mr Wilberforce, "should consider what would be the language of any other judges, who, in the execution of the duties of their office, should be called upon to consult their feelings, instead of attending to the evidence. I cannot conceive how, after all that has been disclosed, it can be believed that the command of the army may be any longer safely confided to his royal highness. Supposing the case to be, according to the mildest interpretation of his friends, that the duke had neither knowledge nor suspicion of these transactions, but was completely deceived and blinded by the woman whom he passionately loved and entirely confided in, that would be reason enough to call for his removal from the command. It was not at a time when all the continental nations were broken down by the armies of France that this country should have a commander-in-chief who was liable to be blinded and duped by a woman. Buonaparte succeeded as much by intrigues as by open force, and if he found that we had a commander-in-chief who was duped by his mistress, it would be easy for him to gain an ascendancy over such a woman, in order to command the most important secrets of the state. He could bring over such a woman, not only for a sum of money, but by promising to make a duchess or a queen of her. This was a game which he had always played; and the more innocent and the more unsuspecting the Duke of York was described to be, the more danger was there that the

enemy would find out if any body had influence over him.

"There was one consideration more," he added, "which it was his duty to state. That House had always been considered peculiarly as the guardian and steward of the public purse. The luxurious and profuse expenditure of the establishment at Gloucester Place would be read with pain by the heavily-burthened cottagers in all parts of the country. Whatever now takes place in higher life is soon known in every corner of society, but these particular transactions had acquired an extraordinary degree of publicity, and the public could not avoid feeling that this profusion was supplied from their money, which had been granted for different purposes. As to the public opinion guiding the determination of the House, it is a principle," said Mr Wilberforce, "which I shall not contend for; but I must remind the House, that their strength is in the strength of the people, and that it is from the force of public opinion that governments, which are somewhat popular in their form, derive their greatest energy and vigour."

The Duke of York's defence was concluded by Mr Canning, who employed himself in replying to particular parts of Mr Wilberforce's speech, rather than to his main reasoning. The last of these topics which he touched upon was an assertion, that it was matter of notoriety that the duke was living in the state of disgraceful concubinage with Mrs Clarke. "I do assure the House in the most solemn manner," said he, "that I did not know it, and it was this utter ignorance, coupled with the utter disbelief which I felt of the Duke of York's submitting to the sort of traffic imputed to him, that extorted from me, on the night when Colonel Wardle opened his charges, those expressions of indignation which I have so often, in the course of this debate, been called upon to retract or to explain. I have nothing to retract on that score; nothing to explain; but I have something to deny. I *did* say that 'infamy must rest somewhere,' but I did *not* say that it must rest 'either on the accuser or on the accused.' Suppose there were daily to be published accounts of what passes in this House, and I were to find my words stated, according to my own recollection of them, in ten or eleven of those accounts, and stated, as the noble lord and those opposite recollect them, by only one of those reporters, and that one notoriously a decided enemy to me and to those with whom I act, should I not be warranted in considering the many which agreed in confirming my own recollection, as better authority than the one which contradicted it? Should I not be warranted in doing so, more especially if I should find another part of the same speech cautiously omitted in that one, and accurately detailed in almost all the others? I said, in the same speech, that the libels on the Duke of York had been so frequent and so flagrant, 'as almost to make good men hesitate whether the licentiousness of the press was not more mischievous than its liberty was beneficial.' I said this, it is true; but in the same breath I added, 'The hesitation, however, can be but for a moment; the blessings of the liberty of the press are so clear and so acknowledged, as far to outweigh the mischiefs of its abuse. The evil is transitory, but the good is immortal.' Now, if I were to find the sentiment omitted which qualifies the expression of doubt, but the doubt

itself carefully recorded; if I should find this omission in one record only, and that one the same in which the other part of my speech was misrepresented; and if I were to find both the omission and misrepresentation made in that same record the ground of invective and invidious comment, could I fail to be confirmed in my own recollection of my own words and meaning? Or could I doubt for what purpose both had been intentionally disfigured?

"Lord Folkestone, who has so loudly called upon me for retraction and apology, spoke, no doubt, on the supposition of what he conceived to be true; he will now, I hope, believe me, and correct the impression under which he spoke. The 'infamy' which I anticipated, was to light, where light it will, whatever be the issue of the present question, on that accursed combination, whose practices we have seen developed at our bar; a combination, of which the honourable gentlemen has been, I hope, the unwilling and innocent instrument; and of which his Royal Highness the Duke of York has been, unhappily, both the dupe and the victim.

"But it is said that I gave to the honourable gentleman the odious title of 'accuser.' And if I have so styled him, where is the blame? Is the title false in fact, or dishonouring in its application? The fact is clear. The merit depends upon the motive. The noble lord, however, complains of this title, as given to his honourable friend, only, perhaps, because he thought it given to *him* exclusively. The noble lord is jealous of his share of the merit: he wishes to come into a society and partnership of the glory earned by his honourable friend. The noble lord is welcome to his full share. But yet, whatever be the result of this inquiry, I confess I cannot offer the honourable gentleman my congratulations. I cannot concur in the opinion that he has done a great national good. Much rather do I agree with Mr Bankes, that whatever the issue may be, much irreparable mischief will have been done; more at least than we can hope to see remedied. But whether the consequences of such an investigation may not be to produce public evils of a far greater magnitude than those which you punish, is a consideration to which I wish the honourable gentleman had given its due weight before he embarked in this undertaking. Now it is too late. The House has no option.

"These opinions may expose me to much misrepresentation. I shall hear myself reported to have said, perhaps, that the trangressions of princes are to be overlooked, defended, or rewarded. I care not for such misrepresentation. I am conscious of the integrity of the motives which dictate my opinions; and looking to the consequences of this inquiry, which may be such as to shake this great empire to its foundation; and comparing that possible danger with the degree of good which any the most sanguine moralist can conceive to arise from the abstract consideration of punishment inflicted, and misconduct exposed, to no visible practical purpose, I cannot help declaring, that while I am willing to give the honourable gentleman due credit for the sincerity and goodness of his intentions, I cannot consider him as a great public benefactor. I must add, that if thanks shall be proposed to him, as I understand is in the contemplation of some persons, I shall stand forward, and I trust I shall stand

forward not alone (though alone I would do it) to endeavour to induce this House to reject such a proposition."

Mr Canning then proceeded to argue that the proper mode of proceeding was by resolution, not by address; that the House was bound by precedent to follow this course, and by justice to pronounce a verdict of acquittal. "But," he pursued, "according to some documents of this day, you must shut your ears to every thing that I, or any one in my situation, can say to you. For we have heard from an honourable baronet, (Sir Francis Burdett,) whose usual practice it is to impute to persons in office all sorts of corruption and incapacity; but we have not heard it from him only; he has been followed by one of the greatest landed grandees among us, (Mr Coke,) a gentleman who seems to think that he derives from his landed property a degree of authority which other property, however great, cannot confer,—that what comes from any man in office, on this or any other subject, is not to be attended to; that it is worth nothing. From whatever quarter such sentiments proceed, I hear them with scorn. They disgrace only those who utter them; and show only what they who are capable of imputing base motives to others would themselves be, if *they* were in official situations.

"But however I may despise such sentiments, I cannot hear them without regret; because I know that property, in times like those in which we live, has need of all the protection which good order and good government can give it; and I think it but ill pleads its own cause, and but ill provides for its own security, when its possessors endeavour to instil into the minds of the people a distrust, not of this or that individual, but of the whole class and description of public men. The honourable gentleman who uttered this sentiment may fancy himself safe, in the extent of his possessions, from all the inconveniences attending popular commotion; but let him not think that the destruction of the authority of government, and the degradation (if *his* opinion or his exertions could effect that degradation) of all those who, by their habits and their education, are qualified for public life, or by an honourable ambition are led to engage in it, however it might conduce to the aggrandisement of his individual importance for a time, would in the end secure the stability of that property on which he founds his pretensions to pre-eminence.

"I have now nearly done. I hope I have done my duty. I am the last man who will contend, that any preference ought to be shown to the illustrious person upon whom we are sitting in judgement, on account of the rank to which he is born. But as we deal with him, posterity will deal with us. They will judge us fairly and favourably, as we deal towards him with scrupulous justice. But justice, be it remembered, excludes intimidation and popular clamour on the one hand, as much as it excludes favour and prejudice on the other.

"I will add but one word more. Sir S. Romilly spoke of revolution and civil war as possible events to arise from (I know not precisely what) causes which exist in the present state of this country. I do not conceive that the question now before us has, in the most exaggerated view that can be taken of it, any thing to do with apprehensions of

revolution. The House of Commons has exercised its undoubted authority over a case and a personage of the highest importance and interest to the public. In that I see nothing that leads to revolution. If, indeed, it were attempted to be argued that every man of high station, once accused, must be sacrificed, because a revolution would be the consequence of his acquittal; if such a doctrine can be maintained and adopted here, then indeed we are farther gone, than I had apprehended, in the road to that very evil which the honourable and learned gentleman professes to wish to avoid. But I trust his fears (for menaces I will not call them) are visionary."

In one part of his speech, Mr Canning suffered himself to be so far led away by party animosity, as to aim a most unwarrantable and illiberal sarcasm at Lord Folkestone. "The officers of the army," he said, "would no more feel themselves degraded by Samuel Carter's commission, than the noble Lord who wore a coronet, earned by public service, would feel his rank degraded because persons had, in former times, been admitted into the peerage by favour or corruption, through the intrigues of a court, or the venality of a mistress." When he had concluded, Lord Folkestone rose to reply to this. "It would be affectation in any one," he said, "to pretend that I do not understand the force and tendency of this allusion; the House showed, by the general laugh which followed, that it was generally understood. If the motion be to attach blame to me for transactions which took place before those to whom I am indebted for my existence were born, I will only say, that we are told the Almighty visits the sins of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation; but that I did not expect that even that right honourable gentleman would have arrogated to himself such a power. I leave it to the House to judge of the fairness, the candour, and the liberality of the honourable gentleman, and of the decency of such personal allusions."

By this time it was six in the morning, and this was the sixth day's debate upon the evidence. The question was now loudly called for, and two divisions took place; first, on Mr Bankes's amendment, which was negatived by 294 against 199; then on Mr Perceval's, which was carried by 364 against 123, that number voting in the minority with Colonel Wardle. The original question had thus been disposed of, and it had been determined that the House should proceed by resolution, not by address, but that resolution was yet to be decided; and on a subsequent evening, *March* 17. Mr Perceval moved, that there was no foundation for imputing personal corruption or criminal connivance to his royal highness. Sir T. Turton moved as an amendment, that 'there were grounds for charging him with having knowledge of the corruption which had been disclosed by the evidence:' and this gave rise to another debate that continued till day-light. In the course of the night three speeches were made which excited considerable attention; the first in consequence of the high character of General Ferguson, who led that charge at Vimiera, where the first line of the French fell before the British bayonet like grass before the scythes of the mowers. He had voted with Colonel Wardle. "I gladly," said he,

"bear testimony to the many wise and salutary regulations which have been introduced into the army under the auspices of the commander-in-chief. I shall at all times have great pleasure in joining in all encomiums paid to that royal person, as far as I believe such encomiums to be just and merited. This is as much my duty as it is my inclination, for I am among the many who have reason to be thankful to his royal highness for personal favours, and far more than a merited portion of his consideration. But all such considerations must necessarily yield to that imperious sense of public duty, which in this place is our first duty. The impression which, after anxious and mature attention, the evidence has made upon my mind is, that the Duke of York is extremely culpable. Throughout the country a cloud of suspicion has been collecting, and it has settled upon his character; while that cloud remains, my opinion is, that it is not for the honour of the army, that the chief command should remain in the hands of the Duke of York."—Both Mr Croker and Mr Canning had spoke with great force of eloquence and of argument against the suspicion which Sir Francis Burdett and his party cast upon all men in office, or in power; but the approbation which General Ferguson's conduct obtained almost universally among the people, proved that it was considered as a very unusual act of merit, if a member gave a vote which might prejudice his own interest.

The Honourable Mr Lyttleton's speech excited nearly as much satisfaction, though from very different motives. In delivering his opinion against the Duke of York, he alluded to Mr Canning's attack upon the family of Lord Folkestone. "He should not be deterred," he said, "from freely uttering his sentiments by any dread of that right honourable gentleman's eloquence, even though he should exercise himself in raking up some obscure and scandalous anecdotes respecting his grandfather or great grandfather. But, indeed, he thought it unworthy of that right honourable secretary's talents and generosity to attack gentlemen in that manner, and to engage in a species of warfare in which he must be conscious they should meet him on unequal terms; since they had no weapons with which to retort upon him, in the utter deficiency, as far as his researches into English history had gone, either of authentic facts, or even of traditionary rumours, respecting his ancestors." Personal satire is but too readily listened to in this age, when the art of criticism consists in flattering the conceit of the ignorant, and pandering for envy and malice; but in this instance, there was an appearance of retributive justice, and the illiberal sarcasm by which it was provoked sharpened the sting of the retort.

These things were trifling in themselves, as deriving all their importance from temporary and personal considerations. A far more momentous interest was excited by Mr Whitbread. "Is it true," said he, "that there has been a meeting of general officers at which the secretary at war was present, and at which an address was proposed to be presented to the commander-in-chief, couched in terms of affection and approbation? Is it, I demand of the secretary at war, (who can correct me if I am misinformed) true, that such a meeting was held, at which it was intended to address the Duke

of York, to express the high opinion entertained of his services and merits? If there is no foundation for my question, I desire to be stopped. It is, I fear, not less true than dangerous. To what does this lead? In the moment of deliberation, are the Commons of England to be subject to the interference of the officers of the army? Is the character which was given of the Duke of York in this House the ground-work of this proceeding? I have heard by report that the address was waived, but for the present only, till these proceedings are over. Sir," he continued, addressing himself to the Speaker, "general officers ought to know that they owe obedience to the state, and that they have no more right to assume the functions of a deliberative body than the privates of the army or navy. Shall we henceforth be compelled to hold our deliberations under terror of the bayonet? These things ought not to be tolerated. When officers of the army sit in judgement on the Duke of York, at the very moment that we are deliberating on the charges brought against him, it is high time that this House should set its face against all such proceedings. We may address his Majesty to dismiss the duke from the office of commander-in-chief. A body of general officers will, at the same time, it appears, address the duke in terms of approbation; thus a contention will arise between the army and the House of Commons. Is there a man in this House who can be insensible to the consequence?"

Sir James Pulteney, though repeatedly called upon by Mr Whitbread in the course of his speech, to set him right if he had been misinformed, suffered him to proceed without interruption. Mr Whitbread past on to other topics, and when he had concluded. Sir James rose with a most unsatisfactory reply. "There was," he said, "some foundation for the statement which had been made, but it was only this. There existed in town a club of military gentlemen, of which he was an unworthy member; that club had lately met, and at the meeting some conversation had arisen respecting the conduct of the Duke of York as commander-in-chief. The conversation turned upon the services rendered by his royal highness to the army; and the members of the club thought themselves bound in gratitude to testify to him the high sense they entertained of the eminent advantages which the army had derived from his able administration of the military affairs of the country. These sentiments they had resolved to express to his royal highness in the form of an address; but their proceedings had no reference whatever to the circumstances of the present moment; nor was it ever intended that the address should be presented till the proceedings in that House should have closed."

The circumstances which had thus been disclosed by Mr Whitbread, and thus admitted by the secretary at war, called up Mr Canning, who, in a short but energetic speech, expressed his decided disapprobation of proceedings so unconstitutional, and so dangerous. The question was put upon Sir T. Turton's amendment, and he was left in a minority of 135 to 334. Mr Perceval's resolution was then put to the vote. Mr H. Thornton and Mr Windham both reminded the House, that the only opportunity they could have of amending this resolution, was by negativing it, and proposing another which might acquit the duke of per-

sonal corruption, and leave out the part which acquitted him of connivance. In consequence of this, ministers only obtained a majority of 82. Mr Bathurst's resolution was still to be disposed of, but it was now five on the Saturday morning, and the House adjourned till Monday. On their next meeting Mr Perceval informed them, that on

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the Saturday morning, as soon as their decision had been known, the Duke of York, of his own immediate and spontaneous motion, had waited upon the king, and tendered to him his resignation, which had been accepted. "The House of Commons," his royal highness said, "having past a resolution of his innocence, he might now approach his Majesty, and venture to tender his resignation, as he could no longer be suspected of acting from any apprehension of the result; nor be accused of having shrunk from the extent of an inquiry, which, painful as it had been, he had met with patience and firmness that could only have arisen from conscious innocence.—It would not become him to say, that he should not quit with sincere regret a situation in which his Majesty's confidence and partiality had placed him, and the duties of which it had been his anxious study and his pride, during fourteen years, to discharge with integrity and fidelity; whether he might be allowed to add, with advantage to the service, his Majesty was best able to decide." Mr Perceval said, that having made this communication, he left it to the House without a comment: Whether it did not render any farther proceedings unnecessary, was for Mr Bathurst to determine. Mr Bathurst, however, still thinking it the duty of the House to insert such a decision in their journals as should contain both example and admonition, persisted in moving his resolution.

Lord Althorpe differed in some points from Mr Bathurst, and wished it to be placed in the journal, that the duke had resigned; this, he said, would bring the whole proceeding to its proper close, and shew satisfactorily why it was closed. Removal from office was not, indeed, a constitutional punishment; but it would in this case be so far effective as to preclude the possibility of the royal duke being ever reappointed to a situation which he had proved himself so incompetent to fill. He had lost the confidence of the country for ever, and must, therefore, abandon all hope of ever again returning to that situation. His lordship then moved, that his royal highness having resigned, the House does not now think it necessary to proceed any farther in consideration of the evidence. To this Mr Perceval replied, that, after the House had negatived the charges, it would be unjust thus to reserve to themselves the right of again reviving the proceedings against his royal highness at any future period, and he moved as an amendment on this resolution, that the word *now* should be expunged. Mr Bathurst's resolution was negatived without a division, and the chancellor of the exchequer's amendment upon Lord Althorpe's motion carried by a majority of 123.

Mr Whitbread, who distinguished himself throughout the whole of these debates, made an observation worthy of notice at the close of them. "There is," he said, "one important object, which I hope and trust will now at length be effected. I mean the annihilation of that party which has existed for more than for-

ty years, secret, invisible, but possessing power so great, as to have drawn from the great Lord Chatham the assertion, that 'there existed something behind the throne greater than the throne itself.' This hidden, but irresistible power has upset various administrations. It still exists, and at the head of it, if any credit is to be given to a pamphlet most audaciously published last summer, and which has hitherto escaped prosecution, is the Duke of York. An end must be put to that mischievous party, which falsely assumes to be composed of the king's friends. The claim of exclusive right to such a title is either a libel on the rest of his Majesty's subjects, or an acknowledgement of devotion to the crown, without regard to the rights and privileges of the people. If we are to believe report, the last ministry was displaced, and the present ministry established, by the contrivances of that party. I am not, however, without hope that the eyes of princes will be opened to the peril to which the royal family is exposed by such intrigues. To the existence of such secret, evil, unavowed counsellors, under the princes of the house of Stuart, may be traced the downfall of that family, and the elevation of the house of Brunswick to the throne."

Then pronouncing the moral epilogue to the inquiry, "I am far," said he, "from wishing to visit the errors of princes with any particular severity; they are not to be tried according to the rules which apply to the conduct of the general mass of society. From the cradle to the grave they are exposed to the baneful influence of flattery; and by the base views and treachery of those generally about them, they are almost cut off from the truth. Their temptations are greater, and their means of resistance less. How then can we expect the same fruit, where the same degree of cultivation is impossible?—These considerations may check our disposition to envy, but they will add to our inclination to make allowance for their errors. By a false and mistaken policy, the legislature has cut off the royal family of this country from the common rights of mankind. If they form any legitimate connection, it must almost inevitably be an union in which the heart can take no interest. I wish those bonds were broken; I know no evil, but I can foresee much good, which would arise from their repeal. I think an intermixture with the first families of this country quite as desirable as the most illustrious foreign connection. Upon all accounts," he concluded, "I am averse to the sermon which has been proposed to be preached to the Duke of York. The examinations we have gone through have been one long and painful lecture, and if no impression has been thereby made upon his mind, it is incapable of being impressed."

One point more connected with this long inquiry was yet to be concluded. Mr Wynn moved the resumption of the debate upon General Clavering's conduct. *March 23.* The Speaker then observed, that he had received a letter from that officer asserting his innocence, and expressing his readiness to submit to the jurisdiction of the House; which letter he would read if called upon so to do. To this Mr Wynn replied, he considered such proceeding irregular, as he had considered the letter of the Duke of York, which he once intended to make the subject of a specific motion. That intention he had aban-

doned, because the House had resolved that no farther proceedings were necessary after the resignation of his royal highness; because the chancellor of the exchequer had explained, that the most objectionable passage was not designed to convey the meaning imputed to it, and still more because he now understood that this objectionable passage was suggested from another quarter, and inserted in the letter against his royal highness's own judgement. But with regard to the present question, he felt it his duty to persevere in bringing it forward. General Clavering was defended by Sir Matthew W. Ridley and by Mr Wharton; but the motion was carried against him without a division; he was pronounced guilty of prevarication and committed in consequence to Newgate by the Speaker's warrant. There he remained till the end of the session, persisting that he had committed no intentional fault, that indeed, being the only course he could pursue; in consequence he presented no petition to be released, and only obtained his deliverance when Parliament broke up, and the speaker's warrant was no longer in force. Captain Huxley Sandon, who had confessed himself guilty, was previously set at liberty on petitioning and expressing his contrition.

It was hoped, on the resignation of the Duke, that the system of the Admiralty would be adopted at the War-office, and the office of commander-in-chief put in commission; and this was the more expected, because it would increase the patronage of government. But ministry made no alteration in the existing system, and Sir David Dundas was appointed to succeed his royal highness.

CHAP. VIII.

Effect of the Inquiry upon the Public. Parliamentary Proceedings arising from it. Colonel Gordon's Lease at Chelsea. Lord Folkestone's Motion for a Committee of General Inquiry. Mr Perceval's Bill for the Prevention of the Sale of Offices. Motions against Lord Castlereagh. Meeting at the Crown and Anchor. Mr Curwen's Reform Bill.

THE affair of the Duke of York was continually before Parliament for two months, occupying a third of the whole session, to the grievous interruption of public business, and the more grievous excitement of the people, even to the extinction in most minds of all other public interest whatever. The result was at least as much matter of honour as of dishonour to the English government. The king's second son, a prince enjoying the favour of his father, and so near the throne himself, had been driven from office by a member of the House of Commons who was unheard of before this transaction, and who neither possessed any influence of character, property, nor talents. It had been proved to the conviction of the country that his royal highness was so far culpable as to render his resignation proper; that resignation had taken place in consequence, and public opinion had thus obtained a more signal triumph than could be parallelled in the history of any other age or nation. The subject had been debated at unexampled length, and on no former occasion had more ingenuity or more ability ever been displayed in Parliament. Yet the immediate consequences of the inquiry were prejudicial to the House of Commons, to the ministry, and to the government.

The complete acquittal of the duke had been carried by a majority of only 82; but the opinion of the public was so decidedly against him, that the people would not believe it possible for any man conscientiously to have acquitted him. They did not consider that their own minds had been prejudiced upon the subject; that they were predisposed to believe the charges; and that the evidence was dealt out to them daily and weekly by journalists desperately hostile to the duke, who suffered no argument which bore against him to pass unenforced, and slighted or slurred over all that could be urged in his defence. Neither did they ask themselves what was the extent of the criminality which they supposed

had been established; for this was so little, admitting even the whole to have been proved, that when the power of the commander-in-chief, the power of the courtezan over him, and the profligacy of her character were taken into the account, the few who judged dispassionately of what was passing were astonished that the abuses were so much less than had been supposed, and might reasonably have been expected. Enough, however, had been substantiated to render his removal necessary; and yet he had been acquitted in the face of the evidence, as it appeared to the people, and by the exertion of the whole influence of administration. This produced an impression upon the public mind highly unfavourable both to the House and to the ministry.

The ministry had been placed in a most unfortunate situation. From the duke they received the most positive assurances of his innocence,—assurances which, according to all reasonable presumption, could have proceeded from nothing but innocence; for his royal highness challenged inquiry, desiring that it might be as full as possible, and constantly affirming that nothing could appear against him. Had he indeed apprehended any thing from Mrs Clarke, a trifling sum of money would effectually have secured him; her sole motive being to obtain money, whether from him or from his enemies she cared not. This conduct on the part of the duke must be admitted among the reasons for clearing him of the heaviest part of the charge. Kennett's case, which was a case of corruption, had no relation to Mrs Clarke or the army, and was not likely to rise in judgement against him; and for the conversation and correspondence which had taken place between him and his mistress upon the affairs of the army, it was so utterly impossible that such things should not have occurred, that the duke would not even recollect them as imprudencies. But when it appeared in the hand-writing of the duke himself that his mistress had been suffered to interfere with him upon these subjects, ministers should themselves have proposed the milder vote, which, while it acquitted him of corrupt connivance, censured him for having permitted the existence of an undue influence. Even if the alternative had been to forfeit the favour of the crown, or shock the sense of justice in the people, a right view of their own interest should have led them to this course; but in their zeal to clear the character of his royal highness, they forgot what was due to their own. The mere circumstance of voting in a party upon points of evidence was sufficient to render the integrity of their motives suspected.

This conduct was injudicious as it respected themselves. The great cry of their antagonists, who reckoned in their own ranks almost all the old families and leading aristocracy, was, that they were men of no influence in the country, and that they held their places solely by the favour of the crown. It was indeed true, that the crown had chosen them of its own free pleasure; but the total unpopularity of their opponents had given them strength, and they had acquired a hold upon public opinion by the spirit with which they maintained the honour of England. That hold they in great measure forfeited by their obsequiousness to the royal family in this unhappy transaction,—a transaction which rendered it more than ever essential to the interests of the crown that its ministers should

possess the confidence of the people. For it could not be doubted that the enemies of government would avail themselves to the utmost of the disgraceful facts which were brought to light in the course of the inquiry, and that no means would be spared to exasperate and inflame the populace. There was less real disaffection in the country at the commencement of the anti-jacobin war, and that disaffection was of a less dangerous kind. The success of jacobinism in England at that time was impeded by many causes, and by none more than by the contradictory views and characters of the jacobins themselves. The better spirits, who were led astray by the hopes which the French revolution seemed to open for human kind, mingled their politics with principles which were equally too generous and too wild to become popular; and the baser crew, who aped the follies of the French, and felt no horror at their crimes, shocked their countrymen by open professions of irreligion and of profligacy. Jacobinism in those days had not reached the populace; in spite of the demagogue writers, the popular cry was against it; wherever riots took place the mob were loyal, and their object was the destruction of those whom they were taught to consider as the enemies of their king and country. Things were now entirely changed. Jacobinism had disappeared from the middle ranks, and sunk down to the lowest; it had lost its generalizing spirit and its metaphysics; whatever also had made it alluring to the young and the ardent was gone; it was become selfish and grovelling, yet from its very deterioration the more dangerous. Its watch-word had formerly been the rights of man, and its cause of complaint against government was, that government was engaged in war against a people who were fighting for liberty. The disaffected of the present times adapted their arguments more wisely to the vulgar. The reform for which they pleaded was to save money. According to them, the wisdom of public measures was to be estimated exclusively by their expence: Government was a combination of the rich to raise money from the people, and divide it among themselves and their dependants. Never before had sedition appeared in so sordid a shape.

To the writers of this faction nothing could be more welcome than this inquiry into the conduct of the commander-in-chief. During the whole progress of the investigation they devoted their whole attention to it. This, they said, was of paramount importance; it mattered not what was going on on the continent, it mattered not what became of Spain, nothing was now worthy the consideration of the people of England except the business of the Duke of York and Mrs Clarke! They who shall read the history of this eventful era hereafter, when temporary politics will be reduced to their proper insignificance, will wonder that such language could have been successful. Such, however, is the temper of this generation, that for three months the public attention was monopolized by this miserable subject. The provincial newspapers, now almost as universally anti-ministerial as they were otherwise in Mr Pitt's time, carried it into every ale-house throughout the kingdom, and there was not a hovel in which the Duke and Mrs Clarke were not the topic of conversation. "Every penny paid to Mrs Clarke," the people were told, "was out of their pockets. The

money annually lavished upon her was equal to the poor-rates of fifty parishes,—to all the direct taxes of twenty,—to the maintenance of above six hundred labouring families. By these means the farmer was deprived of his comforts, the labourer pinched in his food, and fuel, and raiment. Oh how many widows, how many hundreds and thousands of the people were suffering for her, and for the accursed system of corruption and profligacy, of which this was but a single sample! What we had yet seen was but a verse of one of the chapters of one of the books of one of the volumes of corruption—it was but as a blade of grass to a whole meadow."

Those writers, who deluded the people by these inflammatory and preposterous exaggerations, desired nothing more than that the duke should be acquitted by ministerial influence. It afforded them new grounds for vilifying the House of Commons, and bringing government into disrepute. Overlooking, therefore, the signal triumph which public opinion had actually obtained, overlooking also the important fact, that, constituted as the House of Commons is, the business had undergone the most full and open examination and discussion, they kept in view the vote of acquittal. This, they asserted, was the work of Parliament; and for what little justice had been obtained, the people were indebted, not to their representatives, but to the judgement which they themselves had so universally and loudly expressed upon the evidence. Colonel Wardle was at once raised to the very height of popularity; the city of London voted him its freedom; he was proposed with general applause as a member at the Whig Club; and addresses of thanks were poured in upon him from almost every town in England, all accompanied with resolutions condemning the corruption of government, and asserting the necessity of radical reform.

In this state of the public mind, the prosecutions which had been commenced against the libellers of the duke, and the newspapers which had extracted from their works, were necessarily dropt, and his enemies did not fail to take advantage of the licence which they had obtained. As if some political Saturnalia had been proclaimed, they gave free scope to all the insolence and brutality of vulgar exultation. This spirit was easily instilled into the lowest classes of society. Among the vilest of the rabble the duke was made a bye-word of reproach and mockery; the very link-boys, and young ruffians who gamble in the streets, cried "Duke or Darling" when they tost their pence in the air. This temper was especially conspicuous in a circumstance which would have been honourable to English generosity, had it not been thus disgraced. That ruin which Miss Taylor had anticipated, if she were compelled to appear in evidence before the House of Commons, had fallen upon her. She and her sister, under all the disadvantages which the misconduct and the misfortunes of their parents had brought upon them, were struggling to support themselves by honourable means. Their sole reliance was upon the school which they had just established; but no sooner was their connection with Mrs Clarke made known by means of this inquiry, the baseness of their birth, and the character of their parents, than all their scholars were immediately taken from them; their creditors, whom the continuance of the school might

have enabled them to satisfy, became urgent for payment, their goods were seized for rent and taxes, and they were threatened with imprisonment for debts, amounting to 150l. beyond what they had any possibility of discharging. A subscription to pay those debts, and purchase an annuity for their joint lives sufficient to support them in decent comfort, was proposed by Cobbett, and this object was speedily effected: but the subscription list was made a vehicle for fresh scurrility, and so many blackguards gave sixpences and shillings, for the sake of conveying an insult to the duke in the name or motto which they affixed to their donation, that the more respectable newspapers soon found it necessary for their own character to decline the insertion of the lists.

Meantime, the parliamentary proceedings which grew out of the inquiry contributed to keep up this state of political agitation. Sir Francis Burdett discovered that Colonel Gordon had obtained a piece of ground belonging to Chelsea hospital, lying along the bank of the river, and particularly calculated, he said, for the air and exercise of the pensioners. *April* 13. When Sir Francis mentioned this in the House, Mr Huskisson admitted that what he said was not altogether unfounded. The commissioners of the hospital had thought that the ground which could not be better disposed of should be let for building, and under these circumstances Colonel Gordon had become a holder of part of it. The next day Sir Francis entered more minutely into the subject. He had been, he said, that morning to survey the ground, and he thought it impossible for any person to see the spot upon which Colonel Gordon was preparing to build, or to have any idea of its relative situation to the hospital, and particularly to the infirmary, without being convinced that such a building should not be permitted, and that the whole bargain ought to be revoked. An infirmary appropriated to our sick soldiers was cooped up and deprived of the free air, so essential to their recovery, merely for the sake of gratifying an individual. He moved therefore for a copy of the warrant of treasury under which the grant was made to Colonel Gordon, which warrant was dated on the 11th of March last.

In reply to this statement, Mr Long rose, as being one of the commissioners for superintending the concerns of Chelsea hospital. The ground in question, he said, had been purchased by government, on the representation of the physicians to the hospital that an infirmary was wanted. All that was deemed necessary for this purpose was set apart for it; the rest was valued by the surveyors, according to the act for the disposal of the crown lands. Colonel Gordon became the purchaser: better terms could not have been obtained for it if it had been put up to public auction, and special provision was made in the lease granted to him that he should not build or plant in any way to inconvenience the infirmary. Mr Huskisson confirmed this statement, adding, in contradiction to an assertion of Sir Francis, that the corner in which the sick were cooped up was not a twentieth part of the ground granted to Colonel Gordon; that the surveyors had on oath valued the land for the infirmary at 6000l., and on the same oath the land of Colonel Gordon was only valued at 52l. a-year. Mr Perceval remarked, that

means ought now to be taken to counteract statements which would otherwise go forward uncontradicted to produce inflammatory impressions, the only possible object, in some cases, of bringing them forward. If the honourable baronet had not looked at every thing proceeding from administration with a jaundiced eye, how could he designate the transaction as a scandalous job? how could he think of inflaming the public mind by such an assertion, without having, as it appeared, taken any trouble to inquire into the circumstance? why, without such inquiry, endeavour to make it be believed out of doors that, in order to gratify some favoured individual, the poor sick pensioners were exposed to inconvenience, as if there was no feeling for the fate of these men except in his own breast? Sir Francis, on the other hand, maintained the accuracy of his original statement. The whole piece of ground, he affirmed, consisted of four acres and a quarter; the quarter had been assigned to the hospital,—the four acres to Colonel Gordon. Mr Huskisson stated, that government had purchased it for 5000l.; upon which Mr P. Moore remarked, that the admission proved, if not, that the business was a scandalous job, that it was a matter for serious inquiry, when 5000l. having been given for four acres and a quarter, the four acres were assigned to Colonel Gordon for 52l. a-year.

April 20. A few days afterwards, Mr Huskisson renewed the subject. He had thought it a duty, he said, both to the House and to the honourable baronet who brought the business forward, to go and inspect the ground, as there appeared some reason to apprehend that the building about to be erected by Colonel Gordon would interfere with the comfort and convenience of the hospital. The result of this visit was, that the scite chosen for the house being very inconvenient for the infirmary, he felt dissatisfied, and thought proper to take a lord of the treasury with him to visit the premises; after which visit, upon a consultation with and a recommendation from the governors of the hospital and the medical men attending it, supported by the opinion of the surveyor-general, the scite of the intended building was removed. But he wished it to be understood that this removal did not take place on account of any change of opinion, on the part of the treasury, with regard to the grounds originally laid before them. In fact, an intimation of the impropriety of this building had been made from another quarter, and occupied the consideration of the treasury before Sir Francis Burdett made his motion upon the subject. Mr Calcraft and Mr C. W. Wynn both expressed their surprise that this should not have been mentioned before, when the business had twice been under discussion. The statement, however, was confirmed by Mr Long. Some members complained that having gone to Chelsea for the purpose of seeing the premises, and forming an opinion from personal knowledge, they had been refused admission; positive orders having been given by Colonel Gordon not to admit any person.

Sir Francis Burdett was not present at this discussion, happening to be indisposed. He was however recovered when, *May* 5. on a future day, Sir Oswald Mosely, who had been with him when he first inspected the premises, and had authenticated his original statement, moved that a committee should

be appointed to investigate the transaction, and that the medical men, surveyors, and architects, who had been consulted, should be examined at the bar; by whose testimony, he asserted, he would prove that most of the officers at Chelsea had remonstrated against this business, but that the governor persisted in it. Mr Perceval replied, he could hardly suppose any person, however much they might wish to proceed further in this inquiry, could be serious in proposing to call witnesses to the bar, and consume the time of the House upon such a subject; and he hoped the House would think no further proceedings necessary when they should hear the statement he had to make. The case had been inquired into both by the treasury and the governors of Chelsea; and on a communication with Colonel Gordon, he expressed himself very ready to extend the space towards the infirmary. The governors afterwards thought that perhaps they might want the whole of the ground, and they wrote to the treasury to know whether the contract was so far concluded with the colonel as to preclude this. The treasury wrote back in answer, that the contract was in such a situation that they conceived Colonel Gordon had an equitable title to a lease from them. It was, however, now settled that other surveyors and other physicians should be called upon to give their report, and if they determined that these grounds were necessary for the infirmary, government would certainly endeavour to prevail on Colonel Gordon to give them up. Lord Milton, who agreed with Mr Perceval that it would be beneath the dignity of the House to examine witnesses on such a transaction, rose to explain what had been the conduct of his friend, Lord Yarborough, respecting these premises. Being in possession of them as tenant of the crown, he applied in 1805 for a renewal of the lease, but was told that the ground would probably be wanted for an infirmary. He felt the force of this objection, and, instead of making any further application, offered immediately to government the remaining term, being 17 years. Now it appeared hard, and something like a job, that the lease of these grounds, which could not be renewed to him, should so soon afterwards have been granted to Colonel Gordon. Sir Francis Burdett upon this said, that the bargain, as far as it affected the public, was an absolute job,—the greatest job he had ever heard of; it it was a job of all jobs, and ought to be designated by the name of *the job*. We heard every day of barometers, thermometers, and chronometers, and this should be called the jobometer. The pensioners were to be immured to give advantage to Colonel Gordon's pleasure-ground; and though that officer might be, as his friends stated, one of the last men in the world to take advantage of the soldier, he seemed to have no objection to take advantage of the ground. "This is the only spot in England," said Sir Francis, "fit for an infirmary for Chelsea hospital, and I should be happy to pay double the sum that Colonel Gordon was to pay for it, and secure it on any of my estates, for the sole purpose of giving it up to the hospital, rather than that this monument of national munificence should be disfigured. The pensioners are very ill used in many respects. There is a fine large public terrace, but the old soldiers are never suffered to set foot on it; and as for the garden, they are not permitted to take

from thence a single leek for their porridge. I cannot see such transactions going forward without taking notice of them. An imperious duty compels me to aim at their correction. A cry, no doubt, in these demure times, will be raised against me. I know not by what name I shall be assailed. Jacobin perhaps is too stale; it is worn out, and gentlemen begin to be ashamed of it: it signifies not to me what it is. I will wear any name that goes along with the reformation of abuses." Sir Oswald's motion was rejected by a majority of 97. It would indeed have been unbecoming the dignity of Parliament to have examined evidence on such a subject; but the transaction was exceedingly improper, and not less imprudent, considering the conspicuous part which Colonel Gordon had borne in the investigation of the charges against the Duke of York.

This was a new triumph for the radical reformers: the discovery of any abuse strengthened their arguments, and increased the popularity which Colonel Wardle had acquired for the party. Lord Folkestone, while this popularity was

April 17. at its height, moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the existence of any corrupt practices with regard to the disposal of offices in any department of the state, as well as into any corrupt practices in the army. Mr Perceval replied, that it would neither be beneficial nor politic to set on foot a general inquiry into all abuses that might or might not have happened, for the sake of keeping the public mind in a ferment; and that he himself had just brought in a bill to prevent the sale of offices, which he hoped would be adequate to all that was required; at all events, it was before the House, and it was in the power of the House, and of the noble lord himself, to consider how far it might be extended. In support of the motion, Lord Archibald Hamilton argued, that the ferment in the public spirit would be increased if farther inquiry was stifled. The only way, he said, to satisfy the people, and reconcile them to the endurance of the enormous burthens which they sustained, was to shew them that Parliament was sincere in the prosecution of those inquiries that would lead to a general reformation of abuses. Mr Whitbread also supported the motion. "The chancellor of the exchequer," he said, "had told them that before the late investigation he was informed of certain nuisances in the city; he had heard of the office of Messrs Pollman and Keylock, who were able to dispose of an extensive patronage for the most corrupt of all things—money, the grand source and medium of all corruption. Now, when the existence of that office was first mentioned in the House, it was laughed at on all sides; and the right honourable gentleman, so far from betraying the least consciousness of the existence of any such office, laughed with the rest at a statement which was so generally received as improbable. That these persons had carried on this trade of patronage for two years was very well known, yet no attempt was made to stop it; no inquiry was ever instituted till, after the late investigation, the chancellor of the exchequer thought of introducing his bill. Now, would any member pretend to say, that these negociators of patronage might not somewhere or other have

connections in the army, or the navy, or in the civil departments of state, which it was highly desirable for that House to know?

"For my own part," continued Mr Whitbread, "I most sincerely wish that I could feel a doubt whether matter of accusation would be found by such a committee as is proposed; but I deeply lament the necessity I am under of stating my firm belief that there would be found much matter and strong ground for accusation, in instances almost innumerable. I greatly fear that, on a general investigation, practices of a nature most corrupt would be found to exist in departments where their existence cannot even have been dreamt of by the public. I will venture to assert, that by such an inquiry practices would be brought to light, the exposure and the punishment of which are the only means by which you can continue a safe government, such as you now are. It is my firm conviction, that the refusal or hesitation of this House to grant, and even promote a general inquiry into these abuses, of the existence of which the people are impressed with so firm a belief, will be attended with danger paramount to any that can be suggested by the apprehensions of those who oppose the motion. I cannot but think that an investigation of the abuses existing, or which are suspected to have existed, is of the highest importance to the welfare and tranquillity of the country; and it is my unqualified opinion, that nothing can so certainly allay the ferment which has been raised in the minds of the people, as that the true colour of every transaction, whether black or white, should be displayed. If black, let exposure and punishment follow; if white, let us have the satisfaction of displaying to the nation the purity and innocence of those into whose conduct inquiry has been instituted."

The motion was ably opposed. Lord Henry Petty argued against confiding powers so extensive and general to a committee. Mr C. W. Wynn said it proposed an inquiry without any restriction as to time, place, or circumstance; all abuses, at whatever distance of time, whether those concerned were dead or alive, might be brought before the committee, though those who might be able to explain and defend what had been done were in their graves. The House must act from considerations of prudence, as well as of abstract justice, and such a motion could not be acceded to. Mr Tierney spoke with more warmth. The object of the motion, he said, was no less than to arraign the whole system of the government of the country, to embody suspicion against it, to impute corrupt practices to every department, without the shadow of evidence, and put them all upon their trial, without any specific charge. "It cannot be supposed," said Mr Ponsonby, that "the House of Commons, upon such suspicions as have been alleged, will adopt a resolution which tends, in fact and in substance, to criminate every man in every department of the state. This is a charge of a most serious nature, particularly when it is considered with what avidity every thing that is charged against the House is received out of doors. The people are even industriously told in some places, that there is no distinction whatever in this House; that we are all knaves and rogues alike; and that it does not signify in what hands the government is placed; for, provided they are parliamentary, the country can ex-

pect nothing but corruption. These," exclaimed Mr Ponsonby, "are most foul, impudent, barefaced, aud infamous calumnies: I will venture to maintain that there are in this House men as honest, as upright, as uncorrupt, and possessing as great integrity, as those who make these gross and unfounded charges. And be he who makes them who he may, I do assert and maintain that he is not an honester public man than I am; nor do I see the smallest reason why I, or any other member of this House, should hesitate one moment to repel this unmerited and general stigma. My conduct has proved, that in all matters of reformation I am disposed to go as far in the protection of the people against extravagance and abuse as any man in this country, but to a motion such as this I cannot agree."

Lord Folkestone found supporters in Mr Parnell, Mr C. H. Hutchinson, and Mr T. Foley; but no motion was ever brought forward with less pretext for its adoption, nor more in opposition to the general feelings of the House. "Considering the impression," Mr Canning said, "which it had made out of doors, and the public expectation which it seemed to have excited, it did not become one in his situation to give it a silent vote; and as he regarded his duty, and valued the constitution as it stood, he was bound to express his most marked and decided disapprobation. In opposing it, he did not oppose a specific inquiry into specific abuses; but a motion so general and undefined as this could have no other purpose than to scatter general censure, to keep up a ferment in the public mind, and to do mischief beyond the apprehensions of those whose apprehensions were strongest. It held out no hope of immediate advantage to the people, but it held out the whole cast and class of public men to suspicion. They were all represented as eagerly struggling for places and power, and as having nothing in view but the emoluments of office. The emoluments of office! If there was any man who considered the labour of an official situation, the duties that were to be performed, the anxieties that were undergone, the warfare which a public man had to support, not only in that House, but from the malignity which assailed him out of it, and could think that these things were to be compensated by money, he did not envy such a man his feelings or his frame of mind, and it could be no subject of regret to be the object of his suspicions. The noble lord and his abettors might succeed in fixing this imputation on public men, and driving them from power,—in rendering them a degraded class, that he and those who supported him might succeed to that ruin and that degradation." Only thirty members were found to vote for this useless and mischievous motion.

April 20.

When the bill for the prevention of the sale of offices, to which Mr Perceval alluded in the course of this debate, was discussed on its second reading, Lord Folkestone declared his opinion, that it would be of little use, as indeed little good in general attended bills of prevention. "The House," he said, "knew well what bills had been past to prevent bribery and corruption at elections, and the only effect of those acts was to render the persons concerned more circumspect, and the practices more difficult of detection. Why had any exceptions been made in this bill? Why had offices in the courts of the law been exempted? Was it fitting that offices connected

with the administration of justice should be made the subjects of sale? There was yet a more important exception: it had just appeared by the report of the East India Patronage Committee, that seats in Parliament were trafficked for. This disgraceful practice, which now so especially occupied the attention of the public, had been of long standing, and surely it was proper that some provision should be introduced to prevent it in future. The secretaries of the treasury were said to be the great persons concerned in carrying it on; if this were denied, he should be glad to propose the appointment of a committee to inquire into it. What he stated (though he could not say that it was in his knowledge, for he never had been connected with any traffick of the kind) was matter of public notoriety. It was even understood, that previous to elections, an office was opened in the Treasury for the purchase of seats in Parliament, which again were sold to others, who, in proportion to their interest and ability, paid a higher or lower price for them. There had lately been a vacancy in that House, because the person holding the seat had not been willing to comply with the stipulation on which he received it." The same strain of argument was pursued by Mr Creevey. "It was not merely his belief," he said, "but it was within his own knowledge, that seats in Parliament were bought and sold by the Treasury, who kept in a great degree the monopoly of the market. If this were denied, he should be glad to have the opportunity of proving it, which he could do from the lips of any one who had ever been secretary of the Treasury. It was absolute nonsense and delusion of the public to spend their time in considering abuses in minor departments, when the House knew, and the public knew, that this greatest of all abuses was continually practised. To talk of a dissolution of Parliament as an appeal to the people, was mere mockery and imposition: it was an appeal to the Treasury. As great as his respect was for the last administration, this was as true of their dissolution of Parliament, as of that which had been made by the present set of men."

Mr Perceval replied, that the objection, that the bill tended only to increase the difficulty of detecting crime, would apply to every bill; he had, however, attempted to do away the temptation to the crime, by annexing forfeiture of office to the detection of it. As to the omission of offices in the courts of law, however much we might be surprised that the sale of such offices should ever have formed any part of the emoluments of our judges, yet having done so for ages, and it following as a necessary consequence, if it were now abolished, that some remuneration must be granted in its stead, the question was, if the inconveniences arising from a fresh call on the country on this account, and other disadvantages with which the alteration would be attended, would not greatly outweigh the advantages to be expected from it. There were also, a certain description of patent offices for life, with the privileges of disposing of other offices connected therewith, which he had omitted; because from them too, if the sale were prevented, an equivalent must be provided. The question concerning trafficking for seats might more properly be considered in another

stage of the bill, and if Lord Folkestone would bring forward a provision respecting it in that stage, he would consider if it were capable of being applied effectually to prevent the abuse. Mr Creevey had spoken to his own knowledge of this abuse, and as he particularly referred to an administration with which he had been connected, it was natural to suppose that he had special information on that head, so far as that administration was concerned; yet," continued Mr Perceval, "when a particular charge was brought forward on this subject against that administration, I do not recollect that the honourable gentleman told the House then all that he had the means of observing upon that subject; for if he had, that would have been something confirmatory of the charge, and would have tended to elucidate the truth or falsity of the statement of the then secretary of the Treasury; that what he had done, and what influence he had exerted, had been used, not in his official situation, but in his private character of a freeholder of Hampshire. If Mr Creevey was then in possession of all this information, belief, and knowledge of these abuses, why did he not appeal to the House then, as well as on any other occasion? Why did not his patriotism actuate him then, as it did now, to divulge every thing which he knew? Let him only bring forward those circumstances to which he alluded, as consisting with his own knowledge: Let him do so impartially, not forgetting the practices of the administration with which he himself was connected, and with which of course he must be most intimately acquainted, and the House would know how to deal with him." Mr Perceval then desisted from this stinging recrimination, and again declared, that he was ready to receive and to attend to any suggestion, as well concerning the traffick for seats as for offices. In the progress of the bill, Lord Folkestone proposed, that for every offence the party should be liable to a fine of 500l. to be given to the informer, the offender being punishable by fine and imprisonment, both, or either, as the judges should direct. Mr Perceval rightly objected to holding out so strong a temptation to false evidence, or to artifices by which a scoundrel might obtain a place, for the purpose of informing against his benefactor. This motion, therefore, was negatived, and the bill past. Of all the effects of popular clamour during this clamorous session, this was the most humorous. By making the brokerage of offices penal, it empowered every suspected person, when examined upon the subject, to decline answering, lest he should criminate himself, and thus completely precluded the discovery * of the practices which it professed to punish.

While this bill was before the House, a compound case of political

* This was well illustrated by a circumstance which happened not long before. Some bodies had been stolen from the church-yard of one of the populous parishes in the immediate vicinity of London. A vestry was convened, in consequence of this discovery, and ordered that a path-way, then passing through the church-yard, should be stopped, and a wall of twelve feet high built all round the burial ground, as a safeguard against the resurrection-men. The Ghouls found this wall exceedingly convenient, and the trade prospered accordingly.

trafficking was disclosed in the report of the East India Committee, which had branched off from the inquiry concerning the Duke of York. It appeared from the evidence of a Mr Reding, of Lord Clancarty, and Lord Castlereagh, that the latter, being at that time president of the board of controul, had placed a writership at Lord Clancarty's disposal, which writership Lord Clancarty was to give Reding, as the price of a seat in Parliament: Reding, who was a regular dealer in contraband promotions, meaning to sell this appointment for 3000 guineas. Upon the disclosure of these facts, Lord

April 25. Archibald Hamilton moved, that Lord Castlereagh had been guilty of a violation of his duty, of an abuse of his influence and authority, as president of the board of controul, and also, of an attack upon the purity and constitution of the House. Lord Castlereagh's defence was, that when this transaction happened he had no notion that such a person existed as a trafficking broker for places under government. Reding had represented to him that a member, who intended to vacate his seat, had a nephew whom he wished to send to India as a writer, and would favour the election of any of his friends. "I perceived," said his Lordship, "no impropriety in the case, considering it perfectly fair for one friend to serve another at an election. When I placed the writership at Lord Clancarty's disposal, I had no other view than to serve my friend, and had no hesitation to give a writership to any respectable gentleman's son or nephew who could promote that view, particularly as I was myself to determine whether the party recommended was eligible. In my opinion, no turpitude attaches to the transaction. I had no suspicion of the improper motives from which Mr Reding was acting. The only conversation Lord Clancarty had with him, was for the purpose of learning who was the person disposed to retire from Parliament, and finding he could not obtain that information, he broke off the business. It is evident, therefore, that the bartering of a writership for any corrupt consideration, was as far from his mind as from mine." Having defended his conduct at some length upon these grounds, Lord Castlereagh withdrew, and Lord Binning insisting that there was no corrupt design in the transaction, moved the order of the day. Mr Croker supported this motion. "There really," he said, "in this case existed nothing more than a parliamentary difficulty. The thing had become familiar by custom, and, when it was discovered, could only be considered as a venial offence." Mr Manners Sutton and Mr Perceval argued, that, as the whole case rested on the mere intention, and nothing took effect, no privilege had been violated, and, therefore, no farther proceedings were necessary.

On the other hand, Mr C. W. Wynn maintained, that if the negociation failed, it was not from any want of inclination in Lord Castlereagh to complete it. "In a case like the present," said he, "we have but one course to pursue,—there is no option. Duty chalked out the line, and, however reluctantly, we must follow it. I know there are many persons in this House who are disposed to argue, that the influence over election is not injurious, and that little disadvantage results from the practice of bribery,—this I know many of them to maintain in private conversation; but when a case of this

kind is made out, they are bound in duty to obey the course prescribed by law and by act of Parliament, and with that their private opinions ought not to interfere.—The intention manifested and acknowledged is sufficient to establish the criminality. If this be past over, consider what effect it may produce; how natural will it be for future Parliaments to say, when called upon to punish a minister, who has actually executed what Lord Castlereagh only attempted, 'In the Parliament of 1809, the attempt was considered too trifling to be noticed, surely then the performance of it now is of no material consequence."—Mr W. Smith and Sir Francis Burdett, who supported the motion, insisted upon the necessity of reform. "This opinion," said the latter, "is now become so general, that the only difference is as to the precise plan. Shall it then be said, that Parliament is always ready to punish the petty offenders in retail, while it passes over this wholesale trade in corruption without animadversion?—this too, at a time when fresh abuses are every day brought to light; when the weight of the taxes is only to be equalled by the severity with which they are collected; when what is granted liberally is expended prodigally, and there appears no disposition either to retrench or limit unnecessary expenditure."

Mr Windham recommended a middle course. "Should they," he said, "pass to the order of the day, it would be regarded as an implied approbation of the principle; on the other hand, when they were called upon to condemn Lord Castlereagh so violently, they would do well to ask themselves whether they would hesitate, for the purpose of securing an election, to recommend a friend to government. He then alluded to the call which was made upon the House for reform. "It was notorious," he said, "that there were many hundreds,—thousands he feared, and tens of thousands, who speculated upon a change. Some of those might, no doubt, be influenced by worthy motives; others wished to throw all into confusion, and take the chance. Some were hostile to this part of the existing constitution, some to that; others so extravagant, that they were only doubtful where to begin and what to do. But he trusted, that whatever government was in the country, would be strong enough and firm enough to resist. The moment a single brick was taken out of the building, on this principle, the ruin of the whole edifice must follow.—Such reform would enevitably terminate in revolution." In reply to this, Mr Whitbread reminded him, that the pertinacious resistance to all reform had been the principal cause of the ruin of the continent. Mr Canning concluded the debate by declaring, that as he thought the opinion of the House ought to be expressed more clearly and unmistakeably than it could be done by passing to the order of the day, he should, when that question was disposed of, move a resolution, "that it is the duty of the House to maintain a jealous guard over the purity and independence of Parliament; but that, having duly weighed the evidence, and all the circumstances of the case, it did not think it necessary to come to a criminating resolution." 167 members voted for Lord A. Hamilton's original motion; it was negatived by a majority of 49, and Mr Canning's resolution was carried by a majority of 47. Mr C. Wynn then proposed,

that there should be added to the resolution, words to this effect: "That the House was confirmed in its opinion, that it was unnecessary to proceed farther in the case, from the openness which the noble lord displayed, and the regret which he expressed for his conduct." This was negatived without a division.

May 1. A few days after this decision, a meeting of the friends of parliamentary reform was held at the Crown and Anchor tavern. About 1200 persons assembled, and after they had dined, Sir Francis Burdett, who presided as chairman, proposed as the first toast, "The person who," he said, "was most interested in the success of the object which they were that day met to promote, namely, the King, and the principles which seated his family on the throne:" then he gave, "Those who are equally and in common interested with that person in the redress of those grievances which corruption has introduced into the constitution of the country, namely, the People." When the clamour of applause, which this toast excited, had abated, Sir Francis mounted the table and harangued the meeting. He began by expressing his astonishment that any person should be insensible to the necessity of reform. "None of these persons," said he, "would be willing to commit the management of their property to any other stewards than those of their own chusing. How then would they feel, if stewards appointed by others were imposed upon them? They would consider it as the grossest injustice. And are not the people to have the same sense of imposition and injustice, when they find that the persons who are to direct their concerns and dispose of their property are altogether beyond the sphere of their influence, and have no inclination to consult either their interest, or their wishes? This is the simple question, Whether you will be reconciled to a system, in which the great majority of those who have the uncontrouled disposal of your liberty and property, contemn your wishes and disregard your interests. The advocates of reform failed in 1793, in consequence of the false notions which their enemies industriously propagated. Those delusions have been dissipated, and the eyes of the people have been completely opened, principally through the discoveries brought to light by the spirit and ability of an individual, who this day honours us with his presence." This allusion to Colonel Wardle produced fresh peals of applause. "The undaunted exertions of that gentleman," continued Sir Francis, "have given him that weight in the country to which his merits so richly entitle him. No obstacle impeded him; no threat induced him to abandon that duty which he boldly undertook, though he stood alone when he undertook it. Day after day, in consequence of his exertions, new discoveries of abuses are made: Day after day the reports of committees afford fresh evidence of the existence of the most shameless corruption. By these means the eyes of the public have been opened, and those persons who were formerly alarmed have been convinced, that that to which they clung for support was in itself the most rational source of apprehension."

"Recollecting," he pursued, "the conduct of those by whom our government has been conducted for several years, I am astonished not less at the excess of their arrogance, than at the extent of the popular

forbearance. When I look at the old constitution of the country; at Magna Charta; at the Bill of Rights, which is but a developement of the principles of that great charter, as that charter itself was a developement of the principles previously existing in the country;—when I look back to the revolution,—when I review the act of settlement,—when I consider the principles which placed the present family upon the throne; I cannot help condoling with you upon our present condition; and the only ground of consolation which I can contemplate is, in the attainment of that great measure which is the object of our meeting. The borough-mongering faction, for I will not dignify them with the name of government, have involved our country in perpetual misfortune, by degrading all the wise provisions of our old laws. Among the evils which their abominable system has brought upon us, I cannot forget the persecution it inflicted,—the long and rigorous imprisonment of individuals, consigned for years to all the miseries of a jail, for no other offence, in my conscience I believe, than that of desiring to obtain, and struggling to promote, the very measure which we are assembled to forward. When I reflect upon the sufferings of these innocent men, when I look back upon the sea covered with exiles, and the country with blood, it is impossible that I can regard this borough-mongering faction without horror. The language is not too strong: remember Ireland, and then tell me whether it is possible that I should speak too strongly! It is to be expected that the same cry of alarm will be raised, and the same means devised for reviving persecution, in order to prevent reform; but while we pursue that great object resolutely and perseveringly, I hope our conduct will be marked by such moderation and sound sense as shall defeat the intentions of our enemies. The measure at which we are aiming is not less essential to the dignity and interest of the king, than it is necessary to the freedom and happiness of the people. For at present his Majesty is obliged to chuse his ministers from among the borough-mongering faction. He cannot carry on his fair share of government, of which no one would wish to deprive him, but under the overawing controul of this mischievous party; under the pretence of the King's prerogative it oppresses the people, while under the pretence of being the representatives of the people, it controuls the King: Therefore I contend that a parliamentary reform is necessary for the good, the tranquillity, the security, and the happiness of the King."

Sir Francis might have hoped to conciliate some of the high monarchical party by this mode of argument, but the manner in which he paid his court to the crown, while he vilified the parliament, was contemplated by the steady friends of freedom as more alarming than any democratical opinion which he had ever advanced to the people. "The public attention," said he, "has of late been particularly drawn to the national expenditure; but of that expenditure, what is the amount allotted to the members of his Majesty's family, compared to the mass which is absorbed by the borough-mongering faction? I should have no hesitation in granting any sum this family, or any of its members, could reasonably require, for pleasure or magnificence, nor would any part of the people hesitate either, if they were relieved from the depre-

dations of this faction. Were that system once at an end, the people would not murmur at any allowance required by the King; nor do I think it could be any object to a great nation to make that allowance with a liberal hand. With respect to what has been recently brought to light, relative to one member of the family, even that, whatever good may result from it, is of little consequence, compared to the wide-spread evils of the borough-mongering system. We should be ready to shut our eyes as much as possible upon the vices of princes, and to overlook their indulgences, if our liberties were secured. I do not expect that princes should be more perfect than other men; on the contrary, I am less willing to apply the rules of strict criticism to them than I should be to others. I should be quite as ready as any man to resist any rigid limitation of their enjoyments. I would say, take what you please in reason, but let the people have that which is essential to the recovery and preservation of their rights and liberties. Here I must observe, that it is a great consolation to my mind, that the character of the Prince of Wales has not, in the course of the late inquiries, been subjected to the slightest breath of reflection. This circumstance is the more grateful, as I am persuaded that he is not unwilling to promote the wishes of the people. Indeed, I believe that he is more of the Englishman than any prince of his family. Let us hope it is not impossible he may yet be placed in a situation where he may feel a common interest with the people, in putting an end to corruption, and in restoring the rights of Englishmen."

Another topic, which Sir Francis was not more fortunate in handling, was that of a standing army; "but this," he said, "he could hardly mention as a grievance, because in these times it would be hopeless to find any one, in public life, who would join with him in calling for redress. A standing army is now so engrafted into the general code of our government, that it would be vain to mention it as a grievance, although it was deemed so exceptionable by our forefathers, as to be held sufficient to justify the measure of excluding a king from the throne. I cannot however," he continued, "overlook the introduction of such a number of foreign corps into the country. Surely there is no want of spirit or ability in the people of England at this hour that should induce us to look for the aid of German soldiers: this was humiliating; but to hear that an English district was placed under a German Baron was intolerable. If the strength of Great Britain were marshalled according to the principles of the old constitution and of sound wisdom,—if the natural defence of the country were resorted to, the people armed, and the sword and the plough entrusted to the same hand, we might bid defiance to any hostile force on earth. But if the country be so degenerate as to require the aid of German soldiery, its fate can be of little importance, for its spirit must be broken and prepared to meet any ruler."—Was this a time to harangue about standing armies and German troops? Sir Francis Burdett, as he reasons sophistically from the former history of the country, seems always to forget the state in which it stands at present in relation to France, and Europe, and the world.—He was followed in the same strain by Colonel Wardle, by Mr Madocks, the member for Bos-

ton, and by Mr Hare Townsend, a gentleman who said he was more used to handling sheep and bullocks than to addressing public meetings, and who told the meeting, that "if a foreign foe should conquer the country, the places and pensions would be secure,—he might seize the revenues of the church, or the estates of this or that person, but would not touch a pension, depend on it!"—Mr W. Smith pronounced a panegyric upon the two societies of the Friends of the People and for Constitutional Information.—Lord Cochrane also was present; he brought with him the lustre of a new naval victory, and his speech expressed less of the spirit of faction, and more of plain upright patriotism, than any which was delivered that day. "He hoped," he said, "the time would come when ministers would not be employed all day in thinking on what they were to cavil about all night, and all night in debating; so that the business of the nation was in consequence neglected. So completely did this appear to be the case, that, when the newspapers reached him abroad, he often felt ashamed for the manner in which the government of his country was conducted."—A string of resolutions was proposed by good old Major Cartwright, who, true to the cause in which he has been engaged during so great a portion of his life, finds himself engaged with men of all characters, many of them as different from himself as evil is from good. The purport of these resolutions was, "That so long as the people shall not be fairly represented, corruption will increase; our debts and taxes will accumulate; our resources will be dissipated; the native energy of the people will be depressed, and the country deprived of its best defence; and that the remedy for the great and glaring evils of which they complained, was only to be found in the principles handed down to us by the wisdom and virtue of our forefathers,—in a full and fair representation of the people in Parliament. They, therefore, recommended to every town, city, and country, urgently but temperately, to apply to Parliament to adopt such measures as should secure to the nation the reality and uses of representation."

May 5.

Mr Madocks, who had spoken at this meeting, brought forward, a few days afterwards, a charge against the chancellor of the exchequer, for having, through the agency of the honourable Henry Wellesley, late secretary of the Treasury, and also by other agents, been guilty of corrupt and criminal practices, in order to procure members to be elected into this Parliament; and also against Lord Castlereagh, secretary of state for the war department, for similar practices. He moved, that these charges should be heard at the bar of the House on the following Tuesday. Lord Castlereagh happened not to be present. Mr Perceval rose in evident agitation: "Through the whole course of his acquaintance with that House," he said, "he never heard any instance where an accusation was brought forward against a member that the substance of it was not previously communicated to him, and that, through the common courtesy of the House, he was not allowed to be heard in his defence. The honourable member, however, was the best judge of the course he meant to pursue."—Having said this he immediately left the House.—The manner in which

Mr Madocks had proceeded excited equal surprise and disapprobation. "It was a form of proceeding," Mr Bathurst said, "which was better adapted to the spirit and temper of one of those meetings which were now so industriously promoted, than befitting the dignity of that House. He could perceive no substance in a motion grounded on such undefined charges, and he must require something tangible; some statement that would enable him to determine whether the charge ought to be entertained, and what were the grounds of suspicion." Mr Madocks finding, that though Sir Francis Burdett and Mr Biddulph supported him, the sense of the House was very generally against the course which he had taken, declared, that if he had acted uncandidly towards the members against whom his charges were brought, it arose from ignorance; he begged to apologize to them, and was ready to adopt any mode which the House should recommend. Upon this the Speaker interposed. "Charges," he said, "were always to be received with great strictness and deliberation, and brought forward in the most solemn manner; the person accused was to be heard in his own defence, after which it was for the House to say whether they should proceed farther. Under the present circumstances, he thought the House ought to negative the motion; this, however, would not preclude farther inquiry, nor shut out any member from pursuing the subject at another time." This course was adopted, notwithstanding the opposition of Mr Whitbread, who, in reply to a remark of Mr Bathurst, observed, a "tangible shape" was rather an awkward expression at present. The House had recently had pretty strong calls upon them for tangible shapes, and these tangible shapes had not turned out exactly as they were wished and expected to do.

In the following week, therefore, Mr Madocks brought his charges forward in a more regular form. *May* 11. Two resolutions of the House were previously read at his motion, the first declaring it to be highly criminal for any servant of the crown to make use of the power of his office, directly or indirectly, in order to influence the election of members of Parliament;—the other was that which had so lately been past upon Lord A. Hamilton's motion against Lord Castlereagh, in which it was assigned as a reason for abstaining from any criminating proceedings, that the attempt had not been carried into effect. He then reasoned against the borough mongering system, instancing, as examples of its effects upon the public expenditure, the boroughs of Cambridge, Rye, Hastings, and Queenborough, in each of which places the actual power of returning members was in the hands of an individual holding sinecures as the reward of borough services to government. Thus, Mr Madocks computed, the members for Hastings cost the people nearly 10,000l. for every seven years Parliament, those for Queenborough, 14,500. "In this manner," said he, "the public money is made instrumental to the return of members to this House, by applying annually part of the taxes towards the keeping up a corrupt influence in these and other such boroughs; while the members so returned pay a certain sum of money to the Treasury for their seats, and that money is carried to a certain fund, and thence doled out to carry elections in other places.

These cases," he continued, "ought to be submitted to a committee to examine, sift, and regulate. But I now come to a case which is aggravated in the extreme, and which calls for an immediate investigation at the bar of the House. I affirm that Mr Quintin Dick purchased a seat for the borough of Cashel in Ireland, through the agency of the honourable Henry Wellesley, who acted for and on behalf of the Treasury; that upon a recent question of the last importance (the inquiry into the Duke of York's conduct,) when Mr Dick had determined to vote according to his conscience, Lord Castlereagh did intimate to that gentleman the necessity, either of his voting with government, or resigning his seat, and that Mr Dick, rather than vote against his conscience, did make choice of the latter alternative, and did vacate his seat accordingly. I charge Mr Perceval as being privy to this transaction, and having connived at it; and this I engage to prove by witnesses at the bar of the House, if I am permitted to call them."

According to the custom of the House, Mr Perceval was now heard in his defence. He took advantage of the extraneous matter with which the charge had been prefaced. "If," he said, "this were a mere criminating proceeding against an individual, no doubt the House would willingly entertain the charge, and of course the individual would proceed at once upon his defence, meeting the charges either with direct denial of the fact, explanation of it, or examination into the law arising out of it. But the present charge could not be looked upon in that simple light; it was intimated that there was still a mass of other matter behind, and that intimation had been sufficiently illustrated by the statement which had been entered into concerning the boroughs of Cambridge, Rye, Hastings, and Queenborough. It appeared, therefore, that it was not so much the vindication of the injured honour of that House which was the object, as the more general one of following up a certain system, and that this was to be the first step to a general reform. If this was so, perhaps the House would think it right to pause, before they lent their sanction to such a mode of introducing the discussion of any great public question. Perhaps they would feel it to be their indispensable duty not to establish a precedent that would introduce a system of inquisitorial proceedings, fraught with the most violent inroads upon all species of private and social confidence. No matter through what means the charge had been elicited—no matter how sacred the confidence the discovery had violated, or how solemn the engagements it had broken through!—At any period it would be ill advised to establish such a precedent, but particularly so at the present day. They lived in a time in which the popular appetite fed upon attacks on public men. The favourite doctrine was, that public men must be necessarily corrupt; and they were the purest patriots who prosecuted most charges against them; they lived in a time when they saw individuals raised to the highest state of popularity, and honoured with crowded tributes of the nation's gratitude and applause for prosecuting such charges. Those who were ambitious of the same flattering distinctions might think it wise to pursue the same course, no matter whatever the means, if the end could be attained. They had seen private confidence abused—they had heard of letters being seized in the

unsuspecting moments of social intercourse, and had known serious charges to be grounded upon the public disclosure of those very letters; whether at such a time it would be wise to warrant such species of charges as merely introductory to the agitation of the great question of Reform, he left it to the House to determine; but he thought it consistent with what was due from him to the House and to the public, if he, for the present, declined putting in the plea which he could so conscientiously put in, until that House had come to a determination on the propriety of entertaining the charge or not, protesting at the same time against any the slightest inference of his guilt from his deferring such a plea till after that decision. Then would he come before them prepared, and indeed (what he was not yet) in a manner authorised to meet that charge, and explain, as he trusted he could do, every particular relating to the transaction upon which the charge had been grounded; and he did not despair of that explanation proving satisfactory to the House, and vindicatory of his own honour. Before the House had come to such a decision, he should not hold it wise in any public man to enter into an explanation of the circumstances upon the one side or the other."

Mr Perceval then withdrew, and Lord Castlereagh, saying that what they had just heard perfectly expressed what he also felt on the occasion, followed him. Mr Madocks then moved that evidence might be heard at the bar; and Mr Whitbread and Sir Francis Burdett both rose to second the motion. Lord Milton proposed, as an amendment, that the charge should be referred to a select committee; Mr Tierney, that that part of it only should be retained which related to Lord Castlereagh. This, he said, deserved attention, because it was distinctly laid, and because 167 members had already pronounced that noble lord to have been guilty of a breach of the privileges of that House; but the charge against Mr Perceval and Mr Henry Wellesley was so vague, that he should be ashamed to listen to it. The original motion was supported, in violent language, by Mr Hutchinson and Mr Peter Moore. It received a weightier support from Lord A. Hamilton and Mr Wilberforce. Mr Whitbread reminded the ministers of their conduct upon the Hampshire election, at the commencement of the "Talents" Parliament: Then they would prosecute Mr Freemantle with the utmost rigour for writing a letter to a single voter, and yet now they would claim complete impunity for the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Castlereagh, who had sold a seat to a member upon certain terms to obtain his vote, and afterwards turned him out of his seat, because he would not vote against his judgement. If such a case as this were overlooked, he said, the House might as well expunge its journals, burn its statutes, and blot out the constitution. —But even the radical reformers themselves were not secure from recrimination. Sir Francis was asked by Mr Bathurst, "if there was no bribery for counties as well as for boroughs, and if he had forgotten the fate of the sheriff of Middlesex for conniving at shameful votes at his own election?"

The question met with a direct opposition from Mr Cartwright, Sir J. Anstruther, and Mr Giddy, who insisted upon the necessity of distinguishing between corruption and that just influence which ought to be in-

separable from property. Mr Canning attacked the principle upon which the charge was brought forward. "Its main and sole object," he said, "was a reform in Parliament, rendered necessary, its supporters said, by the opinions which a recent investigation had occasioned. But what had that investigation done? It spoke of the power of that House in terms not to be misconceived: It proved that there was nothing so high that might not be brought under its jurisdiction: It proved that even the intimation of its disapprobation had produced as great an effect as could have been brought about by its most direct and severe animadversion. Good God! was this then the time to suppose that the character of the House of Commons was lost, and that every the most hazardous experiment should be made to restore it! It was the character and influence of that House that atchieved all our blessings, and distinguished the character and the condition of this country from that of any other country in the world. Was the source from which such blessings flowed to be stigmatized as a sink of corruption? Of whatever atoms such a body was composed, whether it was the result of some grand design, or merely the offspring of their fortuitous concurrence, it mattered not; out of it grew the marked character, the vital principle which distinguished this country from all others, operating as the perennial source of blessings unknown to any other nation. Was this a thing to be wantonly or wickedly trifled with?" Mr Windham reasoned in the same strain. "The elements of the air we breathe," said he, "contain particles which we know to be of a poisonous nature; but were we to attempt taking those away, we should probably take with them that which was essential to our existence. So, if we attempted to reform and alter the representation from what it ever had been since the formation of our constitution, we might by so doing deprive the constitution of all that was good and valuable. Mr Quintin Dick had not been forced to vacate his seat; for no one could force him to vacate it. Probably he went to ministers to consult them as to the line of conduct which he ought to pursue, and as he could not conscientiously vote with them, and found his inclinations were counter to the wishes of those who had procured him a seat, he might have tendered it again to those from whom he received it. This," Mr Windham said, "he supposed had been the case, and he could not think it proper to punish individuals for what had been so generally practised by others."—This point was insisted on by Mr Ponsonby. "The mode," he said, "of procuring seats in that House was highly improper; but knowing how long such practices had been carried on, and how many persons had held them in every Parliament since the Revolution through similar influence, he could not think it would be acting like a man of honour to take advantage of a political adversary under such circumstances. There existed no man on the face of the earth who had so strong a claim on his resentment as Lord Castlereagh. His conduct towards Ireland he never could remember without indignation: it was in a great measure owing to him that the Parliament of Ireland was put down,—put down by practices which he would not name; and he could not but feel a more than ordinary degree of hostility towards him, when he reflected on that circum-

stance: Still he could not conscientiously vote against him for having been concerned in practices of this nature. When those practices were carried on by ten thousand different persons, it could not be justice to select him to be the victim."

Mr Madocks's motion was rejected by a majority of 225, only 85 voting for it. What indeed could have been more unjust than to have selected one individual for punishment, who had only done the same as all his predecessors, at the very time when Parliament had declared the practice of selling seats to have become so general that the existing laws were inadequate to check it, and when in fact a bill was before the House which, by considering of fresh provisions for the future, seemed to proclaim an amnesty for the past? This argument was decisive against that part of the charge which related to the purchase of the seat through the secretary of the treasury; and the part which related to the vacating that seat was equally untenable on moral grounds, and still less defensible upon legal ones. In fact, a few days after the decision, Mr Foster read a letter from Mr Quintin Dick, declaring the statement, that Lord Castlereagh had suggested to him to resign his seat rather than vote against the Duke of York, was totally unfounded. What could Mr Madocks have said if Mr Quintin Dick had happened to have been in England, instead of Ireland, and this testimony had been produced when the charge was before the House? If, indeed, Lord Castlereagh had called upon him to resign his seat, it would have been a very heavy offence; but when (as seems to have been the case) he went to that minister as a private friend, and asked him how, under such circumstances, he would advise him to act, it would have been a new and unheard-of severity to punish any man for advice given by him fairly, whether mistaken or not; and the House of Commons could not have noticed it without invading the confidence between man and man.

While this business excited the public attention, and inflamed that spirit of discontent which the inquiry concerning the duke had excited, a measure intended to lessen the corruption, which was now admitted as well as complained of, was before the House. A day or two after the Crown and Anchor meeting, Mr Curwen moved for leave to bring in a bill for "better securing the independence and purity of Parliament, by preventing the procuring or obtaining seats by corrupt practices, and likewise more effectually to prevent bribery." "The present moment," he said, "if it were a matter of free choice, would be the least proper for such a discussion as he was about to bring on, and he could not disguise his full conviction that heavy responsibility attached to the agitating unnecessarily, at such a crisis, measures by which the feelings of the people might be still more irritated. But it was neither politic nor wise, nor even possible, for the House to be inattentive or passive spectators of what was passing in the country. The interests of the nation were deeply involved in the estimation in which that House stood with the people. To them were imputed the corruption, the prodigality, and the waste of public money: the defects in the representation were pointed at as the source of all these evils, and they were called upon to reform it. If these charges be false and unfounded," said he, "ought we not to refute them? If true, ought they

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not to be corrected? Let us act betimes, while we have yet the power of fixing the time and the degree to which regulation ought to extend. If abuses have crept in among us, and in truth they are too notorious and self-evident to be denied, let us proceed gravely and dispassionately to examine their origin and nature, and to apply effectual remedies. Whatever we now do will be received by the country as a boon, and may restore unanimity."

The measures which Mr Curwen proposed were, that the oaths against bribery should be administered to the elected; that penalties should be imposed upon the sale of a seat in Parliament, or the contracting for one; and that the bribery laws should be extended to agents, or other persons attempting to corrupt electors during the whole period of Parliament, to preclude their receiving a corrupt consideration for their votes at any after time. The most important practical benefit which, as he reasoned, would result from these regulations, would be the re-establishment of that House in the good opinion of the people, an advantage that could not be estimated too highly. The other was, to introduce a larger proportion of the landed interest into the House. "Observe," said he, "the effects which Mr Pitt's profuse creation of peers has produced! Without much enriching that noble body, it has tended to impoverish us. This weight of landed property and influence has been substracted from this House, and added to another, which may fairly be supposed to direct its views more toward the crown than the people. But the peculiar advantage of having the landed proprietors in this House is, that each individual brings with him the affections and the confidence of a portion of the people. Thus the united affections of each portion of the empire concentre in Parliament; and hence springs the moral power which it possesses. The infallible consequence of increasing the number of our country gentlemen within these walls would be, to make us more pacifically disposed. It would give a different turn to our councils. It would check the rage for foreign commerce, and the acquisition of fresh colonies. It would turn our efforts and our attention to domestic improvement, to the melioration of our internal resources, and the happiness of our country. It would inspire greater moderation of conduct toward other nations, and dispose us not to imitate on the ocean those strides of power which we deprecate on the continent. We should then no longer be the objects of hatred and jealousy to every power in Europe."

If Mr Curwen, being himself a country gentleman and a landed proprietor, could be supposed to have spoken the sentiments of the class to which he belongs, his argument for the advantage of increasing the proportion of that class in Parliament would be effectually self-destroyed. For to what does this pacific disposition—this different tone of councils—this moderation—this turning the attention to domestic improvement—this change of maritime policy tend? To what, but the immediate debasement and certain downfall of the country! Never let it be forgotten, that the honour of a country is its paramount interest, and that in the sacrifice of that every thing is sacrificed. It is not by humbling itself that a nation can be exalted. Instead of this moderation, falsely so called, it behoves us to take a loftier

tone, and raise our claims higher, in proportion as the power of France becomes more threatening. But the power of France, and the insolent menaces, and the avowed intentions of the Corsican, were all forgotten by Mr Curwen; and, in remembering the evils of war, he lost sight of its necessity. "War," said he, "produces loans, contracts, and not unfrequently an extension of commerce to those engaged in certain branches of it. Those who contemplate war under this aspect will not be as averse to it as the landed proprietor, who knows and feels its miseries, and who, as he spends a considerable portion of his time in the country, witnesses the hardships that it produces to the lower classes. The power of interest over judgement, and every patriotic feeling, was strongly exemplified by an occurrence which I wish to God could be erased from the memory of man and the page of history. On the Royal Exchange, when the Lord Mayor communicated, in 1806, the miscarriage of our negociations for peace, his auditors expressed their indecent and unfeeling exultation by three cheers." This is a fact by which the infatuated advocates for peace with Buonaparte have been especially shocked, and which they have taken especial care to misunderstand and misrepresent. They affect to consider it as a demonstration of joy on the part of a body of merchants, because they expected to increase the profits of their trade by the war. But it was from a right public spirit that the impulse arose, and from a clear perception of our true policy: they knew the consequence of peace with an enemy who was never to be believed but when he spoke of hatred, and aggression, and mischief; they rejoiced, as it became them to rejoice, that we had escaped the snare of a negociation; and, fearing nothing but his insidious friendship, they lifted up a shout which at once expressed their defiance of his arms, and their confidence in the cause and in the strength of their country.

Mr Curwen could scarcely have urged a worse reason for reform than this which relates to the landed interest, nor have supported it by more unfortunate arguments.—Mr Windham, who upon this subject had always spoken openly, and with his characteristic manliness, immediately rose to speak against the principle upon which the bill was founded. "There were some measures," he said, "which ought to be rejected *in limine*; and as this measure tended to what was called Parliamentary reform, he must resist it in the outset. The bill proposed to do away borough-mongering and corruption,—would it do away the influence of property? The influence of the landlord over the tenant is equally corruption with what is complained of; and when men lay down principles, they ought to be able to explain them. I am totally at a loss to understand what is meant by saying, that the proposed measure will produce unanimity; for it would be impossible to produce a plan of reform at which one party or other would not snap their fingers. One set of reformers say, we will go thus far; another will say, you shall go farther: once permitted to begin, there is no knowing where, nor at what, they will stop. If once we make a change to please the people, they will go on, they will never know when they have enough. We have the benefit of the French revolution fresh in our memory: Parliamentary reform is of the same cast and character; and it is blindness, infatuation,

and madness in the people to think of relieving themselves by pulling the government in pieces."

Mr Perceval pursued a different course. He at once perceived that the only possible effect of the bill would be to increase the influence of administration, and therefore he declared, that "though he did not think Mr Curwen could put the bill into any practicable shape, it was unexceptionable in its title, and he would not oppose the motion for bringing it in, in order that the House might be able to judge of its merits or demerits. Mr Curwen had deprecated the imputation of jacobinism; but would not that honourable member himself go with him in imputing a jacobinical spirit to those who, by their speeches and resolutions out of doors, (from which alone Mr Curwen seemed to have collected his notion of the public opinion,) endeavoured to delude the people by false and mischievous statements, and to inflame them with exaggerated pictures of abuse, and imaginary and impracticable ideas of reform? If the honourable mover took his idea of the state of the public mind from these resolutions and harangues, could he suppose that this measure would satisfy the persons who uttered them? and had not he himself, though certainly without any such intention, used language calculated to mislead the people, as if a reform in Parliament was to put an end to the war? The only effectual mode of putting an end to the delusion practised upon the public, was to take up the discussion of such subjects in the House, and not leave them to be discussed in popular and inflammatory meetings out of doors." Mr Curwen replied, "it was not to the inflammatory proceedings of a drunken tavern-meeting that he looked for the opinion of the people. Such proceedings betrayed a confirmed disposition to depreciate all public men, and a total aversion to accept any system of reform having moderation for its principle and basis. He abhorred these meetings, and he lamented that men of character, talents, and respectability should countenance them."

The Grenville party supported the bill, as proceeding upon the principles of what is called the Grenville act. It underwent many very long discussions, and the manner in which it was opposed, marks a new era in parliamentary history. Mr George Johnstone spoke against it at great length, affirming, that few of the members of that House could retain their seats if they complied strictly with all the obligations which were about to be imposed. Then, passing to a bold and manly defence of Parliament, "where," said he, "shall we find the practical evils of the present constitution? Is it in the admission of persons unworthy of so high a trust from education, from character, or from manners; or is it in the neglect and misconduct of Parliament itself? I know that we are said to be utterly unworthy of public trust; but because we are calumniated abroad, let us not calumniate ourselves. Let our proceedings be carefully examined; let our conduct be compared with the conduct of other public bodies, in other nations, intrusted with similar power, or with the conduct of our ancestors in the best periods of our history. Let us be judged with reference to what has existed in any age, or in any country. To listen to what has been expressed out of doors, and what indeed has been hinted within these walls, it might be supposed that the Parliament of Eng-

land resembled the senate of Venice, legislating only for its own benefit and advantage; but what foundation exists for this and other charges? Have the members of this House been found to exempt themselves from the public burdens in any instance? Have we, in any instance, sought peculiar privileges for ourselves? Is not every one of those which existed at his Majesty's accession to the throne now abolished? And so little effort did this seem to require, that the bill by which the last of our privileges was extinguished (Mr Serjeant Best's bill) passed through the House almost without notice; and the process of the law is now, in every respect, the same towards members of this House as towards the lowest and meanest individual in the land. Gentlemen appear to be surprised that I should even mention such topics, so little does the idea enter into the mind of any one among us; but let it be recollected, that to obtain exemptions and privileges for their members, has been the first effort of all public bodies in foreign countries, possessing powers similar to our own. Are we less careful of the public money than were our ancestors? Is Parliament more disposed to lavish the resources of the state than in other times? Even so late as in this reign, when, in 1769, it was proposed to pay the debts of the Civil List, Parliament voted the money required; and yet ministers refused to produce the accounts, by which alone the propriety of the grant could be judged. In the present time, does there exist a minister so lost to all sense of propriety as thus to conduct himself? Or, if such a minister could be found, is there a man within these walls who would not raise his voice to express his indignation? But has there been shewn any tardiness to restrain abuses when discovered? And are not remedies applied, such as promise to be effectual? The abuses in each gentleman's private household exceed the abuses in the public disbursement, on a comparison of their respective amounts. Consider the prodigious magnitude of the services which are carried on; consider that they extend to every quarter of the globe; and is it astonishing that all the vigilance of government should sometimes be unable to prevent the frauds of the persons in whose hands such trusts are reposed? Is it to be expected that any government should be more vigilant in the discharge of its functions than is the Bank itself, whose attention, whose regularity, has ever been proverbial? And yet we find, that in the very simple functions which belong to that body, and in spite of all its care, a fraud was practised upon it a few years ago, to an extent far exceeding any which has taken place in the various and complicated duties that belong to government. To form a just estimate of what is due to ourselves, let us compare the practices of former times; let us look to the abuses that existed in the time of the Duke of Marlborough, in which he himself, as commander-in-chief of the army, was a participator. What was the conduct of Mr Walpole, when secretary at war? In the seven years war, similar practices prevailed to a degree which enabled our commissaries to start into rivalry with the most ancient and opulent families of the kingdom. In the American war they likewise existed, though not to so enormous an extent; but in the present times, the House has the satisfaction to know, that these evils have in all cases been mitigated, and in many completely restrained. Is it

no proof of public virtue, that a revenue exceeding 60 millions is collected at no greater expence than 2,700,000l., a less rate than is paid by many individuals in this House for the sale of their sugars, or is allowed by the lord chancellor to the receiver of any landed estate under his authority? Far from acknowledging neglect or criminality, I confidently maintain, that the conduct of Parliament, in late years, gives it a claim to the confidence and gratitude of the country, which our ancestors never possessed."

Having thus triumphantly vindicated the House from the vague charges of corruption, Mr Johnstone examined the arguments of those persons whose object it was to restore the constitution to its ancient purity. "This," said he, "I fully comprehend; and if they will point out the times in which greater purity existed than in the present, I will gladly recur to the practices which then prevailed. But let us examine this question. Gentlemen would scarcely wish to go back to the times of the Tudors, when Parliament was the base instrument of the legal vengeance of our monarchs. As little would they recur to the times of the Stuarts. Many useful laws were enacted in the reign of Charles the Second; but will it be denied, that almost all the chief leaders in the House were actually in the pay of France? But I suppose that we are to look for an example in the reign of king William, when those self-denying ordinances, which are so much the object of admiration in the present day, (the laws against placemen and pensioners,) were passed. Let us look a little at the practice of those times: is it not notorious that the monarch himself received a present of 10,000l.; that the Lord President of the council received 5,000l.; and that a person was found, who disgraced the chair now so honourably filled, by the acceptance of a bribe of 1000l.? Now, are these solitary cases? There is scarce a page of the history of those times, in which something of the same sort will not be found. If we proceed to the succeeding reigns, we shall find our ministers, Walpole and Stanhope, acknowledging, in this very House, their mutual peculations and embezzlements. In fact, it was not until the administration of Mr Pelham, that ministers were free from the reproach of personal corruption,—not such practices as are now stated to exist; not the exertion of influence; not arrangements, by which men may come into Parliament here to exercise a free agency,—all which prevailed to the same degree as at present; but the absolute receipt of monies, of bribes in their own persons, for the vilest and most unworthy purposes. It is impossible better to illustrate the difference between those times and the present, than by a reference to what took place concerning the very piece of ground at Chelsea, which has been a matter of so much discussion. Sir Robert Walpole, the minister, without a pretence, scrupled not to obtain from the crown a grant of the land of a national charity for his own individual benefit; and the transaction passed entirely without notice, whilst the grant of a part of that very ground for a valuable consideration, proceeding through all the forms required by the law, has set the nation in a ferment. In saying this, however, I desire not to be understood as approving, in any degree, of the latter transaction; it is not for the credit of government, and ought to have

been avoided. These facts are sufficient to prove how much more pure and honest is the present practice of Parliament, when compared with any former period of our history. Is it nothing, likewise, that, by the operation of wise laws, all the disorder, all the riot, all the confusion formerly incident to elections, is at an end? In former times, these were great and serious evils; they were not the pretences on which the septennial act was justified; but they were felt by grave and well-disposed persons to be of such a nature, as greatly to serve in justifying Parliament, when it extended its own power and duration. Every one has read of the disorders that ensued in the metropolis, on the election of Trentham and Vandeput; we ourselves witnessed the evils incident to the elections of Mr Fox and Lord John Townshend. Is it no benefit, that such scenes of violence and disorder are now entirely at an end, and that the elections in 1806 and 1807 were conducted with as little confusion as occurs in the annual choice of our magistrates? Another great and important change stands recorded by the most incontrovertible of all evidence, our own proceedings. The House had occasion to scrutinize the mode of election in no less than eighty cases, in the short space of a twelvemonth; and in no one instance was bribery proved to have been practised, and in a very few was it even alleged. When there exists such manifest proof of the amended state of our representation, it is a little too much to propose to us to enact new and severe laws for the purpose of correcting bribery. No change is necessary; but even if a change were necessary, is the bill of the honourable gentleman calculated to amend the character or composition of parliament? What is the conduct of the persons whom he seeks to exclude from this House? Are they found to discharge their duty less conscientiously than other members? What is the class of persons supposed to purchase seats? Merchants of extended connection, and of great wealth; men who have served their country abroad in the naval and military professions; lawyers of great eminence; or persons who by any other means have arrived at considerable affluence or distinction. Having provided for all the necessaries and luxuries of life, and a surplus still remaining, instead of wasting it in maintaining an increased retinue, or more splendid equipage, they dispose of it in obtaining an introduction to this assembly, anxious to become known to all who are great and eminent among their countrymen; and often honestly hoping, that when questions come under discussion, in which, from the habits of their life, they are conversant, they may be useful to their country. They are men who have a disposition to preserve, if not always endowed with a capacity to amend, the constitution of their country. The powers of the legislature are at least safe in their hands. They generally support the ministers to whom his Majesty has intrusted the administration of public affairs; and such generally is the first duty of every good citizen in dangerous and critical times like the present. But whenever measures of a doubtful nature are proposed, are they the persons who most readily sacrifice their feelings and opinions at the shrine of power? Are they the men who adopt the measures and opinions of government by wholesale? A case has been lately brought under our review, where we find a gentleman connected with government by

long habits, and bound by the ties of relationship to the chief minister of Ireland, his guardian and his friend, retiring from the honourable situation which he possessed, rather than give a vote contrary to his feelings. Or, if the test of virtue be the conduct pursued by members of Parliament in respect of the Duke of York, it will be found that there is among the famed 125, a larger proportion of gentlemen, such as the present bill would exclude from Parliament, than of persons connected with the landed interest; and an infinitely greater proportion, than of persons who are supposed to be connected with the aristocratic branch of our constitution. I call upon gentlemen on both sides of the House, who have filled official situations, to declare whether it is amongst this class of persons that the most importunate suitors at the treasury are to be found. For themselves, they are precluded by their situations from seeking any thing; for their families, in general, they have little to desire; for their constituents no provision can be necessary from the nature of the circumstances. Some may require facilities for their commerce; others may occasionally possess an ambition to be raised to the honour of the baronetage; but, upon the whole, I am confident that they are the persons who least frequently are found to solicit favours, and who, in the votes they give, discharge their duty most conscientiously. If the law proposed could be rendered effective, and persons possessing parliamentary patronage were precluded from disposing of it in the way asserted, and compelled to fill their seats with candidates who made them no return, are we to expect that they would seek no reward, or have no personal objects to gratify? They would equally seek some selfish gratification; but, instead of obtaining it in the manner they now do, they must obtain it from government. Suppose the same power and influence exerted gratuitously to return to Parliament friends of the minister, even if that minister were as great, as powerful, and as virtuous as Mr Pitt, could he withhold from one to whom he owed so great an obligation successive degrees of advancement in the peerage, even if two steps were required in the course of one year? Or if, instead of an alliance with government, he should adopt the party of opposition, at a time when no hope of returning to power remained; if, by any change of fortune, those ministers were again called to power, what bounds can be set to his claims, and to their gratitude? What honours, what distinctions, would not be heaped upon him? Or to what office in the church, in the revenue, or in the military or naval service, would not his recommendation be considered to afford a most incontrovertible claim? Are these imaginary cases, or will not every one recognize their existence within his own remembrance? However unfitting, however unseemly the practice alleged, it is far more beneficial than if the possessor of parliamentary influence be compelled to seek a return in the way described. In the one instance, men come into Parliament by means which we may not approve; but, when here, are generally found to exercise their duty with a fair portion of independence and impartiality. In the other, they may enter the House in a manner to which no reproach belongs; but when here, they will be found to be no more than the mere organs of their patron, who, having made his arrangements with one or other party,

announces his will by these his instruments. Even on questions which are more of a judicial than of a public nature, in all questions that regard private rights, we shall find, that as often as private bills are under discussion, the same baneful and predominating influence will assert its power: nor is this mere speculative reasoning; every gentleman must already have felt and witnessed its operation."

A good cause is never more injured, than when its advocates use sophistical arguments, and never was sophistry more completely exposed, than when Mr G. Johnstone compared the panegyrics of the radical reformers upon what they called our old constitution, and their invectives against the increased corruption of public men, with the history of the constitution and of Parliament. But the very agitation of the question which Mr Curwen had brought forward was a triumph to them; the bill confessed a practice which furnished them with their most popular topic for declamation, and the existence of that practice which never before could be mentioned in Parliament without offending against its rules, was admitted on all sides. Mr G. Johnstone had maintained that it was less injurious to the country than the other means of influence which the bill left untouched; this he had proved also,—here the radical reformers agreed with him. Mr W. Smith said, the bill, in its present

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state, actually inflicted an additional evil upon the representation: for, while boroughs were purchased by money, government would find many competitors; but as soon as dignities or influence could alone be received in exchange, they would have the market to themselves. It was necessary, therefore, to introduce an oath, excluding promises of this kind as well as money; with that amendment the bill might do good by operating as a silent check upon ministers; and in the hope that it would lead to some such good, he should vote for its going into a committee. Sir Francis Burdett on the contrary declared, that it should not have his concurrence; and, taking advantage of the license which the subject gave him, "he had not now," he said, "to address the representatives of the commons in Parliament assembled: that title they had disclaimed by the avowal and defence of these corruptions; but he was about to speak to an assembly composed of some representing the Treasury, some the Admiralty, some their patrons, some their own money, and a few representing populous places,—an assembly constituted under a system resembling the fortuitous concourse of the atoms of Epicurus. In justice to the large body whom he represented, he thought it his duty to raise his voice, and reprobate doctrines the most abominable that had ever been avowed since England was England. The present House of Commons, or rather the present assembly, for it was not now the Commons of England in Parliament assembled,"—Here the Speaker called him to order. Lord A. Hamilton defended what had been said, asking, whether, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, the honourable baronet might not deny that this was properly the House of Commons, since, by these openly avowed and defended corruptions, the House itself appeared to have disclaimed that title; but the Speaker maintained that it was his duty to call any member to order who held such language, and he

would do so as long as the House supported him.

The House manifested their approbation of the Speaker's conduct; and Sir Francis declared himself perfectly aware of his impartiality on this as well as other occasions; but he reminded him, that till the 12th of that month, when these practices had been openly defended in the case of Lord Castlereagh and Mr Quintin Dick, the claim of the House to be called the House of Commons was founded on its assumed purity. "No doubt," said he, "the Speaker spoke from the remembrance of former times; but then he must allow that I am speaking under circumstances perfectly new." Then, continuing the use of the obnoxious appellation, "Mr G. Johnstone," said he, "has boasted of the purity of the present *assembly* by comparing it to what it was formerly. But he forgot to state that the members who were detected in the South Sea scheme were expelled the House, and punished in various ways. The Commons then purged off the base matter—now they seem to want the instinct of brutes. Wolves will not allow certain animals to herd with them; and yet they could sit there and associate with ministers and others who had practised corruption, and had even the effrontery to acknowledge it!—We were now," he pursued, "told of the advantages of rotten boroughs, that they brought in a heap of adventurers, of different descriptions, men of talents, into the House. But we want no adventurers. What is required, is a sober check on the government, and for this purpose a House of Commons, properly constituted, might very well answer, without lawyers, and other adventurers, and without being made a kind of theatre for the exercise of debating powers and political talents. Our object is the security of the country. We have no desire for ornaments; we want bolts and bars to confine the executive within its proper sphere. The commons of England compose those bolts and bars of the constitution; and if this be not the case, the constitution is a mere farce and a masquerade.—As for the present bill, if it could be efficient (which it cannot) it would give the monopoly of the seat-trade to the Treasury; but while the system continued, it was better to have a free market,—infinitely better to have an auction of seats,—a public mart, where all might go and conduct matters openly. If all was conducted in this open way, the barter might be turned to some advantage. In the first place, the money might be turned to public purposes; we might then get rid of the delicacy which still remained on these subjects, and speak only what every one knows, though I see no reason why the ears of gentlemen should be more delicate than their consciences. Another advantage would be, that the man who purchased with his money, would in all probability be more independent than place-men, and those who represented their patrons; for, according to the modern morality, these last were bound by private honour to vote as they should be directed; while a man might purchase, and prove an honourable and independent servant of the public."

"The bill," he continued, "like all sham measures, would be inefficient. The honourable gentleman who brought it in expects, I am fully convinced, that great public advantage will result from it; so little, however, can it possibly answer its ob-

ject, and such must its inevitable effect be, that it ought rather to be called a bill for the better prevention of the detection of corruption. There is also another point upon which I must object to the measure. I am an enemy to the oath it would impose. This land is already disgracefully *oathed*; and we may see, in the excise and revenue cases, the efficacy of such oaths." He concluded by avowing his opinion, that the great object of reform could only be attained by a firm but temperate action of the people out of doors upon the House. "The friends of corruption," said he, "have now in their turn injured their own cause; the priests have torn aside the veil of the temple, and exposed their idol; that idol, I hope, will fall before the united voice of the nation, as Dagon fell before the ark, and put to shame his worshippers."

Mr Fuller was the first person who replied to Sir Francis, and he expressed his astonishment, that that member should complain of the state of public fredom, at a time when he was making one of the freest speeches that had ever past the lips of man. "With respect to being a representative of the people," said he, "I have as much right to call myself so as the honourable baronet; for I have never bribed the county of Middlesex, and thrown away 70,000l. upon an election, nor have I ever produced 3 or 400 voters who were afterwards found out not to be voters, and many of whom had since been sent to Botany Bay. As to the people who make fine speeches, and clap their hands upon their heart, they might as well have clapt them any where else." After this specimen of his usual bluntness, he objected, not improperly, to the administration of an oath, by the penalty annexed to which a man might be sent to Botany Bay for giving a pint of wine, and then inadvertently swearing that he had not been guilty of bribery. He would propose to substitute a heavy fine and exclusion from the existing Parliament. Mr Wilberforce defended the oath: he wished, indeed, there had been any other mode of securing the object in view; but as there was not, however reluctantly, they must resort to that. And he objected to the manner in which the existing system had been defended, especially by Mr D. Giddy. "If such things," said he, "are acknowledged to exist, as have been acknowledged lately, and if we still suffer and tolerate them, after they have been published to the world, what an effect must be produced upon the morals of the people at large! They who justify such practices proceed upon a ground equally dangerous and difficult. No country was ever the worse for adhering to moral principles; but if we state to the people, that what they call corruptions are not corruptions, we shall contribute largely to the dissolution of those moral principles throughout the nation. The members of that House should consider, that they were placed in a high sphere to set an example to the rest of the world; to stamp that character which was to pervade the community, and to give society its complexion; they should consider this, and this should render them cautious of recognizing any principle injurious to the cause of virtue. I was always," continued Mr Wilberforce, "a friend to a moderate and temperate reform; in my younger days I espoused it, and though older now, and consequently more cautious, I see no reason to doubt

the propriety of my former opinion. Let those who resist it beware how they entrench themselves within a circle of abuses; and, on the other hand, let those who plead for it take heed how, in their eagerness to effect it, they disparage the constitution under which they enjoy such blessings. It is the peculiar nature of a free government to adapt itself to the circumstances of the times. Let us advance, but with caution; let us not be called upon to stand still, nor let us libel the constitution so far as to say, that it is necessary to its preservation, that we should cherish its radical defects."

Mr Windham had waited to hear what would be said by Sir Francis as the head of the popular reformers, and he had now heard the sentiments of Mr Wilberforce, whose opinions have probably a more extensive and deeper influence than those of any other member. He now rose to examine the subject in all its bearings, and deliver his own opinion fully and decidedly. "It was a measure," he said, "ill-timed, injudicious, founded upon false views, false facts, and false assumptions, calculated to produce no good in the first instance, and liable and likely to lead to the most serious mischiefs in future. What we are to inquire is, whether the acts now meant to be proceeded against, are acts which those who commit them know at the time to be wrong, which degrade the person in his own opinion, and would, if known, degrade him in that of others; which are attended with injury to others; or, at least, tend to weaken the authority and observance of some rule, which the interests of society require to be upheld? Is it meant to be stated generally, that the sale of a place of trust is, in all circumstances and in every instance, a corrupt and criminal transaction? If it is, then does both the law and the practice of various countries, and of this country among others, sanction and authorise such transactions. The Parliaments in France were judicial tribunals, courts of judicature, in which the whole civil and criminal justice of that renowned and enlightened kingdom was administered; where justice was for the most part, I believe, most ably and uprightly administered, and where certainly as great and eminent lawyers and jurists have been produced, and men of as pure and unspotted character as are to be found in the legal history of any country whatever. Yet were all the seats in these assemblies regularly, publicly, and avowedly bought and sold. So little do the effects of civil and political institutions, or the laws relating to them, answer in fact and practice to what the theories even of the wisest and best-informed men would previously pronounce of them! Part of the salary or emoluments of our judges, their well-earned, necessary, inadequate emoluments arises from the sale of places having duties belonging to them connected with the business of their courts. Yet does any man, on this account, impeach the integrity or purity of our judges, which is, on the contrary, (and deservedly) the constant subject of our boast; or find ground for insinuating that the functions of these offices are not as well performed, and the persons filling them as respectable and proper persons as they could be, if they were appointed in any other manner? The church furnishes examples likewise. For what does any man do, who purchases and who sells the advowson of a living, or the next presentation? It is impossible, there-

fore, to maintain that the sale of seats in Parliament is corrupt, simply upon the principle, that it is corrupt to take a valuable consideration for a nomination to a place of trust and confidence. The known, recognised, authorised, avowed practice of our own country, in departments the most exempt from any suspicion of impurity, and where the admission of any thing incorrect would be most anxiously guarded against, is in direct contradiction to such a position. We have still, therefore, to look for the ground on which either the buyer or the seller, in such a transaction, is to be represented as being a man morally corrupt. In fact, if their proceeding is corrupt, it will be utterly impossible not to go on and declare corrupt the very influence itself, by which they are enabled to carry into effect this corrupt bargain. This is the true seat of the grievance; and this, therefore, is the true place in which to apply the remedy. The only effectual way will be to get rid of the influence altogether. This the honourable mover may be assured is the use that will be made of his measure (nay it is the just and legitimate use) by those who do not scruple now to oppose it, because they like to argue the question both ways, to be ready for either event; and may think possibly that more is to be gained by the rejection of it, and by the ground thereby laid for raising a clamour against Parliament, than they can hope for from the argument and the authority which it will furnish towards subverting the greater part of the influence, which property is now allowed to retain.

"I am as well aware as another, that there is much influence, which, though ultimately to be traced to property, has been so changed in the gradations which it has passed through, as to retain little or nothing of its original character; all, in these instances, that property may have done, is to have given to virtue the means of acting, and the opportunity of displaying itself. I am under no apprehensions for the fate of influence of this sort. My honourable friend and others, notwithstanding the operation of this bill, will be at full liberty to lay out their thousands in acts of beneficence and bounty, in building bridges, or endowing hospitals, in relieving the wants or advancing the fortunes of the indigent and meritorious. But is this the only way in which property exerts its powers? Is it always taken in this finer form of the extract or essence? is it never exhibited in the substance? It is here that the comparison will begin, and that the question will be asked, which the advocates of this bill, I hope, who do not mean it to extend to the abolition of the influence of property, will do well to be prepared to answer. How, if the sale of a seat, or any commutation of services connected with such an object, be gross corruption, can we tolerate the influence which property gives, in biassing the minds of those who are to give their votes? How a landlord, for instance, should have any more influence over his own tenants, than over those of another man? How a large manufacturer should be able to bring to the poll more of his own workmen than of those employed in the service of his neighbour? How an opulent man of any description, spending his fortune in a borough town, should be able to talk of his influence among the smaller tradesmen, or be at liberty to hint to his baker or butcher, that, laying out every week such a sum with them as he does, he ex-

pects that they should oblige him by giving a vote to his friend at the next election? If all this is not corrupt upon the principles on which we are now arguing, I know not what is. I shall be curious to hear in what manner the advocates for the principles on which this bill is enforced will defend themselves against these questions; and be able to shew, that while it is gross corruption, gross moral depravity, in any one who possesses such influence, to connect his own interest with the use of it, it is perfectly innocent to create that influence by these means? Or, on the other hand, if such means are not lawful, how the influence of property is to continue, such as has hitherto been practised and allowed of? It is indifferent to me which side of the alternative they take; but let them be well aware, that such is the alternative to which they will be reduced. When I look, therefore, to the moral qualities of these acts, as independent of and antecedent to positive law, I am a loss to find what it is, either on the score of principle or of authority, that determines them to be corrupt. But as there can be no doubt that the law may make any act which it pleases illegal, we are to inquire, therefore, in what manner and to what degree those acts, which, generally speaking, are not corrupt, have been rendered so by positive law. It has been said, that the corruption follows of necessity from the laws respecting bribery in the case of individual voters; for that it is impossible that the law should be guilty of such monstrous inconsistency, as to punish the poor for bribery in retail, while they suffer it to be practised with impunity by the rich in wholesale. There is something so wildly inconclusive in this argument, as to make it difficult to set about formally to confute it. I cannot better illustrate its fallacy, than by an argument something of the same sort, quite as good in respect to conclusiveness, and much better in respect to point and archness, which I remember when I was a boy, at a contested election for Norfolk. One of the candidates had rendered himself obnoxious by the inclosure of a common, upon which the wit of the day was to ask, what that man deserved who should steal a goose from a common? And when the answer was given, to follow up the question by another, what then shall be done to him who steals the common from the goose? This was very good election wit, but certainly very bad argument; (though just as good as that to which I have been adverting,) for what is the affinity between the two offences, so as to justify the considering the one, as differing from the other only, by being upon a larger scale? There have been laws to restrain the retail sale of spirits. Should we think that a man argued wisely or conclusively, who should harangue at the door of an alehouse against the justice of laws, which could punish a publican for selling a dram to a poor wretch, who wanted it perhaps to solace him under the effects of cold and hunger, to whom it must stand in the place of food and raiment, while the same law did not scruple to permit the sale of these spirits by wholesale on the part of the rich merchant or still more opulent planter; and should take occasion from thence to ask if such was the punishment for selling a dram or gill, what did they deserve who sold these spirits by whole puncheons and shiploads? The answer is, that these acts do not stand to each other in the relation of more or less;

but are perfectly disparate and dissimilar; are productive of different consequences; are to be regulated by different provisions; are so widely separated in character, as that the one may be an object of national encouragement, a source of public wealth and benefit, while the other can produce nothing but mischief, and is a practice requiring to be restrained by penal statute. Nothing therefore can be more false than the inference by which it is concluded that the sale of a seat, in cases where it can be effected, must be deemed corrupt, because there are laws which prohibit the gift of money to individual voters. Both may be corrupt, and both may require to be prohibited; but not the one on account of the other. Our business, therefore, is to ascertain what it is right for us to do, with respect to an object, on which neither morals nor law, as antecedently established, prescribe to us any certain mode of action, nor even impose upon us the necessity of acting at all. The acts in question are not in themselves corrupt or immoral. The law has either prescribed nothing about them, or, having prescribed what it has thought fit, has left the necessity of any further provisions to the judgement of the legislature of the time. It may be, that what is proposed to be suppressed, is a political evil, tending to render Parliament a less fit instrument for promoting the general welfare. If it is so, let us in God's name set about in earnest to devise the means of suppressing it. But above all things, let us be sure that in attempting change, with all the dangers to which change is liable, particularly in a machine so delicate, so complicated, whose movements can be so little defined, and are so imperfectly understood, as those of the British constitution, we are not proceeding upon assumptions, which we ourselves at the moment suspect to be false, and which we adopt rather in compliance with the clamour of persons out of doors, than in conformity to our own sober, deliberate, and unbiassed judgement. It would in fact be folly to consider this measure, otherwise than as arising out of the temper and fashion of the times, and out of that wild rage, which has suddenly seized us, nobody knows why or wherefore, for pulling to pieces the government and constitution. It is one of the small leading steps, which it is hoped may in time be made introductory of that purpose; one of the early symptoms, the first eruptive pustule that indicates the presence of the disease. The disease itself is however denied; and we are required to believe, that the whole of the present cry originates in nothing but in the abuses recently discovered in the business of the Duke of York.

"The amount of these discoveries is, that the mistress of a man in power had received money for the use of the influence, which she had, or pretended to have, in procuring places and appointments. This, if it stood alone, would be an odd reason for arraigning the government, or even for arraigning the person himself; and as for participation or connivance, though there are persons who accuse the duke of both of these, their numbers are few, and even of those few, fewer still think that their suspicions admit of any sufficient proof. Yet, with all this, such is the surprise excited in this country, by any suspicion even of corruption in persons of high rank and station, and such the commotion it never fails to create, that the Duke of York, a member of the royal family,

the king's own son, in full possession of his father's favour, and of the respect and good-will of the greater part of the nation, is fain to quit the situation of commander-in-chief, which he has held with credit for fourteen years and more, and to withdraw into retirement. Can any man in his senses suppose, that an instance like this was calculated to inspire the country with a distrust of its government, or to excite a desire of new-modelling its Parliament, as being too submissive to the wishes of the court? We must look to other motives and purposes, to which the present bill is meant to serve as an instrument, and for which the business of the Duke of York is made to serve as a pretext. Yet we are told that it is to libel the people of England, to say that there are among them thousands who wish the destruction of the present order of things, and who labour night and day to carry into effect that purpose! But with what decency is this libel charged upon us by those who are every day libelling this House, and all the higher orders of the state, in the grossest and most unmeasured terms? Why is it more a libel than to say, that there are among the people of England robbers, murderers, and housebreakers, and offenders of all descriptions, and who, numerous as they are, would shew themselves in much greater numbers, if the fear of the law did not keep them down? Are there not as powerful motives, passions as fierce and strong, and interests as tempting and urgent, to arm men for the overthrow of all government, as there are to incite them to any other act of violence? There is no government that can boast of owing its stability (or quiet at least) to any other cause, than to the difficulty and danger of subverting it. Let but hopes be entertained of success, and thousands will be found, who, from motives of different sorts, some from folly, and some from wickedness; some because they know not what they are about, some because they do know; some as knaves and more as dupes; many from motives of interest, and more from motives of passion; some because they hate one part of the establishment, and others because they hate another; some as mere fanatics, and because they have entangled their understandings in speculations to which they are wholly unequal; others from mere restlessness and love of something to do; but far the greater part, from some species of bad passion or other, (not excluding of course those most powerful and general ones, vanity and love of distinction,) are desirous of seeing some great change in the order of things as they find it established; not all of them by any means desiring a change of the same sort, or to the same extent: Oh, no! but all of them a change suited to their several views, and proportioned to their several interests and situations. My honourable friend, the author of this bill, and a great landed proprietor, thinks that there would be signal advantage in a change which would throw more weight into the scale of the landed interest. Another great landed proprietor is of opinion, that those who can only purchase their seats are intent upon nothing but getting back their money. To these are opposed many gentlemen of the monied interest, who see no reason (nor do I, I confess, see any) why they who paid a sum for their seats once for all, should be more desirous of getting back their money, than he who has spent that sum, or three times as much, in a contested popu-

lar election. To my apprehension, many of those who may be suspected to ave come into Parliament through these condemned and reprobated ways, have been among the most upright, honourable, and independent members that Parliament has had to boast, far exceeding others that could be named, who, from the money they have spent, and the interests they have staked in elections, pretending to be of higher account, have only brought themselves to be the mere slaves of popular opinion, that is to say, of their own future hopes in the places which they represent. Many of the former description will be of opinion, that the best improvement would be that which conspires best with the general change in the circumstances of the country, and by taking something from the old and obsolete privileges of the landed aristocracy, gives a free scope to men who owe their wealth to their own enterprise and industry, and have grown rich by means that have at the same time benefitted the country. But there is a more numerous class, who, looking with no friendly eye to advantages which they do not share, and knowing that they have not either land or money, yet fully persuaded that they have talents, will be for levelling to the ground all those barriers which hitherto, as they are firmly convinced, have alone hindered them from figuring in the first situations of the state. Political consequence is probably a far more powerful, as it is a far more extensive motive, than prospects of private advantage. The numbers may be few who can hope to better themselves by any change in a pecuniary view; and these will of course be found in general among persons of no great authority from their present wealth or station. But many will have in their minds, and the highest in rank and fortune not less than others, some scheme of things in which they may hope to become more considerable in point of general consequence. And if such men should be, as they are the most likely to be, men of ardent and daring minds, jealous of their importance, eager for distinction, impatient of controul, less awed by the fear of loss than sanguine in their hopes of gain, materials will not be wanting for furnishing out a revolution even from among the higher orders, in opposition to that childish notion, so false even in theory, and so contrary to all experience, that men will not engage in such enterprises who have much to lose, or, as it is often expressed, have a great stake in the country. Heretofore, in fact, disturbances in the state were confined entirely to the class that had much to lose, namely, to persons in the highest rank of society; and though, since the example of the French revolution, this limitation is done away, and the lottery of revolution thrown open even to adventurers of the lowest denomination, yet the rich are not excluded, and we see every day that they are not at all disposed to exclude themselves. For though the French revolution exhibits the most striking example of failure that the lovers of right could ever have wished to the authors of wrong, yet this failure relates only to the professed objects, the peace and happiness and liberty of mankind. The example is most encouraging, for nothing can shew so strikingly the facility with which the object can be accomplished, and with which men from the lowest stations may be lifted suddenly to the highest. This is all that is wanted; for give but the chance of

success, even a very indifferent chance, and thousands will not be wanting, high and low, to engage in the undertaking, and to labour with all the restless activity and increasing industry, with which we see the work carrying on at this instant. The French monarchy, at the moment of its greatest mildness, and when all that was harsh and odious in it was daily wearing away, was overthrown, with all the circumstances which we have witnessed, ostensibly by the mere force of metaphysical reasoning, and what is more humiliating, if not more extraordinary, by metaphysical reasoning of the most contemptible sort! This mode, however, has now lost much of its efficacy, and has got to be rather out of fashion. In seeking to imbody the natural and unavoidable discontents of mankind, for the purpose of overturning governments, which is the general description of what I should understand by Jacobinism, it has become necessary to have recourse to something more solid and substantial than mere grievances of theory, and to take the discontents arising from real causes, whether the discontents themselves be reasonable or not, and then to connect these with something either in the frame or practice of the government. The discontents you are sure of. They can never be wanting, as long as men are men. In a country like this, no man will ever think himself as rich as he ought to be; for though the wealth of the country has increased in full proportion to its burdens, that is to say, to its expences, yet as luxury has increased in at least an equal proportion, every man may in some sense continue to feel himself poor, inasmuch as the interval will not be increased between his income and his expenditure. It is therefore the singular and melancholy characteristic of the state of poverty here described, that it is one which riches cannot cure. It is in vain that wealth is pouring in from every quarter, that it is not confined to particular persons or classes, but is diffused throughout with wonderful exactness, or rather in larger measure, to the lower and middling orders; that foreigners, resorting hither, cannot behold, without astonishment, a display of wealth and enjoyment, unknown at any former time, or in any other country; that we are reproached every day from the continent with our opulence and prosperity, as contrasted with the penury and misery of other countries, and are regarded with greedy eyes by the master of all the rest of Europe, as a mine of wealth, which he is longing only to get possession of; all this while we, who know these things better, are representing ourselves as a distressed, oppressed, burthened, and above all, impoverished nation.

"In the midst of this, there is nevertheless one remedy, which, if men could resolve to take it, would do away, as by a charm, all this dreadful state of poverty, and restore them in an instant to a condition of ease and affluence. Let every man resolve to live with no greater measure of enjoyments than his father did before him, than people of the same rank and class did forty years ago. By this simple expedient, pursued through every class of the community, nine-tenths of those who fill the country with lamentations of their distress, will find themselves instantly in a state of ease and affluence, fully able to satisfy all the demands of the state, and to lay by something as a future provision for their families. But as the expedient we are sure

will never be adopted, there will for ever remain, in the feeling excited by the payment of taxes, an inexhaustible fund of discontent, sufficient to produce any effect desired, provided means can be found to give it a proper direction. This is the great work on which the artificers of revolution are at present employed. They say to the people, you are all sensible of the burdens under which you labour: you all dislike the payment of taxes. Now what is it that carries the taxes to this immense amount? A common man would say, the immense amount of the civil and military establishments of a great empire extending over half the world, the numbers of civil officers necessary to carry on its business in time of peace, and the armies and navies, with all their attendant train of expences, to provide for its security in case of war. But, no, say the band of patriots here alluded to, these expences alone might well be borne: what sinks the country is the wasteful expenditure of the public money in jobs and corruption, in sinecure places and pensions. It is the abuses that undo us, the abuses that we must correct; and as it is Parliament that sanctions, if it is not itself the great seat of the abuses, it is Parliament that we must correct and reform. Once persuade the people that all their payments and burdens are the consequence of abuse or mismanagement in some part of the government, and you produce a state of feeling adequate to almost any purpose for which it can be wanted. Taxes and abuses joined, generate a kind of expansive force, that will burst asunder even the best compacted governments. The abuses, too, serve to give a direction to the discontent and angry feeling produced in the first instance by the taxes. They stand in the place of the abstract rights of a few years ago, and are the last improvement made in the machine for overturning states, from which it is conceived to derive a much greater heft and purchase, than in its old form of 'taxes and the rights of man.' A number of persons are accordingly in a constant state of active search, prying about among the establishments, and winding round like a wood-pecker round a tree, in the hopes of finding some unsound part into which they may strike their beaks and begin to work, but not like the honest wood-pecker, who is only in search of the grubs and worms on which to make a meal, and is at least indifferent as to the fate of the tree. They, on the contrary, only take the grubs and worms for their pretext, and have for their ultimate object to open a hole, into which the wet and the rot may enter, and by which the tree, the British oak, (a beautiful shaft of I know not how many load, and the growth of ages) may decay and perish.

"Let us consider what it is that is comprehended under this general head of abuses, which forms the great instrument whereby the discontents of a country are made subservient to the destruction of its government; which collects and compounds the separate elements of dissatisfaction, to be found floating in society, so as to prepare them for those grand explosions by which states are overthrown.

"By abuses is meant either the abuse of patronage, the granting to favour, affection, or interest, what ought to be granted only to merits and services; or, secondly, the purloining, embezzling, or corruptly applying the public money. Let us endeavour to ascertain how much of

either of these species of abuse exists; how much of them is to be charged to government; and how much, in any event, is likely to be corrected by what is called a reform of Parliament.

"As to purloining or embezzling of the public money, the idea of such an offence, as existing among those who constitute what can with any propriety be called the government, could be generated only in the gross imaginations of persons totally ignorant of the principles and motives by which men in such situations must of necessity be actuated. It is not a question of their virtue or probity, but of their feelings, habits, manners, and prudence. They may be, as they often are, mercenary, selfish, rapacious, unprincipled. But it is not in acts like those alluded to that these dispositions will shew themselves, even in the persons who feel them most. It might as well be supposed, that they could seek to enrich themselves by conveying away a diamond snuff-box, or pilfering guineas out of a drawer.

"With respect to the abuse of patronage, one of those by which the interests of countries will in reality most suffer, it is one of which persons in the highest offices are as likely to be guilty, and, from their opportunities, more likely to be guilty, than any others. Nothing can exceed the greediness, the selfishness, the insatiable voracity, the profligate disregard of all claims, from merit or services, that we often see in persons in high official stations, when providing for themselves, their relations, or dependants. But the evil from them is necessarily limited, not possibly by their desires, but by the extent to which those desires are capable of being carried. They can eat no more than their stomachs can contain. The list is small of those immediately connected with them, nor is the number unlimited of those whom they may wish to serve from motives of vanity or interest. When the leech is full, it will drop off of itself.

"But what shall set bounds to those streams of abuse that take their rise among the people themselves? Trace the genealogy, the birth, parentage, and education, of nine-tenths of the jobs that are done in the army and navy, or in the other departments of the state, and see from what they originate, and in what manner they are brought forward. A gentleman at the eve of a general election is addressed by some full-grown manufacturer, or opulent brewer, or attorney in great practice, who says, 'You know my son Tom, who is in the navy. He has been for some time a lieutenant, I should be very glad if you would get him made master and commander.' The candidate or member bows assent, (Mr Such-a-one is not a man to be disobliged;) he speaks to his friend the minister; the minister speaks to the first Lord of the Admiralty, and, without further inquiry, the thing is done; nobody being able to divine, of those who are not in the secret, and only know our son Tom professionally, for which of his good qualities or meritorious actions he has been made, so much out of his turn, and over the heads of so many old and deserving officers, a master and commander.—Here then is a complete job, passing through several successive stages, and disgraceful enough in its progress to all the parties concerned in it, including the member, the minister, and the first Lord of the Admiralty, but certainly not *ex*-cluding the constituent, the

corrupt constituent, who is no member of the government, high or low, but one of the people, and the prime author and mover of the whole.

"We have here the history of a job, which, though springing from a root that lies totally among the people, is supposed not to confine itself to the place of its original growth, but to extend into the parliament, and into the executive government. With a view, however, of shewing the temper of some of these declaimers against abuses, let us take another case: Either the member, or the minister, or the first Lord of the Admiralty, has virtue enough to say, that they feel it impossible to comply with the application. Is it quite a matter of course that the author of the application is satisfied with this answer; that he does not turn away with a sulky look from his late friend; that he does not signify in plain terms, that his rule is to 'serve those who serve him;' and from that moment does not transfer himself, and all those whose votes he *commands*, to the other side, taking what is called the independent line, and exhibiting himself among the first bawlers against the corruptions of the great, 'who think of nothing but their own private interests?'— Here at least is an instance of abuse, which while it begins with one of the people, ends there likewise, and does not touch the government or the Parliament at all; and such, we may venture to say, is the case of ninety-nine hundredths of the abuses complained of. The whole country, it is said, is full of abuses, from top to bottom. I believe so: with this correction, that the description would be more just if we were to say from bottom to top; it being here, as in other *media*, the parts of which are left to move freely, that the lower *strata* are the denser and grosser, and that they become rarer and purer the higher you ascend.

"We have seen to what source may be traced the greater part of the abuse of patronage, an abuse which, with the others, is to be cured, I suppose, by the favourite remedy, an extension of the representation; that is, by multiplying a hundred fold the chief causes to which it is to be at present ascribed. But if of this the far greater part is found to lie in the people themselves, what shall we say of those abuses, more properly so called, and upon which the people are much more intent, though they are really perhaps less important, viz. the various instances of fraud, embezzlement, peculation, and imposition, by which the expenditure of the country is swelled far beyond its natural size, and a million or two possibly taken from the pockets of the people, over and above what the real exigencies of the country require? This is the part that we chiefly hear of, and very proper it is that we should hear of it; but let us take care that we impute the blame to the right quarter, that we put the saddle on the right horse. Is it an abuse in the government, that is, in the members of the cabinet, and the persons holding high offices, including, if you please, the Parliament, that a store-keeper, or commissary in the West Indies, or in Ceylon, embezzles the public stores, or sends in false accounts, by which the public is defrauded; that gross frauds are daily and hourly practised on the revenue; that the taxes are eluded; that false returns are made; that excise and custom-house officers are perpetually bribed to betray their trust; that the tribes of officers, high

and low, at home and abroad, are often more intent upon advancing their own fortunes, than upon discharging their duty, or guarding the interests of the public; and that all those, not being persons in office with whom the government must occasionally have dealings, have no consideration, but how to make the most they can, and to cheat the public by every means in their power? It is perfect folly to talk as if the Parliament and the government can be responsible for the individual conduct of the thousands and thousands of subordinate officers and agents, who are distributed, far and near, through all parts of a widely extended empire: to say nothing of the fact, that the greater part of these are obtruded or palmed upon the government by persons not being themselves in any office, but, in the strictest sense, a part of the people, and who are thinking of nothing but to serve, by whatever means, their own friends and relations. In the next place, these frauds, committed by persons within the pale of the government, are for the most part of a sort that imply a confederate without. If the custom-house officer permits false entries, and thereby affords an example of an abuse committed (if any one chuse so to describe it) by one of the government, meaning a custom-house officer, what are we to say of the merchant or trader, by whose bribe he has been induced to do this? who, it cannot be disputed, is one of the people, and one of the people merely, and very possibly one of those who think that the country can never thrive till a radical reform shall have put an end to abuses. The fact is, that when the matter comes to be searched to the bottom, it is the people throughout who are cheating the people; the people individually cheating the people collectively, and then finding in their own frauds and knaveries a reason for tearing to pieces the government. Even in respect to patronage, the part in which the government, properly so called, will be found most to offend, it is not ascribing much to persons at the head of departments to suppose, that when their own immediate connections and dependants are satisfied, they would be willing to promote good men rather than bad, if they were not controlled and compelled by the insatiable demands of those, whom they cannot disoblige without renouncing the means of carrying on the public service, and who never think for a moment of merit or demerit, or of any thing else, but of providing for those whom, for some reason or other, they wish to serve. The crime of government, in almost all these instances, is that of not being able, with all its efforts, animated even with the strongest sense of self-interest, to prevent the crimes of others. The people in all quarters, and by all opportunities, are preying upon the public, and then make it the reproach of the government that it has not the power to prevent them. But what is the sense of supposing, that government must be able to do with respect to the public, what no man is able to do in his own affairs and family? Who is there that can boast to have established a system of superintendance so complete, or to be blessed with a set of servants of such rare honesty, as not to leave him a prey to innumerable abuses, in his stables, his still-room, his kitchen, his butler's pantry, in every department of his household? If this is the case of men acting in the management of their own private affairs, and may be predicated, with truth probably, of every

domestic establishment in the kingdom, down even to the most limited, what shall we say of the reasonableness of the expectation, that any zeal or strictness in the executive government, shall be able to exclude abuses from the innumerable subordinate departments, over which they are to preside? Yet with a system of public probity thus relaxed, in the midst of a public thus disposed to prey upon itself, and upon a scale of expenditure like that which must of necessity prevail in an empire like this, it is thought a reason for breaking up the government, that it cannot exclude abuses from our establishments, to a degree which few persons find attainable, in the management even of their own little domestic concerns. It is our business, no doubt, to keep those abuses as low as possible; and the more corrupt the public is, the more are such exertions necessary: but, let us not complain that we do not attain what is not attainable, and above all, let us understand the fact truly, that the corruptions charged are, except in a few inconsiderable instances, not the corruptions of the government, but the corruptions of the people, which the government is unable to prevent.

"The mode proposed for putting a stop to these abuses, is to have a scheme of representation, which while it arises equally out of the people, shall be the result of a greater ferment in the parts nearest the bottom. Could it be believed, without proof from the fact, that men could be found seriously to indulge speculations so destitute of every foundation in reason or common sense? The reform wanted, is either a reform of the whole people, which it is childish to hope, or a reform in the government, by arming it with such new powers, as would be wholly incompatible with the nature of our free constitution. Upon this issue we may suffer the question to rest, considered as part of a general system, which aims at a great change in the constitution (a subversion of it as I should say) under the name of reform, and grounds the necessity of such reform upon the extent and number of the subsisting abuses. It remains only that we say a few words upon the more narrow view of the subject as introduced by the honourable mover. It happens whimsically, that the primary object of the mover, (a pretty important one, and requiring, one should think, a good deal of nice consideration, namely, the altering the balance between the landed and the monied interest,) seems to be no object at all with those to whom the motion is principally addressed, and not much, indeed, to the honourable mover himself, if we may judge by the small portion which it has occupied of his speech. It slips in almost by parenthesis. It is lost and hid in the splendour of the incidental consequences which the motion is to produce, in the confidence it is to restore, the unanimity it is to inspire, the heats it is to allay, the effect it is to have in silencing gainsayers, the foundation it is to lay of a new and glorious era, from the commencement of which nothing will be known but a determination to live and die by the constitution. What a pity that prospects so bright should be so soon obscured! Never was hope so sanguine, so suddenly blasted! It is nipped in its first bud. It does not live to the second reading. It is consigned to the tomb almost at the moment of its birth. This medicine, which was to operate like a charm, so pleasant to the taste, so

comfortable in the stomach, has totally falsified the first prediction respecting it, that it would be taken with great avidity. What it may be in the stomach, we cannot well say; for those for whose special use it was intended, who were to seize it so greedily, will not suffer it to remain within their lips; they spit it out upon the hands of my honourable friend while he is in the act of administering it. Much useful instruction may be derived from hence, as well to my honourable friend as to ourselves. My honourable friend, I hope, will learn a lesson, of great utility to all reformers, to distrust a little the more remote consequences of their measures, when they see how liable they are to error, even in those which they expect to take place immediately. The House, it is hoped, will learn this distrust with respect to the measure now proposed. It is no great recommendation of any medicine that its effects are totally mistaken by the person who advises it. All our confidence in the physician is already lost. The only certain knowledge which we have as yet of the measure, is, that it will *not* do what the honourable mover predicted of it. It will not satisfy those who at present inveigh against the abuses of the system, and contend that it ought to be reformed. The inducements, therefore, to a compliance with the motion lie in a very small compass. They are simply its own merits: There will be no satisfaction produced. What is called "the public" will not thank you for the measure, otherwise than as it may be made a subject of triumph, and a stepping-stone to other objects. The objections to it on the other hand, are the dangers of this triumph, and of those other objects to which it is meant to lead. Upon the result of these opposite considerations, I have no hesitation in earnestly conjuring the House not to adopt the motion. The practice complained of has subsisted at all times, without any ground to suspect, or any suspicion being in fact entertained, that, according to the discovery now made, it has been sapping and undermining the constitution. The reasons in support of the measure now proposed for the abolition of it are perfectly unsatisfactory and inconclusive. We know the mischievous use intended to be made of it; and there can hardly, indeed, be any thing more mischievous in the first instance than the yielding to public clamour, what we do not feel that we are yielding to truth and reason."

Such was the substance and arrangement of Mr Windham's arguments. They have been injured by curtailment, though given at the utmost length that the nature of these annals would permit, both because of the importance of the subject, and in deference to the character and great ability of the speaker. Against the propriety of some reform in the mode of representation they are not conclusive, but they were completely so against all that had been urged in its behalf, and against the bill then before the House. But though this bill, as Mr Curwen said, was too weak for the strong, and too strong for the weak, and though it was utterly inefficient as to any useful purpose, ministers saw their advantage in it, and it was supported by that middle party, among whom Lord Sidmouth's adherents are to be reckoned, respectable for their numbers, and still more so for the estimation in which they are held by the public. In the course of the discussion a direct attack upon Sir Francis was made by Mr Tierney, in return for some allusion which the baronet had

made to his public character at the Crown and Anchor. "It was the design," he said, "of that honourable baronet and his friends to excite an opinion abroad, that no man could be an honest man who did not acquiesce in all their chimeras; and he believed on his soul it was their wish not to have many supporters in that House, lest their designs should fail, and the public should think too favourably of the Parliament. Their design was to raise a popular ferment, by talking of abuses which had no existence, and vaunting of remedies which they never meant to put in execution. Far was it from their thoughts to come manfully and constitutionally to that House, and state their complaints, if any such they really had; it suited them better to make harangues at taverns, to mount tables at the Crown and Anchor, to tell the people to meet as the people, and not look for redress to their representatives, who were no longer fit to be called the House of Commons. It was their plan to raise a cry by which the infatuated multitude might be hurried to their ruin; by hinting at corruptions which had no existence, and raising expectations which never could be gratified." Mr Tierney then alluded directly to Sir Francis's speech. "The worthy baronet," said he, "is represented as having the audacity to say that, on my retiring from office, my pockets were filled with the public money. Is this charge true? Will he dare to repeat the assertion? If not, I recommend him not again to vilify the name and character of an absent man; or, if he did not so vilify it, to take care that a correct report of what he did say should go forth to the public. How did he know what effect such insinuations might have,—that I might not be attacked by some seditious mob, roused against me by such unfounded calumnies? I know not how a man so conciliating, so amiable in private life, could bring himself to make such an assertion. No man could be more mild till he mounted his rostrum at the Crown and Anchor, and then all was abuse and calumny. But what were his own qualifications for his general censorship? What had he ever performed? Why, indeed, he had harangued the mob, and mounted the tables at public dinners. He had never warded off any real danger; but had fluttered about during his public life, a political sea-gull, screaming, and screeching, and sputtering about foul weather which had never arrived! I call upon him solemnly to state the truth or falsehood of the expressions with which I charge him. He may be superior to me in point of talent, but superior in political integrity he is not; and I challenge him to a comparison of our lives, that deeds may speak our deserts, and vile calumniators become silent."

To this appeal Sir Francis answered, that he had not used the particular expression with which he was charged; for whatever he did say he would be personally responsible, but he would not answer for the correctness of the reporter. Mr Tierney, following up the advantage which he had gained by attacking those who were always accustomed to be the assailants, called upon Colonel Wardle also to verify one of his assertions at the Crown and Anchor. "He has made a great discovery," said Mr Tierney; "nothing less than that he can strike off eleven millions of taxes at once, and so demolish the income-tax! This was, indeed, the pleasantest way he had ever imagined of laying the axe to the root; this was a ra-

dical reform worth something, if it were indeed realized; but if it were only a fallacious assertion, held out for the wicked purpose of exciting discontent, then was it one of the vilest and most execrable insinuations, and he called upon Colonel Wardle to produce his plan, or stand convicted in the face of the world."—Colonel Wardle denied that he had ever spoken of a plan which would take off the income-tax,—plans he had, by which many millions of the public money might be saved; these he was ready and willing to produce, and before the end of the session he would state the grounds of his assertion.

As soon as the House resolved itself into a committee on *June* 1. the bill, the Speaker rose, thinking it, he said, his personal and official duty to declare his sentiments upon this subject, as much from its peculiar nature as its paramount importance.

"The question now before us," he continued, "is no less than this—Whether seats in this House shall be henceforth publicly saleable?—a proposition, at the sound of which our ancestors would have started with indignation; but a practice which, in these days, and within these walls, in utter oblivion of every former maxim and feeling of parliament, has been avowed and justified. We are now, however, come to a pass from which we have no retreat. Upon this question we must decide, Aye or No. To do nothing is to do every thing. If we forbear to reprobate this traffic, we give it legality and sanction. And unless we now proceed to brand and stigmatize it by a prohibitory law, I am firmly persuaded, that, even before the short remnant of this session is concluded, we shall see that seats in this House are advertised for sale by public auction; and we shall have brought a greater scandal upon Parliament and the nation, than this country has ever known since Parliaments have had an existence.

"Three distinct points have been put in issue—Whether the traffic be a political evil?—Whether it be any parliamentary offence?—And whether there is any safe and practicable remedy by which this mischief can be put down for the time to come? Into the first point, whether this be a political evil, I do not mean to enter at any length; nor is it necessary to my purpose. That the influence of property in maintaining civil order is of the highest importance, no man living can doubt; it is the firmest cement to all the relations of social life, it gives stability to the state, and prosperity to the empire. That the possessors of property may, and must, and ought to have a predominating influence in the election of members to serve in this House, I think is equally clear. But that, abandoning all their legitimate rights of influence, and laying aside all the virtuous and generous motives of friendship, affection, and the fair preference of talents and integrity to fill places of such high public trust, they should go to a shameless and open market; that they should sell the attachment of their friends, neighbours, and dependents for dry and sordid gain; and sell it to utter strangers, of whose qualities they can have no other estimate than the weight of their purses; this does indeed appear to me to be a great political evil, and a great public grievance. It degrades and debases the habits of the higher ranks of life, who confess their own sense of the nature of these transactions, by the concealment with which they seek to

cover them. It taints also and contaminates the general character of Parliament, and it furnishes the most formidable weapons to those who are professing, and I am willing to believe sincerely professing, to *reform*, but, as I fear, are, in truth and in fact, by the tendency of their endeavours, labouring to *subvert* the entire system of our parliamentary representation.

"With respect to the next question, whether these practices are any parliamentary offence? That it is a high parliamentary offence, every page of our history, statutes, and journals appears to me to bear evidence. And as our ancestors, when they found the censures of Parliament, and the decisions of the common law, were insufficient to restrain the growing practice of bribery to voters, proceeded to superadd the cumulative penalties of the statute law; so also it is for us, who have before us such flagrant proofs that the traffic in seats has broken through the existing checks, to put it down by a new prohibitory law.

"And now we are brought to the last consideration—whether we can, by any safe and practicable remedy, suppress the mischief: And of this I have no doubt, if with sincerity and diligence we apply ourselves to the task.

"In the first place, our law should be in itself declaratory, lest we impair the principle which we are endeavouring to strengthen. The definition or description of the offence should be marked with precision, that we may not include in it things or consequences beyond our own intentions. And the prohibitory provisions should be such as are most analogous to the rest of our election laws upon corresponding cases. The honourable member who has brought in the present bill will not be surprised that I should think he has fallen short of the true point, in not making it declaratory. As to the main part of his enactments, he will also be prepared for my dissenting from the use of such lax and wide modes of expression as he has employed; a defect into which it is no peculiar reproach for him to have fallen, as our modern forms of legislation have too much involved all our provisions in language so cumbrous, that it is generally difficult to discover their sense and substance, through the multitude of words with which they are overcharged. But beyond this, it is quite impossible for me to consent to that part of his proposed enactment which makes the tenure of seats in this House dependent upon judgements to be obtained in the courts below, or in any way puts the trial of our own rights out of our own accustomed jurisdiction.

"With regard to the oath proposed by the honourable gentleman, it is such in its present form as I should entirely object to. I do not know that a proper oath for a proper purpose is in itself an exceptionable provision by law; nor do I think that for solemnity or importance, so long as any oaths are used in election laws, that any occasion for it could be more suitable; agreeing as I do very much with Sir William Blackstone in opinion, that the oath, if administered to the elected, would be far more effectual than when given to the elector. Nevertheless, knowing that to many persons any form of oath whatever upon this subject would be highly obnoxious, and not thinking it indispensably necessary to the efficacy of the bill, I should not be disposed to insist upon it.

"What I should require would be,

that the party who purchased should not reap the profit of his bargain, but should fall under the same disability as that enacted by the act of William the III., which I think would be improved also, if it excluded him, not for that vacancy alone, but for the whole Parliament. The party who received the price of his venality should also of course forfeit it, with any further penalty which it might be thought right to superadd. And, beyond this, I would think it a proper course to declare by positive law, what is implied by the former practice of Parliament, that by such traffic each party becomes guilty of a misdemeanour.

"That for which I am most anxious is the establishment of the principle; being firmly persuaded that honourable minds, which may have hitherto deviated from what I think was the straight path of their duty, or may have been made to vacillate by the practices which they saw prevailing around them with impunity—will shrink from them with abhorrence, when they find them condemned by a specific law: And other men, if actuated by motives less honourable, will be restrained by fears not less efficacious.

"I shall therefore listen with satisfaction to any amendment that goes this length, and I shall be contented to lay aside for the present all questions of doubtful policy or difficult expressions; thinking it better to reserve them for future experience, and, if necessary, for future legislation. I would presume also to recommend this course to the House, as the most prudent and most likely to contribute to the further progress of this bill, and its ultimate passing into a law; on my own part most cordially and earnestly hoping for its success, as a measure which has now become indispensable to the honour of this House and of the country."

In the progress of this able and dignified speech, Mr Abbott showed, by examples drawn from the whole course of parliamentary history, what were the constitutional principles and practice upon this point. His opinion was received with the deference due to it by the House, and it made a deep and favourable impression upon the great body of the people. The penalty for making a gift or promise of money, to obtain a return in Parliament, was fixed at 1000l.; and the person so offending was to be rendered incapable of sitting for the place for which he should have been, in this manner, returned. Mr Bankes proposed that the disqualification should operate as to the whole of the Parliament to which such an undue return had been obtained; but this was rejected. Two points occasioned much discussion while the bill was before the committee. One regarded the oath which Mr Curwen proposed. This, Mr Perceval argued, was wholly inadmissible, on account of the difficulty of describing and qualifying the acts to which it was to refer, with sufficient precision. Mr Curwen protested that the bill would be inefficient if the oath were omitted; and Sir John Anstruther said, he would rather have the oath alone than all the other clauses.—Mr Wilberforce contended for the necessity of the oath, and for attaching the penalties of perjury to it. To this Mr Canning objected, observing, that it would be the first time those penalties had been introduced into an oath of detail. The opinion of Mr Perceval prevailed, and the oath was omitted. The other question was more vehemently debated. In the origi-

nal bill there was a clause extending to the promise of offices, express or implied. To this Mr Perceval objected as utterly unsafe. "Its effect," he said, "would be, that no one could either ask or receive an office without the risk of a conviction for a misdemeanour, however innocent. The only evidence which a jury would have to decide upon, would be that a member had procured an office for a friend who had served him at an election; and the probability in many such cases would be so great, and the difficulty of proving the absence of all corrupt motives so considerable, that the most innocent man could hardly escape conviction. For this reason he moved, that the word *implied* should be left out." To this it was objected, that a clause so worded, instead of remedying corruption, would concentrate it, and give the whole management of that species of influence to the Treasury; and Lord Henry Petty moved as a farther amendment, that the word *express* also should be omitted. This was now Mr Curwen's wish, whose fate it was, after he had brought in the bill, to see it completely re-made by Mr Perceval. He conjured the government, instead of anticipating guards for themselves, to yield to the opinion of the country. "This one word," said he, "will defeat the main object of the bill."—"This one word," said Mr Wilberforce, "will do more to increase the influence of the Treasury than all the rest of the bill will do to diminish it,—this one word will do nothing less than proclaim to the people, that offices, titles, situations, and contracts, may be used secretly for the purpose of procuring seats in Parliament."

This word *express* left so much to be implied, that it seemed almost like a defiance of public opinion, or at least like a sarcasm at the principle of the bill to insist upon retaining it. Ministers might have been satisfied without this triumph; for it would have sufficed to show, that the original clause professed to effect what was absolutely impossible; and this was clearly shown. "If this prohibition of implied contracts were to be enacted," said Mr Canning, "a minister must no longer consult his friends upon an appointment to office; but must go among the ranks of his political enemies to consider who had been so decidedly hostile to him, either in private life or in public, that he might venture to give him a place, without suspicion of looking for a vote. We should soon see it in the papers, that on such a day a gentleman went over to the other side of the House, and made a furious attack upon ministers, for the purpose of qualifying himself to hold a high situation. If a member should be asked to recommend any voter to a vacant place, he must reply, did you, or any person connected with you, vote or procure a vote for me at the election? and if he be answered in the affirmative, he must in prudence say, 'then I cannot recommend you, sir; for this is a case in which the suspicion of an implied contract might arise, which, under the provision of Mr Curwen's bill, may expose me to the loss of my seat.' To this situation would members be reduced. Now it was not possible that any minister could be personally acquainted with all the men that it was necessary for him to place in offices. He could only take the recommendation of his friends, and of those gentlemen who, from their local situation, were acquainted with the per-

sons, or their fitness for the offices to which they recommended them. If local influence were to be altogether abolished it would be necessary in every office, as well as in the excise, to transplant men from one part of the kingdom to another, in order that they might have no local attachments, nor the power of obliging any one by a vote."

These arguments were decisive against the original terms of the clause; but they formed no defence for retaining the obnoxious word. It was, however, put to the vote, and retained by a majority of 23 out of 170 members. Mr Whitbread then declared his most decided disapprobation of the bill as it now stood, considering it at once scandalous and disgraceful; and Mr Ponsonby said, it would do more to destroy the constitution than any act past since the revolution. On the other hand, many members, who reprobated the material change which Mr Perceval had made in it, agreed with Mr Curwen that still it ought to be supported, because the recognition of the principle was itself a thing of no little importance. The secretary at war and Mr Giddy supported it as a matter of decency, while they objected to the principle, and regretted that the bill had been brought in. There was no practical inconvenience, they maintained, arising from persons coming into Parliament by means of their own money. "Unless the crown had influence," Mr Giddy said, "the government could not be carried on, and at a time when so many gentlemen resorted to such various means of misleading the public, and exciting unfavourable impressions respecting the public establishments, depreciating the state of the army, which uniformly drove the enemy before it whenever they came in contact with them, and averring the possibility of saving millions of the public expenditure, he thought that any measure which would be the result of popular clamour so raised, or public delusion so kept up, would be dangerous in the extreme!" Upon this Sir Francis Burdett rose, called up, as he said, particularly by these insinuations against the advocates of reform. He knew that when the words demagogues, public agitators, haranguers of the people, and enthusiastic reformers, were so often mentioned in that House, he was the person principally alluded to. He would not, therefore, continue any longer the butt of such insinuations, nor rest contented in that calumniated and denounced situation. To-morrow he would move a short resolution, pledging the House to take into consideration, early in the next session, the grievances of the people, and particularly that grievance of grievances—the state of the representation. He should take that opportunity to state explicitly what he did mean, and what he did not mean, in order to put the House so completely and entirely in possession of his sentiments upon the subject, that there could be no farther room for those uncandid insinuations and calumnious imputations which were daily thrown out against him. "As for the present bill," he said, "it appeared to him originally, to be not only futile, but mischievous, because its operation would be to give a monopoly of boroughs to the Treasury. Such measures would establish a film and skin over the ulcerations of the foul corruption which was known to exist, and to pervade the whole political system of the country. It ought to be called a bill for granting indemnity for past cor-

ruption, and for producing security for future corruption. The honourable member who brought it forward ought to be the first to vote against it; if he did not he would prove himself to possess a greater degree of mobility of opinion, a greater inconsistency of principle, than he could suppose him capable of. It had gone into the chancellor of the exchequer's crucible; it had been melted down completely, and nothing remained but the dross. How could Mr Curwen support a bill as his, in which he could only find three lines and three quarters which he had originally introduced!"

Mr Curwen being thus called upon, defended his own consistency in still supporting the bill. "The baronet's opposition to it," said he, "has been consistent; the alterations made in it can be of no consequence in his view of the measure, for had it past as it was brought in, it would equally have had his hostility. I rejoice that he has given notice of his plan of reform; the House will now be able to judge how far his ideas are practicable. I know there are many loud in their calls for reform, who dread nothing so much as that this House should make a temperate commencement towards it; for they fear that such a step would put an end to all the visionary plans which are afloat.—It is contended that nothing is gained by the bill.—What! is the declaration of the law nothing? Is the putting a stop to the sale of seats nothing? Greatly do I lament that the chancellor of the exchequer has so constructed the clause respecting offices, as to make it liable to the imputation raised against it.—I will do him justice—I do not believe it proceeds from any such intention, nor that it will afford the facilities which are attributed to it; but I regret it, because it will deprive him of the merit due to him, and this House of the credit, that passing even such a bill ought to acquire. For myself, my situation is not enviable. Reluctantly I undertook the business, and I am ready to own I did not fully comprehend the difficulties I had to encounter: I find myself opposed by those with whom I generally think and act; for though I never have been what is called a good party man, yet I have my prejudices, and, from respect to the talents and abilities of those gentlemen, should in many cases be disposed to adopt their opinions. But upon this subject I felt I had an imperious duty to perform, and acting up to what I conceive to be most for the dignity of this House, and more for the advantage of the empire, I am ready to encounter any calumny and odium that may attach to me, having what is the best consolation under all circumstances in life, the entire approbation of my own conscience in the vote I shall give. Pass this law, and we shall have laid the foundation for salutary regulations which must effect a reformation, both within and without these walls. If it passes I shall feel pledged, should my health permit me, to proceed and endeavour to accomplish the object I had in view; if it fails I leave it to others more able."

Openly and fairly as Mr Curwen explained and defended his approbation of the altered bill, the charge of inconsistency was still urged against him, for supporting a measure so opposite in its nature and tendency to that which he had originally introduced. "He seemed," Mr Windham said, "to think that it was better to get half his measure than none of it.

'Half a loaf,' it was said, 'is better than no bread,' but not so half a reform. It was a gross error to suppose, as was perpetually done, that the half of an act by which a benefit might be obtained was any thing like half the benefit. For instance, if the grievance complained of was a beard of a month's growth, or a pair of those absurd whiskers with which the faces of some of our soldiers were now disgraced, and the barber should say he had not soap enough to hold out for the whole face, but he would shave half of it, would the person so shaved be considered as getting rid of half the grievance? and more especially if the barber should say, as in the present instance, that although he shaved the hair from one side of the face, it would grow so much thicker on the other, so that there would be precisely the same quantity, although only on one side. That was really the case in the present instance; the removal of the competition of private wealth would increase the power of the Treasury. By the amended bill, Mr Curwen might get half of his measure, but no part of his object.

"I deprecated the bill originally," continued Mr Windham, "because I saw the difficulty of stopping at the point which might be wished. It is easy to remove any abuse, if the removal of the abuse were the only thing to be considered. To take off a wen the butcher would do as well as the surgeon, were no considerations necessary of what might be the consequence of cutting it off unskilfully. The real question would be, whether the patient would not be left in a more dangerous state than that of the original disease, especially when it was recollected that there were numbers who, instead of healing, would perpetually apply caustics to the wound. I am no enemy to the influence which the crown at present possesses. The antagonist influence with which it has to contend ought to be considered: all manner of persons are usually conspiring against the government, and it is necessary that the government should be strong enough to counteract them. It is degrading and impolitic for a government to comply with every temporary popular opinion; but it is more degrading to endeavour to delude the people by giving them what is worse than nothing. The preamble and the first clause of the bill appear to be merely calculated to deceive the people, and make them suppose that something was done, which was, in fact, not done. The people to be sure, collectively considered, seemed to be made only to be duped. They were resolved always to be duped by somebody. They were duped by those haranguers, who told them that eleven millions and a half of the public expenditure might be saved. They were now about to be duped by ministers, who were ready to pass a bill holding out a promise which could never be realized."—The bill was now carried in a thin House, it being late in the session. 97 members voted for it, 85 against it. Lord Folkestone then proposed as an amended title, that it should be called, "A bill for more effectually preventing the sale of seats in Parliament for money, and for promoting a monopoly thereof to the Treasury by means of patronage." This he put to the vote, and eight-and-twenty members were indecorous enough to vote with him.

When the bill was brought into the Upper House, the Earl of Liverpool expressed his approbation of it in its present state, and called upon

the Lords to give it their sanction, that so they might prevent a known and avowed abuse. "The measure," he said, "did not in the least partake of the nature of what had been called parliamentary reform; a measure of the dangerous tendency of which no man could be more thoroughly convinced than he was, believing as he did, that the disfranchisement of the smallest borough would lead to the most pernicious consequences, and eventually overthrow the constitution. The bill before you," he continued, "has no such tendency to interfere with the representation; and sorry should I be that that system should be altered, and that the whole of our elections should be similar to those of Middlesex and Westminster. There the evils of such a representation may be seen. Every person who hears me has had an opportunity of observing there how perjury, subornation of perjury, and the vices which are consequent thereon, abound, and tend to degrade and disgrace the community." Earls Grosvenor and Selkirk opposed the bill, as a mere trick and deception on the country. It was defended with all its transmutations by the ministry, and supported, in spite of them, by Viscount Sidmouth, for the sake of a preamble which, he said, furnished ground for a better superstructure. Earl Grosvenor then moved, that the word express should be omitted; but the amendment was negatived by 23 to 9.

The bill, which was thus past, continued to bear Mr Curwen's name, though the relationship in which he now stood to it resembled that of Hyreus to Orion,—he furnished the skin, and the superior powers the contents. The whole bill, as originally brought in, was impracticable; the part which was practicable was mischievous, and the discussion, by raising scandal against the House of Commons, forwarded the designs of the radical reformers.

CHAP. IX.

Motion of Sir Francis Burdett for Parliamentary Reform. Remarks on that Subject. Colonel Wardle's Budget of Retrenchments; his Dispute with Mrs Clarke; her Attack upon the Duke of Kent. His Royal Highness contradicts her Calumnies.

June 15. Two days after the discussion upon Mr Curwen's bill was finally closed, Sir Francis Burdett, according to his notice, brought forward his plan of parliamentary reform. "I rise," said he, "to propose a resolution, the object of which is to hold out an assurance to the country, that the House will, at an early period in the next session, take into its consideration the necessity of a reform in the state of the representation.

"This course I adopt, in order to get rid of the misrepresentations which have been so long and so actively propagated, with regard to my views and opinions on this momentous point: the mischievous tendency of which misrepresentations, as affecting myself personally, would alone have very little influence upon my mind; but it has much, combined with the public interest. I therefore feel it a duty to myself and the public to relieve this subject from all misrepresentation, ambiguity, and misconception: and to state to this House, and to the public, definitely and precisely, what my views are upon the subject of parliamentary reform, that henceforward it may be fully and clearly understood how far I do really mean to go, and at what point I mean to stop.

"The remedy which I propose is simple, and perfectly practicable; it is consistent with the habits and interests of the people, and in unison with the laws and constitution of the country; it is *the Constitution itself.*—Let others deal in whimsical speculations, in undefined mysterious notions of a constitution, which eludes the grasp, and soars above the conception of ordinary minds, let them amuse themselves with intricate theories and fine-spun metaphysics, I shall hold fast by that plain and substantial constitution, adapted to the contemplation of common understandings, *to be found in the Statute Book, and recognized by the Common Law of the Land.*

"But I am not disposed to be satisfied with *the forms*, when *the spirit and essence* of the constitution have fled.—I have no dread of the prerogative of the crown; which forms part of the law of the land, and is material and necessary to maintain the constitution. My only appre-

hension is, from the usurpation of the legitimate prerogative, by the borough-monger faction, and the consequent abuse of it by the agents of that faction, untruly styling themselves ministers of the King, servants of the crown, through the medium of this House falsely denominating itself the representative of the people.

"A charge has been made by the abettors of corruption against those who wish for reform, as *innovators* and subverters of the constitution of the country, whereas the sole object of us reformers is, *to rescue the country from the effects of the innovation that has been introduced.* Those who speak so much of innovation seem to forget what the great Lord Bacon has said, that 'of all innovators time is the greatest.' Will you, then, while all things are changing around you, determine to stand still? Will you still cling to a rotten-borough system, the creature of innovation, nursed by usurpation, and matured by corruption? Is it reasonable that sovereignty should be attached to particular spots and places, and to convert into *private property* that which the constitution has declared to be a *public trust*—to permit an usurped local sovereignty, independent of the King, independent of the people, and destructive to both?—The prerogative of the crown, had it been maintained free from encroachments, would never have suffered this anomaly, this ill-shaped monster, this rotten-borough system, at once formidable and contemptible, to have undermined the constitution.

"Had the constitutional power of the crown remained undiminished, this House would not now be in its present contaminated state; the just and great prerogative of the crown would have been exercised beneficially, and given the King his proper weight in the administration of national affairs, whilst the people would have a shield—and a shield and not a sword is all the people expect—in an uncorrupted and fairly-elected House of Commons.—But out of this usurpation upon the crown, conspiring with the innovations of time, a third power has arisen, that of the *borough-mongers*—the creature of innovation, the worm of corruption, always unknown to our laws, now become greater than the laws, equally hostile to King and people, misrepresenting one to the other, filling the mind of one with jealousy, the ears of the other with alarm, which, by perpetuating discord, reigns sole arbiter of the strife, and establishes its ignominious dominion over both.—My first object, therefore, is, *to reunite the King and the people by the constitutional bond of allegiance on the one hand, and protection on the other.*

"The simple principle upon which, as upon a pivot, the whole subject of representation turns, is this; that the free subjects of this kingdom have a right of property in their own goods; in other words, that the people of England cannot be legally and constitutionally taxed without their own consent.—This principle is absolutely annihilated by the present frame of the representation of this House, to which one hundred and fifty-seven individuals have the power of returning a majority; so that the whole property of the free subjects of this kingdom is, in violation of this first and plain principle, at the disposal of 157 borough-mongers; or, in other words, 157 borough-mongers have usurped, and hold as private property, the sovereignty of England; and can we be satisfied

with this miserable, pitiful substitution for the King and constitution?

"Every part of the empire will feel the benefit of the reform; but no where will the great advantages of the measure be likely to prove more salutary than in Ireland. I dare not venture to trust myself with the grievances of Ireland. It is a subject I cannot discuss without a more considerable degree of warmth than is consistent with that dispassionate line of conduct I am upon this occasion particularly anxious to maintain. My desire is to have Ireland united with this country, upon terms very different from those which at present exist. I wish to see there a perfect equality of advantage, and no exclusions. Of the present union, so called, I shall speak but little at this time: it was a measure contrary to the wishes, repugnant to the interest, revolting to the feelings of that nation; and effected by means the most flagitious, if the most unblushing corruption on the part of the agents, and the breach of every solemn assurance to the great body of that people, not only implied but expressed by the government of that country, deserve the appellation. Instead of that parchment union, I propose a real union of heart and affection, founded on the broad basis of the constitution, of equal rights and reciprocal interests.—Away with that crooked policy, that narrow-minded bigotry of legislation, that intolerable intolerance, which keeps alive perpetual heart-burnings, hatred, and revenge. Is it to be any longer endured, that four millions of Irishmen should be aliens and outlaws in their native land? Is it safe to have four millions of the people thrust out of the pale of the constitution? Is it consistent with reason, with common sense, putting justice out of the question, any longer to tolerate such a system? By the adoption of reform, the government will have the fairest opportunity of removing the principal grounds of dissatisfaction in Ireland; now will be the time to do every thing without yielding any thing, to legislate upon enlarged principles, knowing nothing of particular parties, sects, or factions: keeping alive no distinctions of Catholic, Protestant, and Presbyterian, Tory, Whig, or Jacobin; alarming no prejudice, insulting no party, they may now include the whole within one bond of union of the constitution, embracing and ensuring the safety and tranquillity of the empire at large.—We shall then, and not till then, have an united kingdom—one King—one people.—We shall by this recurrence to the constitution, not only seat the chief magistrate upon his throne, and fix the crown upon his head, but we shall place within his hand the sceptre and legitimate power of the King, in despite of those 157 borough-mongers, who have traitorously usurped all but the pageantry and outward shew and forms of royalty.

"What is the condition of the King under this faction? Instead of taking advantage of the elevation of his situation, where the constitution had placed him, as the eye of the nation, for the purpose of taking extensive views for the advantage of the national interests, beyond the contracted horizon of ordinary men, his whole time is employed, his whole skill directed, not towards the duties of his high office, but in trying to keep his balance, in endeavouring to conciliate the support of such and such a borough-monger, in order to obtain his permission to allow the government to go on.—In truth, the

borough faction have such power, that he is more like a rope-dancer than a King; as they make it necessary for him to be perpetually upon the alert to balance himself on his slippery elevation, whilst the utmost he can do is to keep his place. Such is the state to which he is reduced under the influence of this ignominious system, instead of having his throne fixed on the rock of the constitution, and bound to the hearts of a whole people. This is not the situation in which the laws and constitution have placed the King, nor that which his dignity requires, and the best interests of the people demand. This question is so completely decided by Magna Charta, 'which,' as Lord Coke says, 'is such a fellow that he will bear no equal,' so strongly fortified by all our constitutional laws, that no inferior authority can be required.

"Having taken the laws and the constitution for my guide, in preparing the measure I have to propose, I examined attentively all those plans for carrying the same principle into execution, which have at different times been proposed; and having avoided all those intricacies which I considered as so many impediments in the way, have reduced it to that plain and simple form, the express image of the constitution itself.—My plan consists in a very few and very simple regulations.

"That freeholders, house-holders, and others, subject to direct taxation in support of the poor, the church, and the state, be required to elect members to serve in Parliament.

"That each county be subdivided according to its taxed male population, and each subdivision required to elect one representative.

"That the votes be taken in each parish by the parish officers; and all elections finished in one and the same day.

"That the parish officers make the returns to the Sheriff's Court, to be held for that purpose at stated periods.

"And that Parliaments be brought back to a constitutional duration.

"Under the operation of this reform, it would be attended with much less difficulty to return a whole Parliament, than to settle a dispute at a vestry about a parish pauper. Those disgraceful practices, which now attend even county elections, would be put a stop to. No bribery, perjury, drunkenness, nor riot; no opportunity for mock patriotism;—no leading attornies galloping about the country, lying, cheating, and stirring up the worst passions among the worst people;—no ill blood engendered between friends and relations—setting families at variance, and making each county a perpetual depository of election feuds and quarrels: No demagogueing.—If I *am* a demagogue, I am as complete a *felo de se* as can well be imagined—this puts an end to the occupation:—No qualifications nor disqualifications—no invidious exclusions by reason of any office, from the highest to the lowest, either in the elector or the elected—no variable, fantastical, litigious, rights of voting—no possibility of false votes—no treating—no carrying out voters—no charges of any kind—no expense, legal or illegal—no contested elections.—The people would have a choice without a contest, instead of a contest without a choice;—no sham remedies worse than the disease pretended to be cured—No Grenville act. Here I speak feelingly; I have undergone this *remedy*.—It is the remedy of a toad

under a harrow. Under the operation of that act, I have suffered a greater pecuniary penalty than any which the law would have inflicted for any crime I could have committed: this *remedy* is a luxury a man must be very rich indeed to indulge himself in. I could not afford it a second time, and preferred abandoning my seat after having been returned, to undergoing another operation of the Grenville act. One great object I have in view is to relieve other gentlemen from the like benefits, by preventing the necessity of having recourse to *such remedies* in future—by getting rid of all disputes and contested elections: this good consequence will result from the adoption of this plan, besides preventing endless litigation, ruinous expense, perjury, ill blood, and periodical uproar and confusion, this House will be saved one-third of its time in election committees; and the Statute Book will be relieved from the shameful burden of one hundred and thirteen confused and intricate laws, all pitiful substitutes for the constitution. It must also give rise to other important results: those who complain of popular clamour—of persons allying themselves with the people against the sentiments and decisions of this House, would cease to have any room for complaint.

" Though I am not one of those who would apply a sponge to the debt of the nation, yet am I firmly persuaded, that a reformed House of Commons would introduce such a system of economy, both in the collection and expenditure of the public revenue, as would give instant ease to the subject, and finally, and that at no very distant period, by a due application of national resources to national objects, *and to them alone*, free the people from that enormous load of debt, and consequent taxation, under which the nation is weighed down.

" I hope, after this night, it will not be asserted nor insinuated, that I have any concealed purpose; that I shrink from speaking my sentiments frankly; that I decline to act an open part; or that I have any designs beyond those I avow. I have stated to this House and to the public the remedy for all our grievances, which I have been so often called upon to produce. I have obeyed that call.—The remedy I have proposed is simple, constitutional, practicable, and safe, calculated to give satisfaction to the people, to preserve the rights of the crown, and to restore the balance of the constitution. These have been the objects of my pursuit—to these have I always directed my attention—*higher I do not aspire, lower I cannot descend.* I conjure this House to consider the necessity of doing something to satisfy the rational expectations of the public. I would have the timid bear in mind, who stand so much in dread of innovation, that the simple remedy now proposed is but a recurrence to those laws and that constitution, the departure from which has been the sole cause of that accumulation of evils which we now endure; that, in many cases, timidity is no less fatal than rashness; and 'that the omission to do what is necessary, seals a commission to a blank of danger.'"

Sir Francis then moved, that the House would early in the next session take into consideration the necessity of a reform. The motion was seconded by Mr Madocks. This was a question which had been so fully discussed during some of the late debates, that it sufficed on the

present occasion to notice only the specific plan which was now brought forward, leaving the general principle untouched, and this course Mr Perceval pursued. "The object of the proposed resolution," said he, "is to pledge the House to go into a committee on the state of the representation. I see no reason whatever for entering into the question of reform at all, and therefore cannot agree to vote for it. Sir Francis has assumed that the people in general are desirous of a reform: I absolutely deny this; I affirm, on the contrary, that they are more united against this measure than almost upon any other question, because they think it unnecessary. The honourable baronet, indeed, is accustomed to associate with a certain description of persons, who would willingly pass such resolutions as he proposes to them; but the opinion of the people of England is not to be judged of from such persons. He says, that all he wants is to be found in the statute law of the land: The statutes, it is true, are explicit upon the subject of the representation; but something more than this is to be found in the practice of the constitution, with regard to the House of Commons. The right of originating taxation belongs to that House by the practice of the constitution, although not confirmed by an express statute. Was the honourable baronet content to get rid of this too among other things, and would he rank it among those abuses which had grown up in opposition to the prerogative? The hopes which he holds out to those who are disposed to listen to him are, that all the statutes are to be got rid of, together with bribery, corruption, tumult, and all the other evils arising from the present system. But how is this to be effected? Would no contest take place for his districts? If there were contests, then there must be canvassing; and all the temptations to bribery, corruption, and perjury would prevail, in spite of his regulations, to the full as much as in the actual state of things. He would give a vote to all who pay direct taxes: There must be at least one pretty large statute to settle what should be considered as direct taxes. And was this the way to do away the necessity of employing so many lawyers? Would perjury be more difficult than at present? In his districts, men who had already voted might come under another court, and swear that they had not voted before, just as easily as the thing could now be done in a county. The truth is, that such a plan never could produce the effects which are ascribed to it, unless the honourable baronet could alter not only the constitution, but the frame of the human mind, and at once get rid of human prejudices and human passions. Thus much," concluded Mr Perceval, "I have thought it necessary to say, and it would be raising the plan into an importance which it does not deserve to dwell upon it further: the House, I perceive, is ready to come to a decision, and all that I could add would but create delay in a matter which is already sufficiently clear." After Mr Perceval had thus spoken, Mr Madocks and Mr Hutchinson were heard in support of the motion without reply, and Sir Francis found only 15 members to vote with him against 74.

It had so happened, that, on the day which Sir Francis had fixed for his motion, there were not members enough present to make a House. The only consequence of this was,

that he made it the next day; and the only cause, the obvious one, that it was within a few days of the close of the session, and most of the members had left town. The journalists of the party chose to represent it as a stratagem of the ministry, who, they affirmed, hoped in this manner to put off the discussion for a few days, when the close of the session would rid them of it; thinking thus to prevent the people from hearing Sir Francis's plan. Those persons must indeed have been willing dupes who could be deceived by so absurd a fallacy; for if it was of importance that Sir Francis should make his plan known, what was to prevent him from delivering it at the next public meeting, or from publishing it in the newspapers? But this exposition, instead of producing the triumphant effect which his partizans anticipated, lessened the estimation in which his talents had been held; so crude was the plan, so nugatory its contingent advantages, so certain its danger, and so little did the projector appear to understand the real nature, and the real defects, of the government which he proposed to reform. That there are defects in our actual government, it would be absurd and criminal to deny; but not one of them would be remedied by Sir Francis's plan.

The constitution is an excellent war-cry for a party. "Nothing but the Constitution!"—But what do they, who use this cry, mean by the constitution? for there is not a greater difference between the same individual, in the days of his childhood, of his youth, manhood, maturity, and old age, than in the system of the English government at different periods of its history. At what age would these renovating politicians chuse to have it come out of Medea's kettle, if they could succeed in dismembering it for the experiment? Would they take it at the standard of our great Alfred's time, with its appendages of villainage, and a police as inquisitorial as that of Japan? The Plantagenet or the Tudor constitution, when parliaments were convoked only to grant money, and legalize any caprice or cruelty of the ruling faction, or the reigning monarch? If the feudal constitution will not satisfy them, as little can they look for a precedent to the subsequent age, when it was put to the decision of arms whether we should have a despotism or a commonwealth. To come nearer to our own times, would they be content with it as it existed when the publication of the debates was not permitted?

The fact is, that we have no nine-and-thirty articles of state. The history of our government is like that of our common law. A system has grown up among us unlike that of our ancestors, or of any other people; and that system, such as it is, has made us the prosperous, the powerful, the free, the happy people that we are. Better systems, no doubt, are conceivable—for better men. The theory of a pure republic is far more delightful to the imagination: it is to our constitution as a sun-dial to a time-piece, simpler, surer, and liable to no derangement—if the sun did but always shine. When society shall be so far advanced in its progress that all men live in the light of reason, then we may have the dial; meantime, upon any pretext that it may require cleaning or repairing, let us beware how we trust the time-piece to a tinker. A fair examination of the ends which the radical reformers profess to aim at, and the means by which they would attain

them, will prove that neither probable nor possible good can arise from the measures which they propose. The object proposed is to diminish the public expenditure and the public burdens, by lessening the influence of government in elections and in Parliament, and thereby increasing the influence of public opinion.

In every plan of political reform which has yet been brought forward, the House of Commons has been considered as purely a legislative body; the material fact being overlooked, that there is always a party in that House whose business it is to vilify and harass the ministry, and to impede and thwart all their measures. It is true, that statutes have been framed to prevent the crown from exerting any influence at elections; but there existed nothing like a regular opposition when those statutes were first enacted. There are usually, as at present, four parties in the House of Commons:* of these, three are against the ministry. Now, unless there be something to weigh against this fearful odds, no ministry could stand three months; and in that case the government of England would be virtually dissolved. This must necessarily follow from any reform which should take away the influence of government. But with a reform upon the plan of Sir Francis, it is plain that the members for every place would be against the ministry, as is now the case with all those who represent places populous in voters; there also would be an end of government. The direct road to anarchy is by way of Parliamentary Reform.

For the influence of government cannot be lessened without destroying government, even if the tendency of the proposed alteration were not to fill the House of Commons with men of a different stamp and character to those of whom it has hitherto been composed.† But the danger will appear far more imminent, when it is considered what would be the consequence of making all elections popular, in the literal sense of the word. Sir Francis's plan for limiting the duration to one day, and taking the votes in the separate parishes, might possibly (though it by no means follows that it necessarily must) prevent riots; but what other evil would it lessen? The season of licence which was taken from the poll would be added to the canvass; inflammatory discourses, instead of being addressed from the hustings, would be diffused more widely and efficaciously by handbills; and every where the successful candidate would be the man who flattered the mob most effectually. Bribery is a light evil when compared to

* The Ins, the Outs, Lord Sidmouth's, and the Radical Reformers. It is always desirable to disencumber an argument of every thing superfluous, otherwise some farther divisions might have been specified. About ten members look to Mr Canning as their leader; about four to Lord Castlereagh; the "Saints," as they are called, are some half-dozen; and, besides these, there are the Independents, who are said, with some humour, always to vote against their friends. Their professed object is to steady the state vessel; but upon trials of strength, that is, whenever votes are valuable, the opposition invent a question which may include them, and then they act like shifting ballast in bad weather.

† At present the House contains about 250 country gentlemen, 120 courtiers and government votes, 90 merchants, manufacturers, and bankers, 50 bred to the law, 60 to the army, and 17 to the navy. The rest are non-descripts.

the arts of encouraging disaffection in the populace, exciting their mutinous feelings, and stirring them to clamour for unattainable benefits. They who propose oaths for the elected, that no money or influence has been used in obtaining their election, must invent an oath also that there has been none of this fouler corruption—no making the people drunk with sedition—no bribing them with lying promises: these would be the currency if all elections were made popular, and the influence of wealth and power destroyed. It is easy to see who would be the successful candidates at such elections; not men whose names and families are older in the country than the old oaks upon their estates, and who possess the habitual and hereditary respect and confidence of all around them; not they who have made their own fortunes, and, with an honourable ambition, are desirous of serving and supporting, as best they can, the country and the government in which and under which they have prospered; not the soldier and the sailor, who, having upheld the honour of England abroad, would fain in the evening of life sustain her interests at home; not the lawyer who is at the head of his profession; not the man of learning, the financier, the statesman, and the philosopher: but hot-headed and presumptuous youth; the old, to whom years have brought no knowledge; the adventurer; the gambler, who would sport with the fortunes of his country as lightly as he sets his own upon the die; the unsuccessful, the disappointed, and the desperate. These would be the successful candidates; these would be our popular leaders; and they would be followed by "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented." * It is even now contended for by many, that members ought not to use their own judgement, but to vote as instructed by their constituents. Make all elections popular, and the constituents will have no need to exact a pledge to this effect, so ready will they who court their favour be to offer it. Such a result is the natural and inevitable consequence of a direct unfiltered representation in our state of half knowledge; the power would then be as effectually in the hands of the people as it was at Athens: how that people exercised their power history has told us; and, ill as they exercised it, oh what a fearful difference is there between the Athenian people and our populace! The rashness and inconsistency which are inseparable from popular councils would bring on disaster after disaster, public men would be familiarly sent to the block for every national misfortune,—for it is the nature of all tyrannies, whether of the one or the many, to be cruel; and England would be ruined as was Carthage, because the mob there were consulted when the Senate was not unanimous. The end of these evils would be a military despotism, the consummation of all evils; if indeed we escaped the yoke of that bloody and insatiable barbarian, whom there is this reason for supposing that some among us would be ready to call in as their friend—that they have taken especial care never to render him their enemy.

Such would be the consequence of making the government subordinate to public opinion. Public opinion has already attained the utmost influence which is compatible with public safety: the permitted publi-

* 1 Samuel, c. 22. v. 2.

cation of the parliamentary debates, and the lists of majorities which are now so sedulously given, are quite enough to insure careful and upright conduct in Parliament, even if the House of Commons were as permanent as the House of Peers. It is not long since it was asserted in a newspaper, which is more useful to Buonaparte than his own Argus, (faction serving his purpose more effectually than open treason,) that the editors of all the newspapers in combination could overthrow the constitution. The boast was not much overstrained. But if the newspaper press is, in its present state, as assuredly it is, the best guardian of our liberties, its unbridled license, which is the despotism of public opinion, would soon lead to the destruction of all liberty, and England would have its Marats and its Heberts.

If any real reform in the representation be practicable, it is either by electing the electors, and thus filtering them through many successive processes, after the manner of the Spanish Cortes;—for a pure legislative body, in which there is no party embodied against the government, this mode is unexceptionable: or, it might be better effected in our own country by raising the value of a freehold to what it originally was, and thus taking away votes from the ignorant, who cannot possibly know how to use them. A man ought well to have studied history before he is fit for any direct share in national policy, and certainly his constituents should be within reach of reading history if they please. All the errors which prevailed in this country respecting the French revolution proceeded from ignorance: no man who had meditated upon the history of the Fronde could have expected any good result from a revolution in France; no man who had studied Machiavelli could have committed the blunders of the anti-jacobin war. Wealth of some kind, by whatever legal criterion to be indicated, is necessary to education and sound thought on policy,—a science which, of all others, tempts men to think it easy, while it is in reality the most difficult of any. On the other hand, while it is desirable to require a qualification in the electors far exceeding that of the freehold, (which is now become contemptible,) the qualification for members might well be done away. Its object is to insure wealth,—a needless precaution, for wealth has natural ingress enough; its effect is to narrow the competition of merit, and as much as possible to exclude talent. Oaths can incapacitate none but those who are too conscientious to take them: they may keep Fabricius out,—we know that they let Scapin in.

The real evil of our representation lies, not in the influence of the Treasury, but in the power of a few great land-holders,—in that power which enables one of these leviathans to demand for himself an office in the state for which he is utterly unqualified, and to reply to all the remonstrances of the minister by telling him the number of votes which he commands. This is an influence which no oath can reach, and which Mr Curwen's bill renders more monstrous, by destroying, or attempting to destroy, all that counterbalanced it. An evil it is, and a great evil; but it is one which the increasing wealth of the country must continually diminish. All prosperous counties have been gradually emancipating themselves. In Lancashire, property is so split by the evident advantage of selling

land in small lots, whereby it fetches double at least, that the freeholders are augmented from 8,000 to 28,000: In Yorkshire, from 10,000 to 25,000. Even Norfolk, which boasts of only agricultural improvement, while its manufactures have declined, has more than doubled its freeholders. No plan of reform which has been suggested would touch this evil, except the wild one of universal suffrage, which would be proclaiming anarchy at once. It might be remedied by some farther restriction of entails, or by an income-tax laid on so heavily, beyond a certain point, as to prevent the accumulation of property in that enormous degree, which adds nothing to the well-being of the holder, and becomes prejudicial to the state.

This, which is the main evil of our present system of representation, could thus be remedied, if it were of such magnitude that it might not safely be left to its own natural decay. The main evil of our government is the want of an efficient head. In time of war, a cabinet, like an aulic council, seems to insure vacillation and imbecillity: it proceeds by a system of concessions and compromises, which renders it incapable of any thing vigorous or decisive. We want a responsible prime minister, to whom all the departments of state should be subordinate. There is no change of constitution in an improvement of this kind; for the constitution knows as little of a cabinet as of a premier. It is sufficient that it attaches responsibility to the King's advisers. The nature of our government indeed, altogether, is better adapted for a state of peace than for war: in war the existence of a regular opposition becomes almost as injurious to the nation and to the national character, as it is at other times beneficial. It is indeed a strange anomaly in politics, that there should exist in the legislature of any country a regular party, whose business it is to obstruct every measure of the government, and, by every possible means, to make the administration odious and contemptible to the people; a party always in semi-alliance with the enemy, who, when we go to war, tell the world that we are in the wrong, and when we are engaged in it, declaim upon our dilapidated resources and intolerable burdens, the irresistible strength of the foe, and the necessity of making peace with a power which it is impossible for us to withstand. In England the real import of this language is understood; but abroad it passes current; it disheartens our allies; and when Buonaparte would persuade the French that the conquest of Spain and Portugal is easy, and the ruin of England certain, his surest policy is to fill the Moniteur with the speeches of a party-leader, the cowardly sophistry of a party-critic, and the fallacies and falsehoods of an opposition paper.

For him who has the business of true reform, that is, who has the desire of benefitting his country and his kind, sincerely at heart, there is work enough in the world, be his temper and the nature of his talents what they may. Benevolence, however active, may find sufficient employment in those plans, so peculiarly honourable to England, which are at this time carrying on for bettering the condition of the poor, for preventing poverty and guilt by national education, for sowing the seeds of civilization in Africa, and for extending the blessings of Christianity to the degraded nations of the East, the brutalized tribes of Polynesia, the Tartar hordes, the Negroes, and the

poor Hottentots, now subjects of our own government, the most inoffensive of men, and hitherto the most wickedly oppressed. If his ambition be to figure in Parliament as a political reformer, there also good is to be done, in which, let but practicable plans be brought forward, any ministry will be most ready to co-operate: the poor laws and the penal laws require revision, and means are still desired to prevent the necessity of pressing for the navy. It is difficult to amend one of these things; oh then be sure it is far more so to amend the system which includes them all! Is it his humour to ferret out abuses? Let him look to the contractors,—those, for instance, whose biscuit is known in the navy by the name of "composition-cake," over which their malediction is piously drank as a standing toast in the ward-room; or let him examine into the state of the private charitable foundations over the country, where the same number of poor persons are now maintained in the same manner as when the institutions were endowed centuries ago, and the increase of the rents, which in some places is twenty, fifty, even a hundred fold, is swallowed up by chaplains and trustees. But if he be indeed a patriot, in the genuine sense of that polluted name, if he has in him a deep, and dutiful, and enlightened love of the country in which it has been his happy privilege to be born, he will feel that in these times the paramount duty of an Englishman is, to exert himself in raising the spirit of his countrymen to the pitch of those days, when they won crowns and brought home captive kings. The one business of England is to abate the power of France; that power she must beat down, or fall herself; that power she will beat down, if she do but wisely and strenuously put forth her own mighty means.

In such times, it is worse than folly to distract the attention of government by clamouring concerning imaginary grievances; and to excite discontent in the people is, as far as possible, to betray the country. Of what should we complain? of the public burthens? It is the war by which they are occasioned;—carry on that war to the end vigorously, the end will be triumphant, and then the burthens may be diminished;—conclude it by a precipitate peace, no diminution can be effected,—you deliver yourselves up to the enemy, to a tyrant whose little finger is heavier than the loins of any usurper that ever yet was sent as a curse among mankind. Is it of political grievances? Under no possible or conceivable form of government could we enjoy more perfect individual liberty. An Englishman is as free in word and deed as in thought, subject to no other restriction than that which natural law requires, which is the rule of reason, that he use them not to the injury of another. And for political freedom, in what other age or country, since the beginning of the world, has it ever been so secured? That any man of upright intentions may deliver his opinions plainly and freely upon all public measures, is a fact which, if it were not already notorious, would be abundantly proved by these annals which are now before the reader. If at any time within our memory it has been otherwise in England, (as in truth it was during the Pitt and Grenville administration,) it must be admitted that some pretext was afforded; and it ought to be remembered, that government could not have acted tyrannically if the

stream of opinion had not been with it. For the acts of injustice which were then committed, the juries were at least as culpable as the crown lawyers. Public opinion in those days outran the measures of government, and in the riots at Birmingham we had a specimen of what is to be expected from its supremacy. Whether the fiend who bestrides it and spurs it on, have jacobin or anti-jacobin written on his forehead, the many-headed beast is the same.

As for the diminution of the public burthens, which is the promised result of a new system, the absurdity and fallacy of such a promise was completely exposed, when *June* 19. Colonel Wardle, in pursuance to his notice, came to instruct Parliament and the people in what manner the amount of the income-tax might be done away. Four days after the debate upon Sir Francis's plan of reform, this gentleman brought forward his budget of retrenchments. To effect this desirable object he proposed, that the two regiments of household troops should be disbanded as useless; that our cavalry from 23,000 should be reduced to 15,000; that all foreign troops should be dismissed; that the royal staff corps should be abolished; that half the militia should be allowed to be absent during the three harvest months, and fifteen of the small militia regiments formed into five; that retrenchments to the annual amount of 700,000l. should be made in the local militia; that the volunteers should serve without either pay or clothing; that the Royal Waggon Train and the Man Fencibles should be abolished; that 200,000l. a-year should be lopt from the staff of the army, and the same sum from the recruiting staff, bounties and levies; that 51,075l. should be saved upon army agency, 48,000 upon the war and pay offices, 300,000 upon contract horses in the ordnance department; half a million upon useless fortifications and repairs at home; the same sum upon the commissariat; 350,000 upon barracks; 200,000 upon the medical department and the lives which now fall victims to diseases abroad; 270,000 upon army clothing; 1,400,000 upon the collection of the revenues in the united kingdoms; 70,000 upon the commissioners and auditors of public accounts; 210,500 upon the management of the national debt; 200,000 by the abolition of pensions and offices executed by deputies; 150,000 upon bounties, half a million upon our colonies; and a sweeping article of two millions to the account of catholic emancipation, which was at once to render it unnecessary to keep an army for the defence of Ireland. One third of the whole expence of the navy was also to be retrenched; and then the sum total of savings would be 16,516,193l. 13s. 4d.,—the colonel having discovered means of saving five millions more since he made his speech at the Crown and Anchor. He concluded by moving for four-and-twenty accounts of the expenditure in the different departments which he had touched upon.

Mr Huskisson then rose. "It would be waste of time," he said, "to answer in detail such a statement as the House had just heard, consisting of nothing but bare assertions. It was, indeed, easy to save eleven millions by such means, and as easy would it be, by the same process, to save twenty, which indeed other reformers, out of doors, did not scruple, as confidently as Colonel Wardle, to affirm was to be done.—Two re-

giments of Life Guards were to be disbanded. Now these corps were not only connected with the splendour of the throne, but their services were required also on all occasions of public ceremony, and were essential for the preservation of public tranquillity and good order; so that, were they reduced, other corps of cavalry, at least to the same extent, would be requisite for the service and police of London. A sweeping reduction of cavalry was the next proposal, and undoubtedly if nearly half that force was disbanded, the saving must follow as a matter of course. This reduction, however, was proposed at rather a singular time. Precisely at a moment when our cavalry was distinguishing itself upon foreign service; when we were called upon from all quarters to send a much larger corps to co-operate with our allies, and when our decisive superiority in that force had been so strongly marked and acknowledged by our own generals, and felt by our enemies. The foreign troops also were to be swept away altogether. Who then were the foreigners whom he was so anxious to dismiss ignominiously from our service? They were men born subjects of, and owing allegiance to the same sovereign with ourselves, and who, when driven from Hanover by the unprovoked aggression of the enemy, sought an asylum in this country. What course on that occassion would the honourable gentleman have taken? Would he have advised his and their sovereign to have shut his ports against them, and refused his protection to those who had such strong claims upon it? Would he have driven them in despair into the ranks of the enemy: or would he now send them back to Hanover, in order that a conscription may force them into those ranks? And if they were to be sent back, what would the consequences be, but that the diminution in our army must be made up by an equal number of Englishmen, to be raised at a much greater, and maintained at an equal expence."

Mr Huskisson did not condescend to follow Colonel Wardle further through his gratuitous and preposterous assertions. He contented himself by showing how impossible it was that the revenue should be collected at a cheaper rate, and that it had been absolutely necessary to augment the salaries of the clerks and subordinate officers in many departments, and would be necessary to do the same in other offices. With regard to the savings in the navy, Admiral Markham was quoted, as having asserted, that a third of its annual expenditure might be saved. "The assertion," said Mr Huskisson, "I am afraid was made in this House. Whether it was drawn from the honourable admiral in a moment of irritation, and when he was off his guard, I cannot pretend to say; but it was a rash and inconsiderate assertion, and one which could not be realized. Since it was made, that gallant admiral has been in office: he has not only been a lord of the admiralty, but what is called the managing lord. In this situation he must have been anxious, not only from every feeling of duty to his country, but from the most powerful personal motives, to make good his assertion, and to establish the truth and solidity of it, by his own practice and his own retrenchments. Further, he must have been goaded to it every day and almost every hour, by that economical administration under which he served, the members of

which had, in a manner, made themselves parties to this pledge, not less by their boasted professions of economy, than by the cheers of approbation which they gave to the original assertion. Well, what was done? Were the estimates of the navy diminished? Was the sum required for wages, for wear and tear, for victualling, less than under the honourable admiral's predecessors? In fact, was the expence lessened at all, or in any material degree? It certainly was not, and the honourable admiral must have found his mistake. It would be preposterous to pretend, that in an expenditure of nineteen millions, there exist no abuses at all; but I maintain, that when they are discovered, they are corrected; that there is no wilful waste countenanced by the heads of departments; that there is as much vigilance and as much anxiety to keep down expence in the present admiralty as there could be during the management of the honourable admiral; and that many beneficial regulations have lately been made for this purpose; but that no such saving, as was rashly stated by him to be practicable, can be effected; and that the total expence cannot be materially, if at all, diminished, as long as the war compels us to keep up our navy to its present establishment. So far, therefore, from the honourable gentleman's statement having derived any real support from the assertion of the gallant admiral, I say that he, as I trust the House and the public will, ought to take a warning from it, to mistrust his own assertions; and that the mischievous use which has been made of the gallant admiral's statement and authority out of doors, to create discontent, ought to have been a lesson to the honourable gentleman to hesitate before he came forward here, or elsewhere, with similar assertions, calculated not to alleviate any real pressure, but to add to the irritation of the public; not to improve our resources, but to increase the difficulties and hazards inseparable from a protracted war, of which no man can foresee the issue, or determine the duration."

One person was found in the House to support Colonel Wardle's statement; it was the Irish member Mr Parnell, who affirmed, that nothing had been advanced in that statement which had not been most satisfactorily sustained; and argued that the high price of naval stores, which was one cause of the increased expenditure of the year, could not have happened if a reform in Parliament had taken place: because a reformed Parliament would not have issued the orders in council. Mr Rose remarked, that the greater part of the bounties, which were to be taken away by the budget of retrenchments, were merely drawbacks of duty on our manufactures upon exportation;—and the first effect of taking them away would be, that at least 30,000 weavers, in Spitalfield, would be turned out of employment in a fortnight. Mr Lockhart said, that instead of there being too many officers employed in the custom house, the general complaint among the merchants was, that there were too few for the great weight of business that was going on. When the motions for the several accounts were read, Mr Huskisson objected to some of them, as being so stated, that it was impossible to comply with them, and he suggested that the best plan would be to leave it to ministers to make up the accounts, according to the scope of the motions, in the best manner they could. To this Colo-

nel Wardle assented, and the motions were then agreed to.

If Colonel Wardle had been wise, he would have closed his political career with his * triumph over the Duke of York. Had he then retired, it would have been with an unsullied and unsuspected character, and even those who most regretted the consequences of the investigation which he had excited would have respected his couduct. But when he advanced into the foremost ranks of the radical reformers, he injured himself in the esteem of the better part of the people, and he forfeited it entirely by the egregious folly of his economical plans. Perhaps the favour of the populace consoled him, and this did not fail him in all the mortifications which he was destined to undergo.

At the very commencement of the inquiry, some of those persons who look most closely into political intrigues, suspected that Colonel Wardle was instigated or encouraged by some of the royal family themselves. A rumour had been prevalent, about two months before the business came forward, that the Duke of York had threatened, in Bond street, to horsewhip one of the Prince of Wales's household, for endeavouring to get some of his letters from Mrs Clarke. It was remarked that Colonel Wardle sate in that seat for Oakhampton, to which the prince was supposed to have nominated a member in the last Parliament; that Cobbett, whose most virulent malice was always aimed at the Duke of York, never breathed even a hint of censure towards either the Prince of Wales or the Duke of Kent; and that Major Dodd, who was in the confidence of the latter, walked publicly arm in arm with Hague, one of the foulest libellers that ever polluted a free press. The surmises which arose from these circumstances were so generally whispered, that the Duke of Kent thought proper to notice them publicly in the House of Lords. "Certain insinuations," he said, "had gone abroad, whereby the public were led to suppose that dissentions existed between him and his royal brother, whose conduct was under inquiry. Such reports were unfounded and untrue, and he was happy in making the declaration, that no professional dispute had arisen between them, nor did there exist any such schism in the royal family. So far was he from thinking that there was any thing improper in the conduct of his royal brother, he was fully persuaded that all the charges against him were false, and would be proved to be so."

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Of course these rumours were now silenced, and indeed it soon became apparent that, if any disagreement had actually existed between the brothers, the investigation was proceeding to a length which must deeply wound the whole royal family. Shortly afterwards, the expectations of that part of the public who delight in scandal,—always unhappily the greater part—were excited by an announcement that Mrs Clarke was about to publish memoirs of her own life, containing facts illustrative of the inquiry, and many letters from the duke. That which should have been done earlier was done now, and farther scandal prevented by suppressing the publication: 7000l., it was

* The most curious monument of his triumph, was the resolution of thanks from Sheffield, the signatures to which filled forty skins of parchment, and extended to 35¼ yards in length.

said, was paid her, and an annuity of 400l. secured to her and her children,—the same yearly allowance which would have prevented all this exposure. Ten thousand copies of the work had been printed; they were burnt at the printer's, and all the parties concerned declared upon oath, that no vestige either in print or in manuscript was preserved, except a single copy, which, according to the statement, was secured under seven seals. The motive for preserving this seems to have been, lest any other copy, in spite of the oath, should have been secreted for the purpose of after publication, in which case, a comparison with this would afford the means of stopping the publication, or at least of punishing the breach of contract. Upon the first rumour of this negociation the agitators were exceedingly indignant. The people "had a *right*," they said, "to know all that Mrs Clarke knew about public matters," and "she must be a woman divested of all sentiments of honour if she supprest these memoirs." When the suppression was effected, Colonel Wardle was called upon by the most conspicuous of the demagogue journalists to recover the book from the flames. "You must," said he, "have seen some of the contents. If possible give us those contents; and if you can get us, at the same time, a copy of another work of somewhat the same sort, printed privately, about two years and a half ago, it would add to the value of the collection.—These are the things, and the *only* things, which the nation wants at this time. These books would be of much more real service to England than all the horse and foot in the country.—It is impossible that all the copies can be destroyed. Let us have these books, and whole years of labour will be saved." It seemed as if the agitators supposed, that the opening of these seven seals was the main sign to be fulfilled before they obtained possession of their political New Jerusalem.

While Mrs Clarke was in the odour of popularity, Colonel Wardle affirmed, at a public meeting, that he believed she came forward in the investigation purely from a wish to serve the public. A few days, however, after the close of the session, he was sued in the Court of King's Bench, by an upholsterer, for the amount of goods furnished to Mrs Clarke by his order, and the jury found a verdict against him. Colonel Wardle immediately published a letter in the newspapers to the people of the united kingdoms, saying, that his counsel being satisfied in their own minds that the evidence to be brought against him was altogether insufficient, did not comply with his earnest request, (repeated to them in writing during the trial in the strongest terms,) that Major Dodd and some other witnesses, who had been subpœna'd, should be examined: "their testimony," he said, "would, he knew, be in direct contradiction to what had been sworn against him. Under these circumstances the verdict was obtained. There only remains for me now," he continued, "to declare before my God and my country, that it was obtained by perjury alone; and I do pledge myself to prove that fact the earliest moment the forms of the law will allow me to do so." In pursuance of this pledge, Colonel Wardle prosecuted Mrs Clarke, the upholsterer and his brother, for a conspiracy. The facts which appeared upon the trial shook the credit of all parties. It appeared that the upholsterer

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had been in the habit of vouching for Mrs Clarke's respectability; and, on the other hand, her attorney swore that he had advised Colonel Wardle to withhold this man's evidence from the House of Commons, because he did not think he would conceal the truth, and even if he would, had not head enough to evade the question; so that if he were brought forward, the fact that Colonel Wardle had furnished Mrs Clarke's house,—that is, had purchased her evidence,—would be discovered. Colonel Wardle swore in direct contradiction to this. No person had been present at the interview; and it was, therefore, impossible to know which spoke the truth. The jury decided in favour of the attorney, he having the fewest ostensible motives for falsehood; and they consequently acquitted the defendants. Yet Colonel Wardle had produced such testimony on his part, and had delivered his own evidence in so direct and unembarrassed a manner, that no person knew what to believe. The esteem of the wise he had already forfeited, but his popularity remained unshaken. The former verdict with the costs burthened him with the payment of 1200l., and this new trial added materially to his expences; a subscription was immediately opened to indemnify him. Several thousands were subscribed; the same spirit of vulgar insult was displayed in the mottos and assumed names, as in the case of Miss Taylor, and the large proportion of the sum which was contributed in shillings, sixpences, and even pence, by journeymen and artificers of the lowest class, evinced what interest the mob had taken in the progress of this business, and how deeply they were imbued with the principles of the demagogue journalists.

The squabble between Mrs Clarke and Colonel Wardle, and the discovery that she had bargained for (by her own account,) or at least expected to be paid for her evidence, would have invalidated her testimony against the duke, if it had been unsupported; but the principal facts rested upon documents so unexpectedly produced, and, in themselves, so unexceptionable, that it was needless to take her oral evidence into consideration, when the merits of the case were weighed. Her ends were now effectually served; she had compelled her former associate in the charges to pay her for her services, and she had succeeded in obtaining an annuity from the royal family, besides a large sum of money immediately paid. But she also could not be contented with success; the spirit of mischief possessed her, and having profited so well by the suppression of one book, she hoped still to make her market of public curiosity, by publishing another. In this she professed to lay open the whole secret history of her connection with Colonel Wardle, and Major Dodd, whom she now hated equally, because upon the second trial he had appeared a witness against her. The object of her story was, to persuade the world that these persons were instigated by the Duke of Kent to overthrow his brother, in hopes that he himself might be appointed commander-in-chief in his stead; but that they, while acting under his influence, had deeper views of their own, and aimed at nothing less than a total revolution. Major Hogan's pamphlet, she affirmed, was one of the fruits of this plot; and the lady in the barouche, who left the bank bills at his hotel, she declared was Mrs Wardle, who was imprudent enough to go with her own servants in her own livery.

This, she said, Colonel Wardle himself had told her. The Duke of Kent, with a condescension which must not be condemned, because its motive was so commendable, thought it necessary to counteract immediately a charge, at the very idea of which, he said, every honest man must recoil with horror and indignation. He, therefore, declared that he had neither directly nor indirectly, sanctioned, advised, nor encouraged any attack upon the Duke of York; never had any acquaintance of any kind with Mrs Clarke, Colonel Wardle, or any of the persons employed in bringing the investigation forward; never had expressed himself inimically to the Duke of York, even when in the most confidential moments he had given vent to his wounded feelings upon professional subjects; had invariably expressed his regret when any person attempted to do justice to his character at the expence of his brother, and so far from sanctioning, approving, or rejoicing in the proceedings against him, had uniformly lamented them. "It was not," he said, "without sincere concern that he found himself under the necessity of entering thus publicly into a vindication of his conduct. But he was confident that every liberal mind would give him credit for taking a step which he felt due to his character, and to the honour and dignity of his family, and which marked his anxiety to stand well with the country in general." This declaration was made in the form of questions addressed to Major Dodd, in the presence of the Earl of Harrington and Colonel Vesey, and Major Dodd, in the most positive and unequivocal language, confirmed it, declaring also, that he never had, in any manner, given any person reason to suppose that the Duke of Kent approved of the proceedings against the commander-in-chief, but on the contrary always expressed his knowledge that his royal highness felt very differently.

The suspicion which his royal highness thus repelled, in a manner so honourable to his feelings, had been brought on him by Major Dodd's conduct. There was nothing but this which could afford any colour to Mrs Clarke's accusation, and that accusation, it must be remembered, was not only unsupported by any other external evidence, but was even in itself, and all its parts, improbable,—whereas in the Duke of York's case, what could be more likely than that a man should be influenced by his mistress? But if any thing in vindication of the Duke of Kent could be required after his solemn declaration, it was to be found in the whole character of Mrs Clarke's * book, which evinced her to be a thoroughly worthless, malicious, and mischievous woman.

* One thing, and only one, in the book deserves notice; it is a letter from Dr O'Meara to Mrs Clarke's brother, in vindication of himself. As the name of this Irish dignitary became so conspicuous in the course of the inquiry, it would be unjust to withhold his defence: such as it is, it follows.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I congratulate you on the victory Mrs Clarke has gained over the mushroom patriot; I think we could give him *le coup de grace*. I have collected some curious particulars of his own campaign in Ireland; one most horrible, and which will be proved on oath. One day during the rebellion, he met a poor man near Athy, with a satchel on his back, containing an axe, an auger, a saw, &c.; he immediately concluded that the poor man was a rebel, having such dangerous wea-

pons concealed in a sack. In vain the poor man declared that he was a carpenter, and that these were his tools. The colonel could not be convinced, and he ordered his head to be sawed off, which was done on the spot.—I hope Mrs Clarke, now that she has past through this ordeal trial, will have no objection to state the truth for my private and personal friends. She told me that she did not intend to mention my name; that she was forced by Mr Wardle to embellish as she did with respect to me. The blow was aimed at the established church, to stab it through the sides of a clergyman; the reformists and methodists being leagued together to pull down both church and state.

"My letters in defence of the duke were not mentioned, which was the ground and cause of my introduction to him: and his royal highness having thanked me for writing those letters, I ventured to ask him for the chaplaincy of the royal yacht, and for which he promised to apply, on my forwarding to him a letter of recommendation from some bishop, and which I did from Bath, directed to Portman-square. This fact I wish to have cleared up, to shew the archbishop and my friends here.

"Cobbett says I preached at Weymouth from under the wing of Mrs Clarke, whereas it was the year before I preached before the royal family, viz. 1804. In the microcosm of London, it is difficult to distinguish ladies under protection from ladies of fashion; each of these orders borrows the manners of the other, and they act their parts as naturally, it was no wonder a man of so much simplicity was deceived by the illusions of graceful manners and modest discourse. The Goddess Hecate, who presided over magic and enchantments, was the same with Luna and Diana. Mrs Clarke could personate this divinity with ease, assuming all her forms, attributes, and functions: and Mr O. assured me she was a widow in the last month of her grief.—The masquerade was continued by the visits of ladies of fashion at her house, and the visiting cards of many of high consideration, &c.

"The letter of mine which was found by the secret committee, and which has been so much misrepresented, as an indecent production, was an answer to a hoaxing letter I got from Mrs Clarke, in which she said, she was tired of the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, &c.; that Mary Magdalene was not more penitent and intreating that I would comfort the weak-hearted, and find out for her a cheap and safe asylum in Ireland. I answered the epistle of this witty piece of *Eve's flesh in print*, and for which the saints and reformers have splashed me with abuse. Mrs Clarke got back this letter, and I hope she will preserve it and the archbishop's letter."

With respect to the charge against Colonel Wardle in this curious production, Mrs Clarke herself, while half affecting to credit it, and forcing it into notice by printing the whole story in capital letters, could not help betraying her conviction of its falsehood. It is undoubtedly a most absurd and outrageous falsehood, though it may not impossibly be reported and sworn to in Ireland. Of the history of Conel Wardle's campaigns, however, in that country, the less that is said the better: but it is not amiss that he should be reminded of them, when, in his tender mercies for the Irish, he ascribes all their disaffection, and all their wretchedness, to the Catholic restrictions, and proposes to remedy all grievances, and save two millions yearly, by rendering the Catholics eligible to seats in Parliament and the forty offices.

CHAP. X.

Financial Affairs. The Budget. Mr Vansittart's Resolutions. Affairs of the Army and Navy. Petition of the Captains.

HAVING got through the retrospective and accidental parts of the parliamentary debates, the party contests, and the discussions excited by factious, vexatious, or nugatory motions, we come to that far smaller portion which includes the real and essential business of state.

May 12. The supplies voted for the year (exclusive of the proportion for Ireland) were 47,588,024l. for which ways and means were provided that would leave a surplus of 130,000l. These included a loan of eleven millions; besides, three millions had been borrowed for Ireland, and 600,000l. for the Prince of Brazil. For payment of the interest and sinking fund upon this latter sum, and for the liquidation of the principal, the revenues of the island of Madeira had been assigned, together with a consignment of such produce of Brazil as belonged to the prince, to his agents in this country. The whole loan was contracted for at an interest of 4l. 12s. 1d., a rate at which the public had never before been able to borrow money, and at which it was hardly possible for any individual to procure it, however well secured or prompt his payment might be. "It was a proud consideration for the country," Mr Perceval said, when he brought forward the budget, "that under the increased and increasing expences of the war, and the unavoidable augmentation of the public expenditure, this should be the case. To meet the charge occasioned by the loan, an addition to the permanent taxes of about 105,000l. would be produced by a bill for the consolidation of the customs, and about as much more by a consolidation bill for the war-taxes; the war-taxes were to be applied to for the rest, amounting to little more than a million. A vote of credit had been taken for three millions. It would not be expected," he said, "that he should go at any length into an explanation of the manner in which this sum might be applied. There was, however, one circumstance which he felt it his duty to communicate: Austria, which, since the meeting of Parliament, had gone to war with France, on the commencement of that war drew bills upon this country, without having had any communication with his Majesty's government. When these bills arrived, it was the intention of ministers to advise his Majesty to recommend to Parliament to enable him to pay them; but before

any appropriation would be made for their payment, it was absolutely necessary to procure the consent and sanction of Parliament."

Lord Henry Petty inquired, "whether this most extraordinary step, as he must call it, was to be attributed to his Majesty's ministers, or to the Austrian government?" He was answered by Mr Canning, "that the Austrian government had no authority for it. The bills were drawn by the Austrian treasury, on the supposition that the person authorised to restore the former relations between the two governments would reach this country time enough to explain the necessity of that step, and the circumstances that induced it. It would not be expected," Mr Canning added, "that he should make any harsh comment on the conduct of the Austrian government; but he could assure the House, that measures had been taken to stop the recurrence of a practice so inconvenient in many respects. No time was lost in transmitting a friendly remonstrance to the court of Vienna, and informing it, that if such a thing were to be done at all, it must be done with the consent of Parliament. As for the charge of those politicians who clamour for peace when peace was impossible, that we had induced Austria to engage in a premature and hopeless struggle, the fact was directly otherwise. Austria had gone to war voluntarily, and strictly upon Austrian grounds. Our communications with her were few and precarious, and we had held out no specific promise of assistance. She was assured, indeed, that there would be a disposition to assist her, but that it would be greatly limited by the circumstances of the times; and this assurance was so restricted, that he doubted whether it would not operate rather as a check than an encouragement. There were also physical obstacles in the way of making remittances, which might convince that power that she was not to place much reliance upon promises of assistance from England, even though less restricted. The preliminary, however, to any assistance, was the restoration of the former amicable relations between the two governments. This was considered as a just atonement to this country."

Mr Whitbread rose, as usual, to play the part of advocate for Buonaparte, and to revile the allies of England. "He should have been better pleased," he said, "if the money stated to have been granted as a loan to the Prince of Brazil had been at once presented as a gift, that the people might clearly have understood the transaction; for, considering the situation, the means, and the prospects of that prince, it was quite childish to suppose that a single shilling of it could ever be repaid. With regard to Austria, it was absolute madness to drive her into the contest. Austria was reduced to the very verge of ruin in the last war; she had actually been conquered then, and owed her escape and her existence solely to the generosity of that power, against which, in violation of treaties, she was now beginning operations. To those treaties she ought, beyond a doubt, faithfully to have adhered." The preposterous prejudice and folly of such opinions drew forth a reproof from Mr Ponsonby, though himself in opposition, and himself averse to granting any pecuniary assistance to the court of Vienna. "On what proof," he asked, "did Mr Whitbread rest this extraordinary assertion? His lecture on

the good faith of France, and the bad faith of Austria, must have an excellent effect when spread by our newspapers over the continent! Austria was in hostility against France, because France was bent on her destruction. This indeed, he thought, must be obvious to every man who looked fairly at the state of Europe. And was it possible, when Mr Whitbread accused Austria of perfidy, that he meant to ascribe good faith to Buonaparte? for this must be the inference."

This merited reproof did not sit easy upon Mr Whitbread; and when Mr Canning expressed an entire concurrence with the sentiments which Mr Ponsonby had delivered, he gave way to one of those rude and virulent sallies, in which his truculent disposition occasionally finds vent in Parliament. "This," he said, "was the first time that the right honourable secretary had ever paid Mr Ponsonby a compliment; was it then to be understood that there was a treaty of subsidy going on between them?" On a subsequent evening, when the vote of credit was taken into consideration, Mr Whitbread again repeated his pernicious opinions. "It was right," he said, "that ministers should be vested with a power to assist Spain and Portugal, though he doubted much that the contest would terminate in the subjugation of both countries. While, indeed, there was life there was hope: the peninsula was engaged in a glorious cause, and after the share we had taken in it, he could not say that we ought, till the very last moment, to abandon men who were fighting for what is dear as life itself—liberty and independence." The recollection of his letter to Lord Holland probably occasioned this language; but it is not possible for the same person to be consistent in two opposite opinions at one time, and it soon appeared in which of his opinions Mr Whitbread was sincere. "He had been pompously told," he said, "of the enthusiasm of the people of Porto, yet they had received the French as willingly as the English! Similar accounts concerning Austria were now circulated to amuse us, and it was to be expected that they were equally deceitful: his unalterable opinion was, that as Austria, as well as Spain and Portugal, would shortly be crushed, and we should have to wage war alone with such fearful odds against the enemy, our business was carefully to husband our resources." He then proceeded to take a survey of the various coalitions against France, and mentioned the fate of Prussia as an instance of the preponderating power and genius of Buonaparte, when it ought to be instanced as an example of the effects of the husbanding system,—a system which, keeping armies for parade instead of service, renders them useless, and insures the ruin of the country which is cowardly enough, or foolish enough to follow it. "Whether Austria or France was in the right," he continued, "he would not take upon himself to say; yet he would assert, that, from the period of the Revolution down to the rupture with Spain, France had never been the aggressor. He did not say France was in the right. He had never said so. Yet he was not persuaded that Austria was not to blame. Her territory, even her capital, had been restored to her; and he could not find himself prepared to say, that he was correct in forgetting these obligations, even supposing them to be only nominal. That France might have had it in

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view, at some convenient season, to swallow up Austria, it was not in his power to deny, as ambition was a growing quality: he could not think, however, that the present was exactly the time which would have been chosen for putting such a purpose into execution. It might be a moment convenient for Austria, but could hardly have been selected by Buonaparte: whatever his plans might have been, the present war could not be thought to be one of his seeking." In this awkward and embarrassed manner, advancing vile opinions and then qualifying them, and then again implying what he had before advanced, did Mr Whitbread struggle through the crude consistence of his discourse; common sense and notorious facts seeming to occasion as little scruples to him, as the breach of a treaty, the destruction of a friendly state, a private murder or a public massacre, to the Corsican who was the great object of his admiration.

But it was not enough for Mr Whitbread to apologize for the enemy, and calumniate the allies of England; he proceeded to accuse his country, and it almost seemed as if he were desirous of making Spain suspicious of so generous and sincere a friend. "At a time," he said, "when the people of England were every where talking of the injustice of Buonaparte towards Spain, he was surprised at the national blindness to our own aggressions, recently manifested in the choice and approbation of our ambassador to that country. If there were a man in the universe who, in another part of the globe, had acted as Buonaparte had done with respect to Spain, it was the Marquis Wellesley. His conduct in the East Indies was perfectly similar to that of the French emperor. The people of Spain, if they knew any thing of the affairs of this country, must know what that noble lord had done in India; but, then, all he did there proceeded from an ardent zeal for the public service, while Buonaparte, in acting the same part, was said to have been urged on by the instigation of the devil. They were doubtless the same acts, however dictated by different motives. Be that, however, as it might, the nomination of his lordship was certainly a bad omen, as the people of Spain must know that the Marquis Wellesley would, if the opportunity should offer, take both Spain and Portugal as Buonaparte had done, through his ardent zeal for the service of his country." Mr Whitbread concluded this extraordinary speech with moving some resolutions, refusing to pay the bills drawn by the Austrian government, promising pecuniary assistance to Spain and Portugal as long as any hope could be entertained of a successful issue to their efforts; but earnestly recommending strict economy in managing the resources of the state, in order to be prepared for that last and most arduous struggle, to which the present circumstances were but too likely to lead. These were negatived without a division.

The project of charging the loan for the year upon the war-taxes met with some opposition in the Upper House from Lord Sidmouth.

June 7.

"The amount of our expenditure," he said, "exceeding that of the last year by about five millions, and that of 1807 by more than nine, far surpassed whatever the exaggerations of the timid or the factious had at any period foreboded; and the means of defraying it, by taking one million from the war-taxes for the purpose of supplying the in-

terest of the loan, were directly at variance with the system of financial policy adopted at the renewal of the war, and most injurious in their tendency to the future prospects of the country. We were now engaged in a contest which was evidently of indefinite duration, and to this view of it he had, at the recommencement of hostilities, endeavoured to adapt our expenditure. The object he had in view was, to arrive at the point where the sum borrowed would be balanced by the sum to be redeemed in the same year, after which, if there was no additional expenditure, the public service would be carried on with a diminishing, instead of an increasing, debt; it being his decided opinion, that if an addition to the expenditure became necessary, it ought to be provided for by an addition to the revenue; so that any permanent accumulation of debt might be prevented. But as a great increase of expenditure impeded our arrival at this splendid and impregnable situation of financial security, the noble lords who succeeded to the offices of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1806 had the wisdom and fortitude to propose an immediate addition of near six millions to the war-taxes: But after having laboured to reduce the public expences, they found the amount still so large, and the pressure of taxes recently imposed so burthensome, as to afford them no hopes of carrying into full effect the system adopted at the beginning of the war. The plan to which they had recourse appeared to be the best that circumstances would admit, and it was marked by the decided approbation of Parliament and the public. According to this plan, the expenditure of each year, exclusive of subsidies, being estimated at thirty-two millions beyond the surplus of the consolidated fund and the annual taxes, the war-taxes, which were computed at twenty-one millions, were to supply not only the interest, but a sinking fund for the loan of each year, the capital of which would, at any probable price of stocks, be thus redeemed within 14 years. Here were principles of redemption, renovation, and permanency, of which the project of the present year was wholly destitute. By the transfer of war-taxes which was now proposed, the people were deluded into a disregard of a proper expenditure, by the appearance of being spared the pressure of additional burthens; whereas the effect of the transfer was to render those perpetual which would otherwise have ceased with the war, and to create the necessity of borrowing an additional million, the interest of which must be provided for by fresh taxes. The war-taxes had prevented, since the commencement of the war, an addition of more than two hundred millions of debt, and of near ten millions of permanent taxes; yet this was the system in which a breach was now improvidently made! To so rash a measure he must express his most decided and unqualified dissent; if persisted in, it had an obvious tendency to lay us at the feet of our enemy, though, humanly speaking, the means and resources which we possessed were, if wisely applied, fully sufficient to frustrate all his projects for our destruction, and to conduct us through the struggle, not only with security to our independence, but with increased glory and augmented power."

The Earl of Liverpool replied, "that what was now proposed was not part of a system to be permanently acted upon: a sinking fund

might be created hereafter if it were thought necessary; but, at all events, the subject was open for the consideration of Parliament. His objections to the financial arrangements of Lord Grenville were, that they proceeded upon the assumption of a definite annual expenditure during the war, which was absolutely impossible; and that they amounted to a breach of faith towards the existing public creditor in the new sinking fund, by which a bonus would be given at a time when it was not wanted, while, when it would be useful, it could not be forthcoming." The same subject was entered into more in detail by Mr Vansittart, on the day before the close of the session.

June 20.

"He had not," he said, "opposed the bill for charging the war-taxes, because he knew how difficult or how impossible it would be to change a permanent measure which had been resolved on, and he thought it better to enter upon a discussion not designed for any immediate practical effect, but rather in the nature of a historical review of what was past. The House would thus reason with cooler minds, and be more likely to agree in a result which might at least prevent the repetition of any injurious practice." With this view, he proposed a string of financial resolutions, explaining the state of our resources, and the beneficial effect of the war-taxes. "That system," he said, "had been proved by experience to be solid, wise, and economical: it had required many sacrifices, and might require more; but it was a most dangerous delusion to expect to perform great achievements without making great exertions; and if we could not reduce our expences to our income, we must raise our income to our expences: what more was wanting, we must be prepared to furnish; and it was his wish to strengthen the hands of government as far as his opinion could have any force, and to facilitate its resuming the wise, the secure, and honourable course hitherto pursued." This was in the spirit of Lord Sidmouth's politics; abstaining from all vexatious opposition, and with a wish of serving government for the good of the country. The ministry received Mr Vansittart's speech as it deserved; they declared their agreement with the main principles which he advanced, and the resolutions* were unanimously agreed to.

The army estimates exceeded those of the preceding year by about a million and a half. Great part of this increase, however, was rather in estimate than in expence, it having been recommended by the Commissioners of Military Inquiry to put every possible annual account into the estimates, so that many things now appeared there which had hitherto been voted among the extraordinaries of the army. The expences of the last year had exceeded the estimate, and 400,000l. was included upon a rough estimate for the clothing of the local militia; but this sum would provide for the four succeeding years. While this subject was before the House, Mr Wilberforce took the opportunity of expressing his surprise at the system which still prevailed about army chaplains. "As for the description of persons who were employed in that capacity about ten years ago, he had an instinctive feeling," he said, "which made him wish to get rid of them; but he wished that the army

Feb. 27.

* Appendix, No. I.

should have the benefit of religion, free from the abuses of the former institution. If soldiers went to the parochial church, they often found there was no accommodation for them; and as to saying prayers for them at a different hour, it was depriving the parish church of what was most interesting in public worship, when all ranks and degrees assembled together to worship their common Father and Benefactor. It was of the utmost importance, he thought, that armies going on foreign service should have proper clergymen to administer the consolations of religion to the wounded and the dying. There ought also to be some religious instruction for the many black regiments in his Majesty's service in the West Indies." The secretary at war replied, that considerable improvements had already taken place in the appointment of chaplains, and still farther improvements were intended. This is a subject which well deserves farther attention from Mr Wilberforce. The great Gustavus derived as much advantage from the moral and religious discipline of his army, as from his improvements in the art of war.

For recruiting the army, Lord Castlereagh had recourse to the militia; this, in fact, being the chief, if not the only real use of that expensive and burthensome establishment. *Jan. 25.* "It was now ascertained," his lordship said, "that there was no mode by which the disposable force of the country could be so rapidly and easily increased. He proposed that no militia regiment should be reduced below three-fifths of its full establishment, and to fill up the transfer by raising 24,000 men. It was, he feared, impossible to get rid of the ballot altogether; but, to relieve the counties from the heavy burthens to which they had formerly been exposed, he should propose a bounty, to be paid by the public, for enlisting, not altogether as high as would be given for general service, but about ten guineas, which he thought would be sufficient. If the voluntary enlistment should not succeed, and the country should be compelled to have recourse to the ballot, then the ten guineas should be given to the balloted men, either as bounty, if he served in person, or to assist him in procuring a substitute." The measure was opposed by Mr Tierney and his electioneering opponent, Sir T. Turton, upon the same strange ground, that they could not consent to increase our disposable force, till they understood how the force which we already possessed had been managed, and what was the nature of the foreign service in which they might be employed. Lord Milton opposed it upon the genuine opposition principle, that he could not consent to increase the burdens of the country for the sake of putting a large disposable force in the hands of the present ministers! But never was there a time in which it was of so much importance that this country should possess a strong disposable force;—the manner in which it was squandered, even those who thought most contemptuously of the existing administration could not have foreseen, so grievously did the imprudence of the Walcheren expedition surpass all that could be expected or feared.

Lord Milton could not see to what part of the world British troops could be sent with advantage. This was the common cry of the husbanding politicians. He objected also to the mischievous effect which the proposed

measure would have upon the discipline and morality of the militia regiments, by exposing the privates to be tampered with by intoxication, and other means equally destructive to morals and discipline, in order to induce them to enlist; "even if it were objectionable upon no other ground," he said, "it was highly so upon this." But when a man is taken from his agricultural or handicraft pursuits to be made a soldier, it matters little for his morals whether he be in the militia or the regulars, except indeed that in the former he cannot attain that dignity of character which grows out of a daily familiarity with danger, while all the vices which spring from ignorance and idleness ripen to their full perfection. It was objected to Lord Castlereagh upon better grounds, that the sum which he proposed towards a bounty for substitutes, would only raise the price, and increase the public burthens. And in the Upper House, Lord Sidmouth regretted, with some reason, "that ministers had not availed themselves of the popular feeling to recruit the army; had that been done, the present measure would have been wholly unnecessary. But as the army must be kept up, he would not," he said, "oppose the bill."

Feb. 20.

The plan for filling up the militia met with greater opposition when the bill for the purpose was brought forward. Lord Archibald Hamilton, saying that it militated against the principle of all the statutes upon which that body was founded, moved that the bill should be read that day six months. Mr Giles said, "that the men who were transferred into the line by this process of Lord Castlereagh's, in the last year cost the country 726,000l., calculating the bounty originally paid for substitutes, and that which was paid for the transfer. One-third of this sum only came from the fund of general taxes, while one-third was extracted from the pockets of such individuals as were subjected to the ballot, and the other from the landed interest—from the poor-rates. Was this an equitable or a judicious way of providing for the defence of the country? Every man obtained for the line in this manner cost 28l.; and was it not practicable, under wise regulations, to procure men for that bounty by ordinary recruiting, without having resort to the circuitous, expensive, and oppressive progress of the ballot?" It was forcibly argued also, both by Mr Giles and Mr Windham, that it was absurd to suppose the recruiting could proceed successfully with a small bounty, while the men who were willing to enlist knew that the ballot must necessarily cause a great augmentation of it. Lord Castlereagh's address to them was, "Come, come, my lads, make haste, take ten guineas; for if you do not, you will be soon compelled to take forty." In the Upper House, Earl Fitzwilliam regretted that the militia should be made a crimping fund for the supply of the regular army. There were not wanting, however, members who pointed out, that it was the only way in which the militia was made of any real service to the country. Far better, indeed, would it be to abolish the militia altogether, and apply the sum which it annually costs to the augmentation of the regular army. Till this is done, it is better thus indirectly to make it of some use, than to let it remain useless as well as burthensome to the country,—heavily

Mar. 24.

May 9.

and oppressively burthensome, not for the amount of the expence, but for the manner in which it is raised.

Mar. 27. The experiment of the local militia, Lord Castlereagh informed Parliament, had been eminently successful; 125,000 volunteers in Great Britain had transferred their services, and the whole number exceeded 195,000; when the yeomanry cavalry were added, the force then amounted to 200,000 of such fine athletic troops as no other country ever did or could produce; prime men, inferior no doubt in discipline to the troops of the line, but in equipment every way equal to them. This provoked the satire of Mr Windham. "Prime men!" he repeated: "No doubt the men were good, as men; but the question was, what sort of soldiers they would make under this measure, and whether they would be of more value in this situation than another. Here was an army, his lordship said, such as no other country could produce; they had more money in their pockets, better clothes on their backs, and officers of greater property than any other country could produce—respectable shopkeepers, and attornies in great business. He spoke of an army which might say, like Cloten in the play, 'Don't you know me by my clothes?' as if he thought that its greatest merit belonged to the tailors. He spoke also of the feeling of the regular army, in case of invasion, when thus supported; but the feeling of the regular army, seeing troops so organized and so officered, would be terror. The whole measure was only an augmentation of the militia upon a very bad plan, and the noble lord had put the country to great expence, for which he had got worse than nothing, inasmuch as he had only locked up the men who would otherwise have been disposable."

Feb. 3. When the navy estimates were brought forward, 130,000 seamen, including 31,400 marines, were voted for the service of the year. Mr Ward then stated, "that the estimates for this number were precisely the same in amount as they had been last year, though some alterations had been made in the comparative amount of some of the branches. The allowance for wear and tear was then taken at 3l. per man, while the provision for victual was estimated only at 1l. 19s. monthly per man. The latter fell greatly short of the actual expenditure, the former allowance was considerably above it; both would be brought nearer the mark by taking a guinea* from the one allowance and adding it to the other." He therefore moved for wages for 130,000 men for thirteen months, at 1l. 17s. per man per month, 3,126,500l.; for wear and tear of ships during the same period, at 1l. 19s. per man per month, 3,295,500l.; for victuals during the same, at 2l. 19s. per man per month, 4,985,500l. and for ordnance for the same number of men, 591,600l. The estimates exceeded those of last year by a million and a half, of which 1,275,000l. was for transports.

Sir C. Pole took this opportunity of expressing his hope, that ministers would regulate the proceedings at Doctors Commons, giving it as his opinion that the offices of King's

* Thus the speech is reported. It appears, however, that though a guinea is taken from the wear and tear, only a pound is added to the other charge.

Advocate and King's Proctor should be divided. He did not object to the vote of any sum for the navy; but he must add, that he should like to see those who were to manage the expenditure of it, such as the commissioners of the navy and of victualling, selected from among naval men. The whole system of selecting officers of the army for such offices he deemed altogether improper; for the appointment of persons not acquainted with naval affairs must necessarily be most mischievous. He lamented also that he did not see in these estimates any provision made for the orphans of marine officers, and hoped that before the end of the session some establishment, correspondent to the Compassionate Fund for the army, would be instituted for the navy. This, he said, he looked upon as a proper time for mentioning the subject; and if it should not be taken up by his Majesty's ministers, in whose hands it most properly ought to be left, he should feel it his duty to submit the matter to the House.

Feb. 28. The next business relative to the navy was a motion of Mr W. Wellesley Pole for leave to bring in a bill for the more convenient payment of the annuities and other allowances to the widows of naval and marine officers, and those on the Compassionate List. "About the year 1732," he said, "a fund was established for the relief of officers' widows, towards which a deduction of three-pence in the pound was levied upon the pay of all commissioned and warrant officers, and an allowance from all ships in the service established, under the denomination of widows men; that is, the payment of one man out of every hundred was appropriated in aid of this fund. After some years, the pay of an additional widows man was added. Occasionally, of latter years, the fund had been inadequate; but it was now rich, having a stock of 170,000l. in the 3 per cents., and the number of widows relieved in the last year was no less than 1800. The rate of allowance began with 80l. to captains' widows, and descended in proportionate gradation to those of warrant officers. But great inconvenience and distress arose, in consequence of their being obliged to apply annually in London for their allowance. One object of the bill, therefore, was to enable them to receive it at their own houses, wherever resident. The Board of Admiralty had addressed his Majesty, praying he would be graciously pleased to order that the donations to persons upon the Compassionate Fund should in like manner be paid to them quarterly. His Majesty was pleased to approve of this: and it was another purpose of the bill to enable the Board of Admiralty to select such objects as were properly entitled to aid from that fund, to allow them such sums as they should think fit, and transmit their allowance quarterly: these sums to be charged yearly in the ordinary estimates of the navy. He thought it fair that he should at the same time abolish the allowance called in-doors men, which were now regularly charged in the accounts of every vessel in the service. It was also intended to transmit the half-pay of the marine officers to them, in the same manner as to those of the army.

Mar. 3. Leave was also given to bring in a bill for establishing a new police for Plymouth Dock, for the purpose of preventing depredations upon the King's

stores. The attorney-general, who proposed this measure, observed, that as the King's shipping lay in the river Tamar, which divided the counties of Devon and Cornwall, facilities of escape were by that circumstance afforded, against which it was highly necessary to provide, in consequence of the number of the offenders, and the extent of the depredations. With this view the bill advised the constitution of a local police, or board of magistrates, who should be in constant attendance; and having a certain proportion of both counties subject to their authority, might be enabled to guard against the evil.

Mar. 14. When the marine mutiny bill was brought in, Sir Charles Pole took that opportunity to say a few words on this valuable corps, the situation and importance of which, he observed, were scarcely known to the House, though it now amounted to 32,000 men. He asked, whether it was intended to continue the stoppage of one day's pay from them for Chelsea hospital? He complained that the Royal Marine Artillery was in a very neglected state: a corps of this nature had been established in 1804; it ought to be augmented, and every squadron on foreign stations should be furnished with a company of this artillery, men and officers. The corps was not sufficiently instructed in the use of field artillery, and he recommended that a certain number of young men destined for it should be admitted to take their education at Woolwich. Next he adverted to the slow progress of promotion in the marines: there were officers now serving as captains, who had entered the service in the American war, and he conceived an increase of field officers necessary, as an encouragement to that meritorious class. It was desirable also that the rank which the marine corps should take, when landed and co-operating with the troops of the line, should be fixed. Lastly, he observed, that at each division of the marines the senior captains were appointed pay-captains, and actually kept the accounts of 2000 men without any increase of pay or remuneration whatever. Mr Ward replied, the marine artillery could not be increased without increasing the force altogether, and converting it into a land army; and as for adding to the number of field officers, it ought to be remembered, that most of the marines were engaged on board ship, where they were not commanded by field officers.

Mar. 16. When this mutiny bill came again before the House, Mr Ward replied to the other parts of Sir Charles Pole's speech. The deductions from the pay of marine officers, he said, were applied to Chelsea hospital, and the same benefits resulted to the officers of marines as to the officers of the army from such application; the deductions from the pay of the privates went to Greenwich hospital, and they were benefited by it in the same manner as the navy. With respect to the pay-captains, the persons selected for such situations were generally men who were unfit for other service; it was not required that they should serve afloat; and the only case in which their attendance was required on board, was whenever courts-martial took place. Sir Charles answered, he was highly satisfied respecting the deduction; but his opinion as to the pay-captains remained unaltered. They had a regular ledger account to keep with every man and boy in the marine service, for which

they had no remuneration, although the captains of marine artillery, for only paying their own companies, had two shillings per day additional pay. Besides, those old officers, in any branch of the service, would have been entitled to majorities, and many of them would have been old field officers. Any advantage, therefore, which could be given them without great expence to the public, ought not to be withheld from a brave class of men, whose existence was scarcely known to their country except by their services in her cause.

Upon this Mr Wellesley Pole begged leave to refer Sir Charles to a petition presented by those very pay-captains to the Admiralty when the honourable baronet was at that board, praying for this very allowance which he was now seeking to obtain for them. The answer then given to their petition was, that the birth was a pretty good one, and it was very desirable it should continue to exist; but if they did not like it with full pay, and exemption from all other duty, they might take their turns of service. Ever since they had been pretty well satisfied to remain as they were. Sir Charles Pole denied any recollection of such an application. At all events, he said, he was perfectly certain that, during the whole time he was at the Admiralty, he never gave an offensive answer to any application made either by an individual, or by any description of persons. There was nothing which he considered as more disgraceful than such conduct on the part of any man in office.

May 15. A bill was brought in by Mr Rose respecting the payment of wages and prize-money, and the allotment of wages in the navy. When the House resolved itself into a committee upon the bill, Sir Charles objected to it on *May* 31. account of the discontent excited among seamen by the deductions from their pay, first for their slops, secondly for the allotments to their wives and children, in consequence of which it often happened that at the end of a long voyage they had not more than forty shillings to receive; a hardship which should be contrasted with the case of militia-men, whose wives and children were provided for by their parishes, and which was the frequent ground of complaint. At the very moment when old seamen were called on to set out for another voyage, without a shilling in their pockets, they saw volunteers, inferior seamen, and even landsmen who had never served an hour, receiving large bounties for entering on board, and were often so piqued as to desert their ships. Mr Wellesley Pole replied, it was considered as an indulgence to seamen to enable them to allot part of their earnings to their wives and children, and save them the necessity of applying to the parish: this bill extended the principle, and enabled them to allot part to their parents also, which by law they could not do before; and the allotment was altogether optional on their part, not compulsory. Sir Charles then remarked, that the bill was very favourable to the parishes, but not to the navy: he would not, however, divide the House upon it.

When it was read a third *June* 7. time, this baronet proposed a clause, by way of rider, enabling a seaman to revoke his allotment if he thought fit; because, as the bill then stood, he could not, if he should marry, make any allowance to his wife. A clause providing for this

would lessen the evil, he said; but it would not do away the objection of increasing the labour and responsibility of the captains or commanders. On the contrary, it imposed severe fines and penalties, independent of the articles of war or naval instructions; it augmented their already too much loaded accounts; it increased their risk and responsibility, and strengthened their claims for an increase of pay or other remuneration. The bill was then passed.

It is remarkable that no allusion was made by Sir Charles Pole, in any of these debates, to a circumstance which, early in the year, excited considerable interest in the navy. A number of captains and commanders petitioned for an increase of pay, stating, that it was impossible for them to support that respectability of appearance, without which the service could not be carried on, otherwise than by a continual and heavy expenditure of the private fortunes of the few who had any, or by a ruinous accumulation of debt upon the majority who had none. The income-tax, the increased price of every article of consumption and every incidental expence, naturally, they said, called for a corresponding increase of salaries in general. In addition to these drawbacks, they had suffered a most material diminution of their accustomed emolument, by the late deduction from their share of prize-money; the only source, however precarious and uncertain, from which they had heretofore hoped for relief. To this petition a general negative was returned; in consequence of which they presented another, wherein they entered more fully into the nature of their difficulties:—"Long custom," they said, "made it imperative upon the captains to keep a constant table while at sea, as the means of maintaining a social intercourse with their officers, and of knowing them. He who should venture to break through that good custom, however urged by strong necessity, would not only sacrifice a great portion of his respectability, but would also lessen that happy connective influence, which generated regard, cemented the various links in the service, and tended so greatly to regularity and discipline. Submitting this most humbly to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, should they not be pardoned if they asked, how, in the present times, and with all the accumulated expence of live-stock at sea, and unavoidable waste of every other article beyond what it would be on shore, with all practical economy—how this could be done without involving the whole of a captain's pay for his table alone, and forcing him to borrow for the rest of his expenditure? The rise of servants' wages was one of the many increased expences which might be enumerated. Stationary had greatly increased in price, while the consumption had been greatly enlarged; and frequently, on his arrival from sea, a captain had an enormous postage to pay for letters written by the wives or parents of sailors, to solicit tidings of their husbands or sons. The rise of almost every article in life had alone reduced the value of their pay to half of what it once was; and, prest as they already were by these circumstances, when the income-tax came, it fell upon the great majority, who had no private fortune, with a force that was almost destructive, the effects of which could only be palliated for a while by incurring debts and living upon hope. There was a time, indeed, when that hope was not without foundation: an oc-

casional prize did, in former days, not unfrequently reward the toils of a few fortunate individuals. But although they rejoiced that naval gallantry had swept the seas of the foes of Britain, even this success, so happy for their country, was to them, who were the instrument of that happiness, an additional cause of pecuniary distress. The diminution of their shares, and the droits of Admiralty, they did not presume to canvass; yet perhaps they might be suffered to add, that when a prize was taken, (an event which was well nigh as rare as a prize in the lottery,) the captain found a heavy defalcation from what was formerly considered as his due, not only for the long and persevering service which had brought him to his rank,—not only as a necessary means to assist in the support of that rank,—but because, in the case of the detention and non-condemnation of a vessel, he alone was the responsible individual. They also humbly entreated that the pecuniary insignificance and embarrassment to which they were consigned when their services were no longer required, might be taken into consideration, and that an augmentation might be made to their half-pay, proportioned to the time they had served, the rank they respectively bore, and the value of what it was worth, in reference to the price of all the articles of life when it was first established."

To this Mr W. Wellesley Pole replied, by order of the Lords Commissioners, that, upon a full examination of the memorial, the prayer therein contained was considered to be wholly inadmissible. The pay of all ranks in the navy was, in the year 1806, increased in such proportions as were considered, after the most mature deliberation, to be just, and nothing had since occurred to induce their lordships to think it expedient to recommend a farther increase of pay to the captains and commanders. The reply concluded in these harsh terms to the port admiral: "I have their lordships' further commands to acquaint you, that they regret that an application of this nature should have been preferred so recently after his Majesty had extended his gracious bounty to all ranks in the navy, and that you should have been the channel through which a memorial so ill-timed and inadmissible has been transmitted." The captains did not submit to this unmerited rebuke without appealing against it. They begged leave, with proper respect to their lordships, both personally and from their office, to express their grief and surprise that their memorial, couched as it was in respectful language, and the matter being undeniable, should be considered wholly inadmissible; and farther, that it should be stated to have been preferred so recently after the extension of his Majesty's gracious bounty,—insinuating thereby that it was indecorous. They thought it right respectfully to observe, that the gracious bounty of his Majesty was in fact putting into one hand what was taken out of the other by the income-tax; and that a charge of five per cent. had been made on their prize-money for Greenwich, and ultimately a third of it taken away altogether since that bounty was extended to them.

Immediately after this correspondence, the commander-in-chief at Portsmouth was dismissed from his command, for no other reason, it was said, than that he had forwarded these petitions to the Admiralty. These circumstances occasioned some

letters to Lord Mulgrave, in which his military character was not forgotten. He had been taken, the writer said, from his own profession to be put at the head of another, and there could be no reason to believe that he had any predilection for naval men, or talents for naval offices. Some of the remonstrances addressed to the First Lord of the Admiralty on this subject were so intemperate, and so nearly libellous, that they injured the cause which they were designed to serve. The petition of the captains certainly deserved a different answer: the facts which they alleged were unanswerable, and the inadequacy of their pay, and its disproportion to its real value a century ago, are glaring and notorious. Had Lord Melville continued at the head of the Admiralty, what he did for the navy gave reason to believe that he would have improved the condition of all ranks in it. This might be effected upon two principles, as simple as they are just; by appointing an increase of pay correspondent to length of service, and securing to every man who had served a certain number of years a provision sufficient for all the comforts of life, according to his relative rank. This term might be fixed at one-and-twenty years after the age of twenty. Many would, no doubt, be tempted after that term to continue in the service, by the prospect of advantage in that lottery which it holds out, or by inclination and inveterate habits; but every man who chose it should be entitled to his discharge, for one-and-twenty years service is as much as any government ought to require from its subjects. A portion of life would then be left for enjoyment; and when it became apparent to all men that a certain and comfortable provision was to be obtained in the service of their country, it would no longer be necessary to man our fleets by violence, or recruit our army by delusion. These are the reforms that are needful and practicable, and not less easy than desirable. Did statesmen think more wisely and more favourably of human nature, they would know, that the hope of good is a far more powerful impulse than the fear of evil, and that the better they thought of mankind, the better they would find them and the better they would make them. The perfectability of man has been made a word of ridicule by philosophists on one side, who fancied themselves perfect, and philosophicides on the other, whose worse error it was, that no farther improvement in human society is possible. But when these truths shall be acknowledged and become the ground-work of policy, the main step will then be taken towards that amelioration of humankind, which history and true philosophy alike encourage us to expect; to which we have been commanded to press on by Him, who said unto his disciples, "Be ye perfect!" and which, in fact, is one great purpose of revelation itself.

CHAP. XI.

Parliamentary Proceedings respecting Ireland. Motion concerning the Chief Secretaryship. Flax Seed. Malt and Spirits Bill. Distilleries. Mr Beauchamp Hill. Irish Revenue Regulation Bill. Paving and Lighting Board. Budget. Inland Navigation and Draining. Tithes.

THE parliamentary proceedings respecting Ireland were of little importance this year; but many points were touched upon which tended more and more to display the strange state of society in that country, and the anomalies of its government.

Feb. 2. Early in the session, Mr Whitbread inquired of Sir Arthur Wellesley, whether, while he was fighting the battles of his country on the continent, he had still continued to hold the appointment and salary of Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland? Sir Arthur replied, it undoubtedly was the wish of the noble personage now at the head of the Irish government, that no one should be appointed to that situation during his absence; and during the two months he was absent, he certainly received part of the salary of that office. But then there was some part of the time for which he did not receive the full pay attached to his military situation, and every man who considered the nature of that situation, must be aware that it was liable to very heavy increase of expences, which he did not feel himself in a condition to afford. Mr Whitbread then said, he should feel it his duty, on a future day, to submit a resolution to the House, that the office of chief secretary for Ireland was an efficient office.

Feb. 6. Accordingly, a few days afterwards, Mr Whitbread rose to make his promised motion. "During the last campaign," he said, "a most extraordinary circumstance had taken place, both here and in Ireland. The chief secretary for Ireland, and the under secretary * of state for the war department, both gallant and distinguished officers, had been employed in the military service of their country, and suffered at the same time to retain their civil employments. In either capacity, he admitted that the country could not be better served; but he contended that no office ought to be held by any person when absence rendered it impossible for him to execute its duties, and it could not be maintained that these officers could be absent from their civil offices

* General Stewart.

without material injury to the public service. Concerning General Stewart, he had received an answer from Lord Castlereagh, which was perfectly satisfactory,—that from the moment he quitted Portsmouth he had declined receiving any of the emoluments arising from his secretaryship; on this, therefore, he should only observe, that he thought the noble lord ought to have filled up the appointment during the absence of his relative. The answer respecting the other gallant officer was not equally satisfactory; and that officer was too much alive to true glory to wish that any injurious precedent should be established by any circumstance connected with his individual interest. He might appeal to the chair, respecting the duties and emoluments of the chief secretaryship: for it had been held by the distinguished person in the chair, whose mind had ever been more fixed on the duties than the emoluments of the offices. It was to him that the public was indebted for having the duties defined, and the emoluments brought forward to public inspection. Though the emoluments were considerable, he did not mean to say that they were greater than the situation merited; but he must insist that if no duties were performed, the public ought not to be called upon to pay. Sir Arthur Wellesley had said, he was not richer from his salary; this he believed, as he did not suppose that any person accepted an office with a view to pecuniary gains, but rather as an object of honourable ambition. The resolution which he was about to submit would, he trusted, be placed in the journals, and prevent any person hereafter, whatever his abilities might be, from filling two incompatible places." He then moved a resolution, that the office of chief secretary for Ireland is an efficient office of the highest responsibility, which ought not to be held by any person absent from the realm, and that the emolument of it ought not to be paid to any person unable to perform the duties.

Sir Arthur replied, that when he was first appointed to the secretaryship, it was clearly understood that that appointment should not exclude him from accepting any military employment. Under these circumstances he had been employed, both on the expedition against Copenhagen, and in that to Portugal, and in both cases it had been clearly understood also, that he relinquished all claim to the civil office, if a successor were appointed. He had retained the office solely at the desire of the lord lieutenant, who thought that he could assist him effectually, as he had already done by the regulations which he had suggested. Mr Whitbread's resolution went to declare, that a certain efficient government ought at all times to exist in Ireland: he would ask the House before they voted such an abstract proposition, to inquire whether there had not been an efficient government there during his absence; he would ask the honourable mover himself, whether any public business had been detained for four-and-twenty hours, or whether all the affairs of the government had not gone on without interruption. Had not the regulations which he had arranged for the various departments of the state been carried into effect, and the public service been thereby promoted without intermission?—The salary he allowed to be large; but it was given, not so much for performing the duties, as to enable him to maintain the situation and charac-

ter that belonged to it. When he went abroad, the lord lieutenant, who was desirous that he should retain the office, told him, that if he did not return within a certain time a successor would be appointed: it was uncertain whether he should ever return; but when he did, as no successor had been appointed, he certainly considered himself entitled to the emoluments of the office, and as, whether absent or present, the expences of the establishment had been defrayed by him, he had taken the salary. The example of his gallant friend, General Stewart, he most certainly approved; but he had not thought it right to return the emoluments which he had received, because he would not have it supposed that he shrunk from the discussion of any act of his in that House. He had now trespassed too much upon their attention; and would only assure them, that he should, in no future instance, consent to hold his office in the event of his being appointed to a military command.—Then he bowed to the chair and withdrew. Mr Perceval repeated, that if any inconvenience had been felt, a successor would have been appointed, and declared, that if blame was imputable any where, it was not to Sir Arthur, but to his majesty's ministers; and he moved the previous question, which was carried without a division. The object of the motion, however, was effected.

Before the present interruption of commerce, Ireland used to receive its supply of flax-seed from America and the Baltic; there had been a considerable failure in this important article, and to remedy this Mr Foster proposed to allow a bounty per bushel upon all seed grown in Ireland, to be disbursed under the direction of the linen board, for which purpose he moved for a grant of 20,000l. *March 22.* It was objected to by Mr Barry, upon the ground, that the climate was not calculated for producing seed,—otherwise, he argued, it would never have been the practice to import it; by Mr Horner, who said, that as a temporary measure it was nugatory, and as a permanent one bad. If the American embargo were taken off, the Irish would immediately be plentifully supplied as before, and would of course revert to their usual mode of traffic, while he supposed the grant was to be continued as an annual burthen upon the people. Mr Parnell also opposed it, and deprecated bounties altogether, as originating in a mistaken policy. Besides, this gentleman said, if any branch of Irish trade could bear interruption with less injury than another, it was the linen trade, because the manufacturers were also agriculturists, and could consequently convert their lands and labourers to other uses. On the other hand, the measure was supported by Sir John Newport and Mr Grattan. The country, they argued, depended on the staple manufacture, that manufacture depended on the seed, and to secure a supply of that seed, a bounty was necessary; if they had no linen they had no trade. The embargo and the orders in council might be rescinded, but the same circumstances might again occur, and the manufacturers of Ireland ought not to depend upon the caprice of another country. As to the objection from the unfitness of the climate, Mr Foster said, experiments had been tried and not the smallest doubt existed, but that seed might be grown there. The bounty was to extend to 15,000 bushels, and unless the

seed were perfectly sound, the party furnishing it would subject themselves to penalties.—The grant accordingly was voted.

March 21. The Irish chancellor was opposed with more success upon the malt and spirits bill. Sir John Newport moved that the consideration should be adjourned to that day six months. "The principle of increasing the malt tax," he said, "was radically wrong. How often had it been stated in that House, that it was a most desirable thing to tranquillize Ireland, yet if ever there was one measure more calculated than another to prevent that desirable object, it was this, which would drive the people back again from beer to the use of spirits. Men who got drunk upon beer could sleep off the effects, but spirits set them mad. If the augmentation was imposed, the people would apply themselves to spirits, and it would cost more than any little increase of revenue to support a military force adequate to restrain their violence. It happened to be a thin House when the discussion took place, so thin, indeed, that Mr Foster's original motion was to postpone the consideration of the subject on that account; but Sir J. Newport prest his amendment, and succeeded in throwing out the measure by a majority of 43 against 30.

May 24. The existing regulations respecting Irish distilleries gave a bounty of 8 per cent. to stills of 1000 gallons contents, and of 16 per cent. to those of 1500; they imposed also a fine of 50l. upon the parish in which any private still should be detected. Mr Foster proposed to relieve the parish from the burden for the first offence; but to double it for the second; and as unlicensed distilleries could only be put down by the establishment of small stills, he thought the best means of encouraging these would be, by giving a part of each fine as a bounty to them instead of to the informer. Some cogent arguments were adduced against the system of survey upon which his bill proceeded. This system, it was argued, was the origin of the illicit trade, and while it continued, so long would that trade continue to flourish. The commissioners of inquiry had recommended the license system, under which a distiller had only to take out a license, and pay for it according to the number of gallons which it was presumed he could make in a year, by which means he was left at liberty to work without the vexatious interference of the excise officers, and the revenue was sure of being very considerable. The commissioners also reported, that in one country the fines imposed for illicit distillation amounted, in one year, to 80,000l., but that only 600l. had been collected, and that the expence which it cost the public to make the seizures for which these fines were to be levied was 50,000l., so that the whole benefit of the system was that of the excise officers, and no stop was put to the illicit practice. The only remedy was to set up legal stills over the whole country, by suffering them to work with small capitals and without the vexatious oppression of the powers granted to revenue officers; for so soon as large distillers were established, it would be so much their interest to prevent the illicit trade, that they would soon clear the country of it. The policy of this method of proceeding had been fully established in Scotland. Before 1786 the system of collecting spirit duties there was exactly the

same as it now is in Ireland, and, in consequence, the whole country was supplied by illicit distillation. In that year the license system was adopted, and it was proved in the evidence given before a committee of the House, that in the first year 18,000l. was collected, whereas 18s. had never been collected before; that the licensed distillers detected and punished the illegal ones, and that the increased demand for grain soon contributed to the general improvement of the agriculture of Scotland, and altogether changed the face of the country.

But in addition to the evils inherent in, and inseparable from, the system of survey in a country so barbarous as Ireland, it was argued, the bounty on large stills rendered it impossible for any small ones to be worked. The large still paid less by a shilling a gallon than the small one, though it had already great and manifest advantages, the expence of working being diminished in proportion to the size. The notion of encouraging small stills, by giving them a share in the fines, was mere folly and delusion; for what man could be fool enough to contend against the bounty on the large ones, upon the speculation of such a profit! The best way to prevent breach of laws, is to take away the temptation for breaking them. The farmers encourage illegal stills, because they get a high price for their corn from them, and as small stills cannot be set up in competition with the bounty, if these were destroyed, their market would be destroyed also. Enable small stills to flourish, and the inducement to illegal practices is taken away. Farther, the opponents of the bill urged, it was false that large stills were advantageous to the tillage of Ireland; they could only be worked by persons of large capital in seaport towns, where there was a supply of sea-coal; and by the bounty which favoured them, to the exclusion of others, the whole interior was deprived of the demand for grain which distilleries would occasion if they could be established there: in fact, there were none in those parts of Ireland where tillage flourished most, in Waterford, Clonmel, and the county of Kilkenny. Sir J. Newport, therefore, moved that the bounty should be repealed; but it was negatived by a majority of 78 to 21. Mr French moved an amendment to prevent the double fine upon the parishes; and in support of this, it was represented, that the collusion of revenue officers was punished by a fine of 10l. only, or by rendering them incapable of retaining their office, while the fine upon the parishes was 50l. at present, and to be doubled by the present bill. Even this penalty for collusion, inadequate as it was, was not inforced, for 375 applications were made at the quarter session, to fine the county of Cavan for illicit stills, while not one prosecution was instituted against a revenue officer; and the fines laid upon that county were so great that it would be impossible to levy them. In answer to this, it was contended, that the power of fining could not be taken away while the evil was so great. The revenue was materially injured by illicit stills, and the morals of the people corrupted. There were instances of town lands being fined three times over for the same still. Severe enactments were required, and unless informers were rewarded, no discoveries would be made. The severity of the law was partly the fault of those gentlemen who did not exert themselves to put these stills down.

Mr Perceval admitted the justice of the remark concerning the inadequate punishment of fraudulent officers; and said he should have little hesitation in proposing that such offenders should be subject to double the penalty of town lands. The amendment was negatived, and an objection of Mr Parnell's to the undue severity of the enactment against the owner of illicit stills was equally unsuccessful. For the first offence, corporal punishment was inflicted, transportation for the second. An English member, Mr H. Martin, observed upon this, he had never before heard of corporal punishment for a fiscal offence,—such things were unknown in England; besides neither the nature nor the limit of this punishment was specified, and it might be flogging to any extent, or it might be any thing else.

May 30. The state of political morality in Ireland was still farther elucidated by a motion which Sir J. Newport made against an individual. It appeared from the report of the commissioners appointed to inquire into abuses in the Irish customs and excise, that in 1806 they called before them a person of the name of Beauchamp Hill. He stated on his examination, that he had been a surveyor for four years, and that he was in the habit of taking a present of twenty guineas per month, from every still contained in his walk; and this he justified on the ground of precedent and notoriety, and also from necessity, owing to the inadequacy of his salary to his support. Eighteen months afterward this very person was promoted to the office of inspector general of excise, —that is, he was appointed to oversee that others did not abuse the trust, of abusing which he himself stood convicted by his own confession; and this jointly with another person, in the room of two who were removed on charges of misconduct which they denied, and upon which they demanded a trial. Sir John moved that the promotion of this man, under these circumstances, was in direct violation of a statute enacted to guard against frauds in the revenue.—The reply was as curious as the case. "Certainly," Mr Foster said, "a universal system of corruption had formerly existed among the revenue officers of Ireland, in consequence of the inadequacy of their salaries: 32 excise officers had been examined by the commissioners of inquiry, and 30 of them confessed that they had received similar presents. They justified it because it was a common practice, and known to be so by the board who employed them, and who took no measures to stop it. Surely then it would be unfair to select one or two officers for punishment, when almost every one equally deserved to be dismissed. Moreover, this Mr Beauchamp Hill had been promoted for his merit, though he had, in common with all the other excisemen, done an improper thing; but he was, in every other respect, a very good officer, and was ever ready to give every information in his power to the commissioners." On these grounds, Mr Foster moved the previous question.

He was supported by Mr Croker, who said it was sufficient proof of the corruption of some of the revenue officers that they were alive, for if they had trusted to their salaries they must have been starved. The salaries were settled in the reign of Charles II., and were but 40l. a year to a gauger, and 65l. to the surveyor. They were, therefore, compelled to get by some other means those indis-

pensables of meat, drink, and cloathing, for themselves and their families, which the pure abstract patriots of the present day might perhaps affirm they had no right to think of. Sir S. Romilly exclaimed upon this, that he had never in his life heard such doctrines gravely stated before! If this principle was admitted, any person indicted at the Old Bailey for a robbery might plead that it was only for the purpose of getting meat, drink, and clothes, for himself and family. The salaries of these places might not be sufficient, but the persons who accepted them were not compelled to become excisemen.—This was an obvious reply, yet Mr Croker had spoken plain truth. If the shepherd starves his dog, the dog necessarily becomes a thief; he must have his fair allowance of bones, and of something more too, or the master ought not to be surprised if he should learn to help himself to mutton. Mr Perceval qualified the nakedness of Mr Croker's honest argument. "In this particular case," he said, "when all the excise officers in Ireland had been in the same habit of receiving regular presents, it would have been impossible to dismiss them all at once: for though such a measure might have been good in the way of example, it would have been a sacrifice of the revenues of Ireland for two years. As all, therefore, could not be dismissed, there was no reason why the best of them should not be promoted. The cause of this great corruption had now been removed by the increase of the officers' salaries, and in future the act might be strictly inforced."—Upon this Sir J. Newport's motion was negatived.

June 9. A different decision was obtained when the same principle in its general application came before the House, on the third reading of the Irish revenue regulation bill. Sir J. Newport opposed it, because it contained a grant of full amnesty and indemnification to all the excise officers in Ireland, who had, for a series of years past, been plundering the revenue (as appeared from the reports of the committee of inquiry) of no less than 850,000l. a year, by taking bribes from the distillers, and thus combining with them to defraud that government of which they were the sworn and confidential servants. Mr Foster justified the obnoxious clause, "which was framed," he said, "in compliance with a conditional promise made to certain officers: no practical proof of their guilt was to be obtained; but on the condition of indemnity they had fully acknowledged the facts, and explained how a repetition of such fraud might be prevented. The commissioners of inquiry had themselves proposed (as the defalcations were almost universal, and had been committed without any consciousness of criminality, as the established custom) that an amnesty should be given for all that had past, upon the strong assurance, that under the increased salaries no such acts should take place for the future; or, if they did, that they should be instantly followed by dismissal and the severest penalties. What would be the obvious consequence of rejecting this clause? Why, that these men would be placed in the power of those very brewers and distillers at whose frauds they had heretofore been induced by bribery to connive, and who might again drive them to new connivances and frauds by the threats of prosecutions, fines, and penalties, for former acts, the proofs of which were in their power, and thus render the bill nugatory, and expose the revenue

to a repetition of those frauds which it was intended to prevent.

This was a business which the Irish members should have been left to settle in their own way. The dilemma was one of which no person, who was not acquainted with the state of Ireland, could form an adequate notion. But the clause of indemnity shocked the moderate reformers, when they ought to have been shocked at the state of society which rendered it the least of two evils; and they exclaimed against it as an abomination, in the same unreflecting spirit as missionaries, as soon as they have sprinkled a savage, expect him to obey the moral ordinances of Christianity, and put away the numerous wives whom he has taken in conformity to the custom of his tribe. Mr Windham, however, took this side of the question. "The indemnity," he said, "taught these men to laugh at government, to set it at defiance, to believe that it could not do without them, and, therefore, could not dismiss them. Under such feelings, was it to be expected that such men would, for a trifling increase of salary, forego the temptation of gaining five times as much by fraud? and what sort of example was this to hold out to their brother revenue officers in England? If the fraudulent officers must necessarily be retained, he was ready to admit that the clause ought to pass of course; but he denied the necessity, and, therefore, would oppose it." The weight of his authority turned the scale, 47 members voted against the clause, and rejected it by a majority of 6. Mr Windham reasoned erroneously, for he overlooked the difference of exchange between England and Ireland, which exists in morals as well as currency. The evil, in this instance, originated in the niggardly economy of government, which, by underpaying its servants, compelled them to remunerate themselves; and probable enough it was, that the increase now made to their salaries would not be, by any means, commensurate with their old gains, and that the old trade would continue to flourish, though in secret. The true remedy seems to be a total change of system as in Scotland; this the commissioners had advised, and it does not appear why their advice was disregarded.

The way in which things are managed in Ireland appeared also in a statement made *April* 12. by Mr Robert Shaw, when he moved for the production of certain papers relative to the conduct of the paving and lighting board for the city of Dublin, the citizens being very anxious that some of the powers granted to that board should be repealed. "The commissioners of this board," he said, "were empowered by the act of last session, to raise the tax on houses to any sum not exceeding 4s. 6d. in the pound, on the valuation of ministers' money. Upon the very first meeting after the act, they assessed to the full amount, and though this increase was more than double the former tax, their next measure was to take down half the lamps,—a new and extraordinary mode of improving the lighting of a city, not too well lighted before; and a not less extraordinary proceeding towards the citizens of Dublin, who were thus made to pay double for half their former accommodation. And the remaining half of the lamps were so badly fed with oil, that they were in general completely extinguished by one or two in the morning, so that the city

was in total darkness from that time till the return of day-light. This was one of the points upon which he wished to have documents laid before the House. Another was a return of the expences incurred in opening a sewer in Capel street. It seemed the commissioners were very anxious to carry into effect a favourite project of their own; which was, to make a sewer with ledges to support main pipes, and large enough for men to work in. This project had been submitted to the most eminent engineers in either country, who, one and all, condemned it as intolerably expensive, most absurd, and absolutely impracticable. One would have expected that, after such an opinion, the commissioners would have paused before they squandered the public money; but so far from it, they immediately proceeded to open an immense gulph in one of the most frequented streets, widening the gulph until the very foundations of the houses were in danger, and the houses themselves were shut out from all access by the quantity of earth thrown up on each side, and all business actually suspended for three months in one of the most trading streets in the city of Dublin. So severely was the nuisance felt, that the corporation petitioned the lord lieutenant, and his grace interfered, and put a stop to the work till the propriety of continuing it should be farther considered. The opening of this sewer to the extent of about 30 yards, cost little short of 1000l. The length of the pipes in Dublin exceed 50 miles, so that this circumstance in itself confirms the report of the engineers, when they stated the expence to be intolerable; and that they were equally justified in reporting the project as absurd, was evident from this consideration, that the water passing through pipes so placed must be unavoidably contaminated by the filth of the sewer, and of course be rendered unfit for the use of the inhabitants. And it was to avoid an evil of this sort that the London engineers, in laying pipes, always lay them as far from a sewer as possible; and when obliged to cross a sewer, the pipes were always made of metal. The remaining papers he had to move for would prove how little inclined the commissioners had shewn themselves to consult the convenience of citizens, from whom they were levying such enormous taxes. The commissioners of the ballast board had just completed a wall on the quay of Dublin, much to the ornament and security of that part of the city, and not without considerable expence to the inhabitants; scarcely had it been finished, when the commissioners of paving erected a paling under the windows of the Ballast Office, in the handsomest part of the city, and against the new wall, inclosing a sort of depot for sand for paving, though, at the other side of the street, there was a vacant piece of ground equally near the work carrying on, and the occupation of which could have been productive of no inconvenience whatever. The Ballast Office commissioners wrote to them, requiring the removal of the depot upon two grounds;—that it was a great nuisance to the street itself, and that it seriously endangered the new wall, by the weight that it imposed upon it. The commissioners of wide streets, conceiving it to be their duty to prevent such a nuisance in so public a situation, made two applications to the same effect. The very extraordinary answers (to give them no worse name) which communicated to these two most respectable authorities

the unqualified refusal of the paving board, would be found in the papers he now intended moving for. The grand jury also wrote, and, indignant at a similar refusal, presented it as a nuisance. The paving board entered a traverse against the presentment; and thus the public money, designed for the improvement of the city of Dublin, and placed in the hands of those commissioners for that purpose, was to be thrown away in defending their wanton and outrageous insults upon the citizens who supplied that money. The papers he now moved for, he was convinced would satisfy the House, that so far from extending the powers of this board, they should rescind many of those which it already possessed."

The papers were ordered in consequence of this statement; but no farther proceedings took place during the session.

May 24. When Mr Foster brought forward the Irish budget, he estimated the revenue at four and a half millions; a loan was to be raised of the same amount, making, with the unappropriated balances, 10,514,694l., being an excess of 27,494l. above the supply. The sum to be provided, therefore, was the interest and sinking fund on the loan, amounting to 264,000l.—Irish. This Mr Foster proposed to raise by prohibiting the use of raw corn in breweries, which, for the half of the current year, would add 124,000l. to the revenue; by increasing the duty upon the strength of spirits, making an addition in the proportion of one to ten upon fourteen degrees above the present strength; this was calculated at 130,000l. a year; but as it would only operate for two months in the current year, credit was taken for 32,500l. by increasing the quantity of work on licenced stills, which measure, like the last, could not operate till the 5th of November, when the existing laws allowed the distilleries to commence;—these two months would produce 60,000l.,—and the aggregate would leave a surplus of about 2000l. above the sum required. Of the loan, one million and a quarter Irish was to be raised in Ireland by way of annuities.

Two measures for the improvement of Ireland received the sanction of Parliament. One was a bill for the farther extension of inland navigation in that country. This was proposed by Sir A. Wellesley, who, at that time, held the situation of chief secretary. *March* 28. "It was an uncontroverted fact," he said, "that the grain grown in Great Britain had not for many years been equal to the consumption, and that we expended millions in purchasing corn from foreign nations, while the fertile lands of Ireland were suffered to remain untilled, for want of a cheap and easy conveyance of their produce to market. It was also admitted, that the deficiency of capital in Ireland rendered it impracticable to obtain an extensive inland navigation without considerable parliamentary aids; the only thing then which remained for consideration, was, in what manner this bounty should be administered. He himself was unacquainted with the detail of the business; and, indeed, the necessary avocations of any man holding his office would render it completely impracticable for him to enter into the inquiries necessary for forming a correct judgement on matters of this nature, and, therefore, he conceived himself justified in proposing to continue the present board of directors

of inland navigation, whose duties it would be to examine the different lines of navigation that were proposed, and state their opinions thereon to government."

Sir J. Newport agreed with the chief secretary in all his premises, but differed from him as to the manner in which measures so wise and politic were to be carried into effect. "Sir Arthur," he said, "seemed to think that nothing more was needful than to appoint a board with salaries, and then every thing would follow. Now," continued he, "I am of opinion that a board without salaries would be preferable, and I much fear that the salaried board will retard the business instead of forwarding it, for this they have hitherto done. In the year 1807, the whole sum expended by the board was 21,000l., and out of this no less than 6100l. was appropriated to their own establishment; 500l. a piece for five commissioners; 500l. more to a secretary; so much for an accountant, for a clerk of the minutes, for a law agent, and house-rent and engineers, and surveyors, &c. &c. Now the lords of the treasury, and the commissioners of imprest accounts, are fully competent to perform all the functions of this same board, even if they had money to expend; but no intention has been intimated of making any grant for this purpose, and therefore the whole amount of this famous measure, is to ensure us that we shall have officers to pay, whether there be any employment for them or not." The same strain of opposition was pursued by Mr Parnell. "Why," said he, "does not Lord Castlereagh fulfil the solemn pledge given by him to the Irish Parliament, that whenever the half million granted for this purpose should be expended, ministers would recommend such further grants as should be sufficient to complete the general system of inland navigation in Ireland? There appears reason to suspect that ministers have no intention whatever of making any farther grant, and that their only object is to lull the people of Ireland with delusive expectations, and meantime to secure a comfortable establishment for their friends upon the consolidated fund. There is at least one measure sufficiently ripe for adoption, if they had thought fit to avail themselves of it, namely, the extension of the grand canal to the towns of Roscrea, Nemagh, and Tipperary, upon one level of above 120 miles, and from thence into the most fertile parts of the county of Tipperary, by Cahir, Clonmell, and Carrick-on-Suir, and uniting the great ports of Limerick and Waterford with that of Dublin. This is a line in which I have no personal interest whatsoever; but this line, whether it be considered in a military or a commercial point of view, whether in furnishing the best and speediest means of concentrating the internal force, and distributing the internal produce of the island, or whether we consider it as tending to accelerate the civilization of a very disturbed though very valuable district of country, is an object of great national importance, and ought not to be deferred till another session."

Lord Castlereagh replied to what he called this peevish opposition. "Frequent allusions," said he, "have been made to me as the author of the original measure of granting half a million at the time of the union for the extension of inland navigation in Ireland. This measure I have no reason to be ashamed of, neither in

respect to the principle which actuated it, nor to the manner in which it has been followed up by the very able and upright officers to whom the business was entrusted. They have performed their duty with zeal and ability; the beneficial effects of the measure, as far as it has gone, are fully admitted on both sides of the House; and, however gentlemen may indulge themselves in talking of jobs and parliamentary influence, sure I am that no such imputation was cast upon it at the time of the union; on the contrary, it was perhaps the single measure which, at that important crisis, was received with perfect approbation by both parties. Is it possible to give credit to those persons for their professed anxiety to promote inland navigation, who, at the same time, are endeavouring to throw out a bill which simply proposes to accomplish that object? The fact is, that various lines have been proposed, but none of them have been so far matured by the officers whose duty it is to examine and report upon them, as to furnish a justifiable ground for Parliament to make a grant to aid their execution. Is it then the intention of these gentlemen to prevent such inquiry being made by the only persons competent to make it, or are they now ready, without any examination, to vote away the public money?" Mr Foster and Mr Perceval, in like manner, exposed the folly and inconsistency of opposing a bill to which the opposition might propose any amendment or alteration that they pleased, and Sir Arthur's motion was carried by 41 votes to 12.

The other measure of improvement was a bill for contriving the means of draining and reclaiming the bogs. "The bog of Allen," Mr Foster *May* 2. said, "which was the largest bog in that country, proved the practicability of this. It was ascertained, through the locks erected upon the canals, that the solid earth was not less than 180 feet above the level of the sea, of course no doubt could exist as to the possibility of draining it. The object of the bill was to appoint commissioners who should undertake, without salaries, to examine the other bogs of Ireland, and to suggest the means by which they might be drained, and the interests of all proprietors conciliated. The expence of these commissioners was not to exceed an allowance to surveyors, or the persons immediately employed in exploring the bogs. As to the benefits which might result from such an undertaking, it was sufficient to say, that half the ground of these bogs, when converted to purposes of agriculture, would produce in a year more corn than had ever in any one year been imported into Great Britain, while the other half would grow more hemp and flax, for which the ground would be peculiarly calculated, than would serve for the consumption of the united kingdom."

A plan of Mr Parnell, for doing away the difference between the currencies of the two countries, *April* 18. was negatived without a division. Part of it was, that all the Irish money should be called in and recoined, but he did not show how the inconvenience of waiting till this was done could be obviated. Another evil, far greater in itself, and far more difficult to be remedied, was brought before Parliament by the same gentleman. He presented petitions from the counties of Tipperary, Clare, Wicklow, and Armagh, praying *May* 19. for a commutation of tithes,

and then made a motion upon the subject. "It is the universal wish," said he, "of the people of Ireland, that an alteration should take place in the mode by which the clergy are paid; and it is the wish as well as the interest of the clergy themselves. I am particularly desirous to be understood as not attributing to the conduct of the clergy, the grievances which the people of Ireland sustain on account of tithes; for, though particular instances of oppression have occurred, there is no ground for bringing a general charge of oppression against that body. They do not levy any thing like a full tenth of the produce of the land. There are no small tithes, a modus having been established against them. There are no tithes on cattle; for neither potatoes or flax, in the north of Ireland, are tithes paid. The tithe on hay in Connaught is 6d. only on any quantity; and throughout the country, the average rate is less than half the tithe: no blame attaches to the clergy, as a body, for exorbitant exaction of tithes. I also wish it to be understood by the House, that the wish that has been expressed in Ireland of an alteration in the system of tithe, has not been the result of any party measures; and that it does not come particularly from the catholics of Ireland, but, if from one body of men more than another, from those professing the established religion. Conceiving that it would be most to the public advantage if his Majesty's ministers would take this business into their own hands, I waited upon the chancellor of the exchequer in order to propose to him this mode of proceeding. He, I am bound to say, communicated his sentiments to me upon the subject in the most candid and explicit manner, and informed me, as afterwards he also informed the House, that the subject had been under the consideration of his Majesty's ministers; that it would so continue to be, and that he hoped to be able in this session to bring forward a measure to afford relief to the people of Ireland. The measure of which he gave me an outline was that of enabling incumbents to make leases to their parishioners of their tithes for 21 years. It appears, however, that he is not now prepared to bring forward this measure. The business has, therefore, reverted to my hands, and, if I move for leave to bring in a bill to enable incumbents to make leases for 21 years, I obtain the benefit of a general discussion of the subject, and, at the same time, I propose a step to which I have good ground to expect the support of the right hon. gent., and therefore I propose to the House what probably may lead to an effectual issue. If power be given to incumbents to make leases of their tithes for 21 years, some of those objections which are made to the present system of tithes, in consequence of its being detrimental to the agriculture of the country will be done away; for when a farmer shall have made his bargain with the clergyman of his parish, he will be able to carry on his improvements without that great drawback on his profits, which is the consequence of the clergyman's right to a tenth of the gross produce of his land. Such a measure will also remove some of the objections which are commonly urged against tithes, as a way of levying money from the people. According to the present system, the sum which each person is bound to pay is not certain, but arbitrary: the time of payment, the manner of payment, the quantity to be paid,

are none of them clear or plain to the contributor, or to any other person; whereas it is an established maxim of taxation, that the tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain, and not arbitrary; and the time of payment, the manner of payment, the quantity to be paid, ought all to be clear and plain to the contributor, and to every other person. Now, if the parishioner shall be able to make a contract with his clergyman for his tithes for a certain number of years, at a certain fixed annual sum, this source of evil will be remedied.—In the next place, as the occupier of land in Ireland suffers principally from the manner in which the collection of tithes takes place, this measure will be productive of very beneficial consequences, inasmuch as it will contribute to alter this mode of collection. The mass of the Irish people are circumstanced in respect to tithes differently from the people of any other country. The wealth of Ireland has not yet made that progress as to produce that first symptom of extensive improvement in a country, the division of labour, to such a degree of perfection as to establish a distinct class of people, who live by the wages of their daily labour, and provide their subsistence by expending their wages in purchasing of it. The consequence is, that every poor Irishman is under the necessity of obtaining a piece of land, from which he may procure the means of feeding himself and his family. In Ireland, therefore, the whole mass of the common people are landholders, and accordingly chargeable with tithes. From this state of things two consequences flow, which give rise to all the grievances which belong to the collection of them. The first, that of the clergyman being unable in his own person to collect his own tithes, and therefore being obliged to employ proctors, or to let them to tithe-farmers. The second, the impossibility of the lower orders to protect themselves against the illegal exactions of the proctors or farmers, in consequence of their poverty disabling them from procuring legal redress in a court of law.—And it is also in consequence of this state of things, that the people of Ireland, in respect to tithes, are in a condition quite different from that of the people of England in respect of their tithes. No man in England is liable to be called upon to pay them who is not to a certain degree a person of property; if he is not, the improved condition of society in this country would deter a proctor from treating him cruelly, and even if he was so treated, he would easily find means of obtaining redress —in fact, he would obtain it by compelling the clergyman to draw his tithe. But in Ireland this privilege is virtually taken away from the parishioner; for though he may have the right to do so by law, he is made liable by a modern law to an action for conspiring against the clergyman, if there should be the least appearance among the parishioners of any attempt to annoy the clergyman by calling upon him to take his tithe in kind; and so completely has this law taken away this remedy from the parishioner, that the practice of taking tithe in kind is now seldom heard of. The usual mode of proceeding is this; the proctor, with an assistant, views the crops in July, and again before or after they are saved. He notes the crop and value in his field-book. He generally estimates by the acre, but sometimes by the barrel; he usually at the second view makes a bargain for the tithe with the occupier on the

spot; reducing the charge to a certain degree, and the farmer passes his note for it. If no bargain is made, the proctor makes a return to the clergyman agreeable to the field-book. The payments are generally tardy, the tithe is not paid frequently for near a year and a half. Debtors for 40s. are summoned before two magistrates, who hear the proctor's proofs, and give a decree accordingly. Debtors above that sum and under 10l. are processed before the quarter-sessions. For sums above 10l. citations are served to appear before the bishop's court. If the proctor chooses to oppress a poor man, he may cite for a few shillings. There are no acts of the proctor deemed illegal in the ecclesiastical courts. He is the favoured person who replenishes their coffers. The only remedy which landholders have against any new and extraordinary demands of the clergy or tithe-farmers is faction and intimidation, and flight: and as the land-holder has no legal remedy against exactions of the proctors and by the farmers, the mass of the people are positive slaves to them; they have it in their power always to ruin a poor man, first by giving him long credit and then by suing him for interest, costs, and tithes in the bishop's court. The consequence is, that the proctor is nearly despotic. Do you find any fault (he says to the parishioner) with my valuation of your crops; you shall smart for it, if you do—I will have you instantly served with a citation or process; I will harass you by litigation; I will ruin you by costs of proceedings; I will take you from your business and employment; I will hold you up to the gentlemen of the county as a disloyal man, who refuse to pay your tithes, and raise an outcry against the church establishment.—Such a bill as would enable the clergyman and his parishioner to make a bargain for a fixed term of years, at a fixed annual rent, would relieve the clergyman from the necessity of employing a proctor; it would do away altogether the existence of that still more odious character, the tithe-farmer; and it would relieve the parishioner from the tyranny and exaction of those most obnoxious instruments of the church.—One proof of the mischievous and fatal consequences which flow from the present mode, took place so late as in last February, in the county of Kerry. In consequence of the disturbed state of that county, great exertions were made by the gentlemen and particularly by the catholic clergymen, to persuade the people to return to a state of tranquillity. These exertions proved successful, and at a place appointed multitudes attended, gave up their arms, and took the oath of allegiance. They declared, however, on their oaths, that the great suffering which goaded them to madness, sprung from proctorship, or the manner of collecting tithes. Of the cess itself, unconnected with clerical agents, they did not complain; on the contrary, they distinctly declared, they felt no evil whatever when dealing solely and immediately with the clergyman.—But, though I think these are circumstances which ought to obtain for my motion the support of the House, I confess that the point of view in which I am principally induced to consider the bill which I propose as a good measure, is, that it will very much facilitate the carrying into effect at some future day some plan for an entire commutation of tithes, and I beg the House will clearly understand that I propose the limited measure of granting leases for

tithes, only because I see no chance now of carrying such a plan into effect, and by no means because I think that such a plan ought not now to be adopted. This, in truth, is the measure which the people of Ireland desire, and this is the measure which his Majesty's ministers would themselves adopt, if they could fully comprehend all the evils which flow from tithes, as affecting the public peace and security: and if they could justly appreciate all the beneficial effects which would attend a full concession to the feeling of the people of Ireland upon this subject. They are objectionable as contrary to the true principles of taxation, and as obstacles in the way of agricultural improvement, and much more objectionable when viewed with reference to their effects upon religion. They are the source of perpetual strife and ill will, and the cause of inveterate and incurable disagreements between the clergyman and his parishioners; and by being so, they materially affect his ecclesiastical character, and tend to defeat the sole object of ecclesiastical preferments. They are a powerful cause of many quitting the church, and creating new sectaries, and are unquestionably one great source of the decrease of religion and morals. But, if there are these objections to tithes generally in whatever country they exist, how aggrieved must the people of Ireland be by them, when of the whole people 1-10th only belong to the established church? After what I have said of the poverty of those who have to pay tithes in Ireland; of the manner in which they are collected, and of the people not belonging to the church for whose support tithes have been established, is it wonderful that a succession of outrage and insurrection should have disgraced the page of Irish history? I have now only to add one more argument in favour of the claims of Ireland for redress of this grievance. Mr Pitt, when he proposed to the people of Ireland the measure of union, in a speech which was circulated at the expence of government, did hold out to them that some mode should be adopted for relieving the lower orders from the pressure of tithes, which, according to his expressions, "operate as a great practical evil." This offer on his part was considered by the people of Ireland as a part of the union compact; for though not made an article of the union, under the circumstances in which Mr Pitt stood as minister of this country, and particularly under the circumstances of the publication of his speech by the Irish government, no other construction can in justice be given to the transaction, than that it amounted to a promise to the people of Ireland, and which promise the people of this country have yet to redeem. I request that his Majesty's ministers will seriously contemplate upon the consequences of refusing to grant this redress. If they will listen to the voice of the people of Ireland, and do that which will conciliate their feeling towards them, no danger need be apprehended of conquest by a foreign power; but if they do not conciliate them, then they will place the empire under circumstances of risk and danger, and they will be responsible even for the existence of the empire. I hope these observations will produce their due effect; and I shall conclude with moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to enable ecclesiastical persons, having a right to tithes in Ireland, to demise the same for a term of twenty-one years."

Mr Perceval said, "he must give his most decided opposition; for, having maturely considered the subject, with the earnest wish of effecting something radically beneficial, he had found difficulties so various and so multiplied, as obliged him to abandon his intentions as altogether impracticable. But he was especially bound to object to the measure which was proposed, because it seemed likely to create an expectation of something more to follow, and thus increasing the very mischief which it pretended to allay. The argument used was, that nine-tenths of the Irish were not protestants: this shewed that some great diversion of tithes from the present system was intended; and therefore the House was called on to pause before it proceeded, without accurately knowing how far they might be called on to proceed. The people of Ireland, they were told, were anxious for a commutation of tithes; is there," said Mr Perceval, "any plan for this purpose? has the honourable gentleman, who tells us he is aiming at this, digested any such plan? has he formed any system of substitution? If any such were adopted, and the people of Ireland should find that they paid more than they do at present, I believe they would not be very much in love with the alteration; and yet this I firmly believe would be the result, inasmuch as I am satisfied that the tithes do not, according to their present mode of collection, produce 50 per cent. of their real value. Besides, what must be the first step towards carrying such a measure into effect? It must be to institute a commission for the purpose of ascertaining what was the real value of tithes, in order to know what was the commutation at which it must be fixed; and would it be supposed that any plan founded on such principles could afford ease to the people? The people might be in favour of a commutation now, but would they be so when they found they were to pay so much more than at present, upon a commutation founded on a fair and full estimate of the value of their tithes? The landlords, indeed, might approve of such a measure, as the surplus beyond the present rates would probably find its way into their pockets.

"I have watched the honourable gentleman," continued Mr Perceval, "through the whole of his speech, and can find out no specific plan which he means to propose. Is it intended by his bill to enable the clergy to make leases of their tithes, or to go farther, and compel them to do so? If the former, the act might become a mere dead letter. By the law, as it now stood, the clergyman could grant a lease of his tithes during his own incumbency, and if he did not do it as things now stood, it was not to be expected that he would be more likely to do it for the act. With respect to the power which would thus be given of binding his successor, there was the obvious danger that the incumbent, for the temptation of a present fine, might make a lease which would be highly prejudicial to those who were to come after him; and for the precaution of submitting such leases to the approbation of the bishop, it was so impossible that the bishop could be acquainted with the merits of each particular case, that this would be a mere matter of form, and a mere delusion. These are among the difficulties which, in my attempts to frame a measure that should promise to be efficient, I found so strong, as to make me abandon all hope of being able to remove them. There were

others in the way. To whom were the leases to be made, to the tenant or the landlord? If to the latter, the tenant would surely not be benefitted; for then the landlord would put into his pocket that which now, by the lax mode of levying, fell to the tenant's share. I trust, then, that I have shewn how it is, from sufficient reason, and not from caprice, that I have altered my opinion upon this subject, and I think it better to negative the proposition at once, than to hold out a false hope, when no possible benefit could be expected to follow from it."

Mr Tighe replied to this. "I stand," said he, "in the same predicament as several other Irish representatives,—that of having been instructed by my constituents to support in Parliament, not any particular or specific mode of relief, but any modification whatever that may be proposed with regard to tithes; and for that reason I shall vote for the present measure, though I think it totally inadequate to accomplish any general relief. But so little do the people of Ireland concur with the chancellor of the exchequer, in finding that infinity of difficulties in the subject, that they say, and say truly, that any system whatever would be preferable to the present. The mode in which they reason is this: They cannot help considering tithes to be, in their nature and origin, a mode of taxation for the maintenance of the clergy, and it does not appear to them that there would be great difficulty in substituting any other mode of taxation, or any other appropriated fund for the present, because any mode by which the salaries of the clergy might be collected in Ireland would be preferable to the present; and a better tax might be easily substituted for one which is the worst possible in its effects. Why may not tithes as easily find a substitute as the land-tax? If the payment must proceed from the land only, why not substitute a per centage upon rents? Or if the salaries of the clergy ought to be paid by all subjects equally, why not substitute a property tax on any other fund appropriated to the purpose? And as there are now actually in Ireland not one establishment only, but three religious establishments recognized by law, such a tax would enable the state to give an adequate maintenance to all the three. According to common policy and justice, all the ministers of religion acknowledged by law should be amply supported by the public, or at least so far as to render them respectable to and independent of their congregations. And if a fund was established for this purpose, even in part by the sale of the ecclesiastical tithes, contrived with any other means, the surplus of such funds might be applied to redeem the lay impropriations. I could wish that the gentlemen of England were fully apprised of the situation of the sister island; and principally with the situation of the lower orders. With regard to tithes, Ireland is peculiarly circumstanced, and in all respects differently from England. In this country they are in general paid by the members of one church to ministers of the same church; but in Ireland they are chiefly paid by the poor, and for the support of a clergy of a different persuasion. In England, wherever there is a modus or a composition, the payment of tithes is no grievance: it is cheerfully paid, or it ought to be so; and I doubt if I should vote for any alteration in the system of tithes in England. But

will you teach the people of Ireland not to consider their grievances according to their own ideas and feelings? where the tithes are principally paid by the poorer orders of catholics; where all the pastures of the rich protestant grazier, where all the gardens, plantations, and demesnes of the rich protestant proprietor, resident or non-resident, pay nothing to the support of their own church, while the cotter or labourer, who lives, or rather rots at his gate, cannot dig a meal for his children from his garden, at least in the south of Ireland, until the proctor's arbitrary demand is satisfied; and let it be what it will, it must be satisfied, or the wretch is threatened with what sounds more dreadful in his ears than the echo of French artillery would do, with a citation to an ecclesiastical court; that is to say, a citation to ruin. And this for a church from which he receives neither temporal comfort nor spiritual consolation; for a church whose doctrines were never promulgated in Ireland, at the time of the reformation, by the messenger of peace, nor the minister of the gospel; whose dogmas and whose articles were never preached in Ireland but by the thunder of British musketry, nor ever written on the hearts of the Irish nation but by the sharpness of British swords; an establishment which never obtained in that country much more than a name, a mere outward form, a sort of sketch of existence, under the bloody banners of Elizabeth and Cromwell. And moreover, the mode of payment by tithes was not of prescriptive right in Ireland, nor even of ancient standing; and I doubt if they were known, or levied, or ascertained by law in Ireland, previous to the Irish acts for their collection under Henry the Eighth; and though the preamble to those acts may recite a supposed claim of the clergy, yet there is no evidence of their having been, unless very partially, established in the country before that period. And from that period to the present day, they have been the constant subject of grievance and resistance; the pretence for every insurrection, the watch-word of every rebellion, the everlasting spring of every animosity to Britain."

The same opinion was supported by Mr Ponsonby, Mr D. Brown, and Mr Fitzgerald. "There was no subject," Mr Grattan said, "which pressed more upon the feelings of the Irish people than this. The proctor was odious to the Irish peasant. He was the greatest *little* oppressor that ever roused the indignation of a people. He was a character, who, having no connection with religion, yet seemed in Ireland identified with it. Indeed, with the powers that the present system of tithe-collection gave him, he must always be an oppressor. He was also a dishonest man. He not only oppressed the peasant, but he cheated the parson; and he, in fact, was the cause of the odium incurred by the clergy. There was a difficulty in applying a remedy to the evil, but that difficulty was not insuperable; the only way to acquire information was to go into a committee, and therein to learn the state of the Irish church. It was ridiculous to talk of inquiring into the real value of tithes; for if they did so, they would equally inquire into their application, and the purposes for which they were originally granted; and in that event the clergy would be no great gainers by the inquiry. The true object of inquiry was, What was a fit and proper support for the clergy? Upon that

inquiry I am sure they would not be left less rich, and I do not wish they should be more so."

Mr Croker, than whom no man has thought more impartially upon the wretched state of his country, nor seen its real evils in a truer light, remarked upon this occasion, with great acuteness, "that the intended measure tended to defeat the very object which it professed to have in view. It went to pledge the good faith of Parliament to the continuance of the present tithe system for 21 years at least, during which no change could be proposed: but it went farther than this, and extended its existence for 21 years from the date of any future lease that might be made under it, before the actual change should be approved; so that at whatever time we should agree to a modification of the system, 21 years must elapse before it would become effectual. Now he was convinced that the existing system was a great inconvenience, if not a severe grievance, to Ireland; he was convinced that some alteration would be useful, and he felt it his duty to take the first fair and favourable opportunity of effecting it. But for this very reason, as a friend to the principle of tithe reform, he could not but oppose the introduction of the present bill, which must inevitably delay, and would probably prevent for ever, that reform which he desired."

No person, indeed, seemed to consider the reform of this great evil as hopeless except Mr Perceval; which may easily be accounted for—because no person except himself had attempted to devise a plan for remedying it. In declaring that he deemed it utterly hopeless, he acted a fair and manly part as an individual; but he should have remembered, that when the physician pronounces a case incurable, he gives over his patient; and this is a perilous predicament for a body politic! The evil seemed to be felt by all persons. Mr Wilberforce expressed his anxious desire that some remedy should be devised; but it was too late in the session, he observed, for any thing effectual to be accomplished, and therefore he wished the motion should be disposed of by the previous question, rather than an actual negative. To this, though it was not the usual mode upon bringing in a bill, Mr Canning assented, as he also did not object to the principle of the measure; and accordingly the previous question was voted by 137 against 62.

The manner in which the question had been treated was considered by Mr Parnell as so favourable to his own opinions, that he renewed it a few days afterwards, by moving for the appointment of commissioners to inquire into the state of tithes in Ireland. *May* 30. "If Ireland," he said, "had continued to have its own Parliament, no such inquiry could have been wanting, because each member would then have been completely informed upon the subject. The House, therefore, was bound to place the people of Ireland, by an inquiry, on the same footing as they would have been without one, if the Union had not taken place; and to remedy, as far as it was able, this great injury which Ireland had sustained by the Union, of the legislature being ignorant of the condition of that country, and of the nature of the evils of which she complained." Mr Ponsonby, Mr M. Fitzgerald, Sir J. Newport, and Mr Hutchinson supported the motion; but it was resisted by Mr R. S. Dundas, who had now succeeded Sir A.

Wellesley in the situation of chief secretary, on the ground, that before Parliament appointed commissioners they should first be satisfied that some practicable measure could be proposed and adopted to remedy the acknowledged evil. Unless this was previously ascertained, the inquiry would only tend to raise expectations which could not be realized; and the feelings and passions of men were already but too much excited upon this subject throughout every district in Ireland. As for the plea that the House was at present deprived of information upon Irish subjects, it was fallacious, Ireland having its fair proportion of representatives. Mr Grattan also objected to the motion, saying, he had seen many commissioners appointed by the crown, but they had never been found to go to the root of the evil; it would be better to move for a committee next session. The House divided upon the motion, 75 in favour of it, against 146.

CHAP. XII.

Affairs of the East India Company. Report of the Committee of Inquiry. Recall of Cadets and Writers. Pohlman and Keylock's Trial. Measures of Reform and Economy. Dutch Commissioners. Offices in Reversion. Motion for excluding Placemen from the House of Commons. Mr Whitbread's Motion against Christian Frederick Walter, Storekeeper at the Military Depot. Insolvent Debtors. Bankrupt Laws. Cold Bath Fields Prison. Lord Auckland's Resolutions respecting Divorces. Cruelty Bill. Augmentation of Poor Livings. Lord Sidmouth's proposed Amendment of the Toleration Act. Its Impracticability shewn.

THE affairs of the East India Company occupied but little of the attention of Parliament during this session. Mr R. Dundas, while president of the Board of Controul, moved for a renewal of the East India committee, and for the reappointment of the persons who had formerly composed it, excepting Mr T. Grenville and Mr Hobhouse, who requested to be excused on the score of inconvenience, and in whose place he proposed Lord Temple and Mr Heley Addington. Mr Creevey objected to this. "The Board of Controul," he said, "had been formed on the report of the committee appointed by Lord Melville, and parliament would doubtless recollect how his lordship had come down session after session with congratulations to himself and to the country upon the prosperous state of our empire in the east, owing to his new system. Lord Castlereagh, who had been educated in his school, followed his steps exactly, and repeated his congratulations. In 1806, when Lord Morpeth had a seat at the board, a very different statement was produced. In the ensuing year the company petitioned that they might be allowed to borrow money upon their bonds; it was resisted, unless the company would consent to make a full disclosure of their affairs; this they promised in the following session, and accordingly the committee in question was appointed. The House was aware of the extent and importance of the matter to be investigated. The whole causes of the disappointments experienced for such a long series of years, even the utility of the system of controul, might be called in question, as well as the conduct of all those connected with it. Possibly the conduct of the directors themselves ought to be arraigned; and yet the committee selected to inquire into these transactions were the very persons whose conduct might be called

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in question, as connected with these transactions; and they were thus to sit in judgement upon themselves and their system. Never was such a mockery of inquiry! The person who proposed the committee and those of whom it was to be composed, was himself at the head of the Board of Controul, and nearly connected with its founder; and therefore it was to be presumed, that none of the committee could be so uncivil as to open their lips against that system, or deny its utility. And though Marquis Wellesley could not be on that committee, yet care was taken to place his connections there; Sir John Anstruther, who was his friend, and had been intimately connected with his system in his capacity of Chief Judge of Bengal, was to be the chairman! But then it might be said, that two of the directors were there. These directors were, however, suing the committee for money, something in the manner of paupers, and they were, out of doors, suing the right honourable gentleman (Mr Dundas) for a renewal of their charter. It was not probable, under these circumstances, that they would be very obstinate in their objections to whatever policy he should approve. But it might be said again, how could we get information on these subjects, unless the committee were composed of such as were most conversant with these matters? The best way to come at information, was by the examination of records and of witnesses. Those persons most capable of giving information might be examined by impartial, though unlearned persons, and much more good would result."

Upon this Sir A. Wellesley remarked, "that it would be rather an odd way of selecting a committee to chuse persons who were ignorant of the business that was to come before them, to the exclusion of those who were informed upon the subject. He himself had been alluded to with sufficient personality; but he might appeal to the honourable gentleman himself as to the line of conduct he had pursued during the proceedings of the last committee. Of this he might be sure, that whenever the conduct of his noble brother came before the committee, the fullest and the most rigid inquiry into that conduct should at all times have his cordial support. He was fully prepared to prove, that the extension of our dominions in India had not been owing to any aggression on our part: how far it was to be followed up, was a question of a very different nature."

Mr W. Smith observed, "that the House ought rather to look for impartiality with the means of obtaining information, than for partiality however fully informed. If the persons appointed to try, in the present instance, were not only acquainted with the circumstances of the question, but were parties in it, it was in vain to say that they could be competent judges." Mr Whitbread pursued this reasoning farther. He protested against the principle of confidence in public men, and maintained that the constitutional principle was distrust,—distrust in all public men, be they who they may. "Sir Arthur," he said, "had told the House what he could prove; let him then go before the committee as a witness, not as a judge, in matters which he has prejudged already. But he was not the only objectionable person. Was the situation of war secretary such a sinecure, as that the noble lord who held it could be spared from that department to attend to the business of this committee? Could the chancellor

of the exchequer quit his official situation, as Sir Arthur had quitted the chief secretaryship for Ireland, to discharge the very important duties of a member of this committee? As for the directors and the members of the Board of Controul, they ought rather to be examined against each other as witnesses, than be suffered to preside as judges." Mr Peter Moore argued to the same end, upon a different view of the subject. "The committee," he said, "was a farce and mockery; for it would consist of two parties, who ought to be in permanent hostility with each other. The whole system of India had been wrong ever since the minister of the crown had interfered to set it right. The India Company were sufficient to do every thing that could be wished, but the Board of Controul would not permit it. While the whole play of dethroning princes and rajahs was carrying on, the main actors in that drama sent not a word of information to their masters the directors, but they continued in full correspondence with the Board of Controul, and now they were going to club their efforts for the purpose of blinding the public." Notwithstanding these objections the committee were reappointed; and a motion of Mr Creevey, that the exposition which had been laid before the last committee should be printed, was negatived without a division, Mr Dundas observing that when a committee was appointed, it was unusual to anticipate its report, by calling for any particular document before the time when the others were to be produced. He doubted not but that the committee would produce that and every other paper relating to the affairs of the company in due time.

Late in the session, Mr Prendergast moved for certain papers which would prove, he said, that private merchants were very hardly treated by the directors, and that the directors had not fulfilled certain engagements which they had contracted for giving facility to the private trade. The complaint was shewn to be unfounded. The company having resisted the project of carrying home produce in India-built ships, engaged, in 1802, to furnish the private merchants with English-built ships, subject to its regulations, at the low rate of 14l. per ton. When the war commenced, orders were sent out to raise it to 20l.; but upon a representation that it had been already signified to the private merchants that the rate would be only 14l. for the year 1804, the directors acceded to it. As the war continued, the expence rose, but the rate was still within what the company paid; and, in fact, while the private merchants thought themselves ill-used that the company did not supply them with vessels at the rate of 14l. per ton, they were, as ship-owners, themselves letting ships to the company at from 19l. to 21l. Another complaint was, that in the years 1805 and 1806 no extra ships arrived in India, the vessels having been detained for political purposes. This of course was a circumstance which the company could not controul; but all that could be done in such a case was done, the private merchants were furnished with tonnage in the company's ships at the rate paid by the company. "With regard to the India trade," said Mr Howorth, "undoubtedly the restrictions and interruptions which have been imposed on the free merchants, and the extravagant price of freight demanded of them, have produced the effect of diverting the legitimate trade of India into clandestine courses, by

forcing a great part of British capital to pass under foreign flags. But it is rather unfair to charge the directors with making this exorbitant demand for freight, for whatever blame may attach to the expensive system under which they act, it surely could not be reasonably expected that they should give facilities to the free merchants, and promote their objects, by charging a lower rate of freight than the company were paying, at a certain loss to themselves. Whenever a corrective shall be applied to the abuses of the Indian trade, it will probably be found to consist in enabling the British merchants to bring their own ships, subject however to the supervision and controul of the East India Company, to be freighted and refreighted, to be imported and exported through their offices, the goods and merchandize to be deposited in their warehouses, in short, in a system, which will enable the British merchant and natives under British protection, to trade upon equal terms with the merchants of every other country: Do this, and you will bring the whole trade of India into the Thames, and for this plain reason—if the terms were equal, the security would be infinitely greater."

Mr Howorth then adverted to a far more momentous subject. "Various letters," said he, "which I have received from India, concur in stating the discontents of the Company's officers, and the disaffection of the native troops. This is principally attributed to a system of foisting king's officers into the native corps, persons unacquainted with their language, and unused to their customs. At Bombay it was intended to mount additional cavalry, and it was ordered to be officered by king's officers from Madras. This excited such resentment on the part of the Company's officers, and such discontent among the native troops, to whom their officers were endeared by long services, and with whom, for their gallant conduct at Bhurtpoor, they had received the thanks of Lord Lake, that Mr Duncan, the governor of Bombay, prudently withheld the publication of the order, and remonstrated with the government of Bengal on the subject. It has also been stated to me, that an order has been issued for drafting off annually from every grenadier battalion 12 picked men, in order to form a crack corps. I had hoped that the mutiny at Vellore, at the same time that it afforded an awful, would also have afforded an instructive lesson, of the absurdity of enforcing British regulations upon Indian armies. On that occasion the lives of near a thousand men, of whom upwards of two hundred were British soldiers, were sacrificed to a turban and a whisker; if that pernicious folly had not been stopped, your whole native army would have been lost by it. If such a lesson and such an example be disregarded, are you equally indifferent about the consequence? I am sorry to observe, that in this house very few know what is doing in India, and I fear very few care."

Mr Dundas replied, that as to the practices respecting the troops, he had good reason to believe that Mr Howorth was mistaken. Of the discontents he said nothing; and the papers which were moved for were granted without opposition.

A subject of more general interest arose, when the committee which had branched off from the inquiry into the Duke of York's conduct made their report upon the existence of corrupt practices in the appointment

of writers or cadets. They reported, that patronage of various descriptions had become an article of traffic; that an opinion of the generality of such practices was prevalent to a still greater extent; and that fraudulent agents had availed themselves of this belief, to the injury of the credulous and unwary, and to the discredit of those in whose hands the disposal of offices is lodged. As to the means of preventing such practices, it never could be adviseable, they said, without absolute necessity, to add new offences to the long catalogue already enumerated in the penal statutes, nor was it wise to diminish the sanctity of oaths, by resorting to them upon all occasions. When solemn declarations have been habitually disregarded, little reliance could be placed upon the sanction of any other species of asseveration, and we know but too well that an oath might come to be considered merely as part of the official form by which an appointment is conferred. Little fear of detection, they added, was entertained, where transactions were in their nature private and confidential; for our notions of honour, by a singular perverseness, attached a stronger degree of obligation to the performance of such engagements, upon the very ground of their illegality. The obvious mode of preventing the traffic in patronage was to take away all inducement to it, and this could only be attained by making the hazard greater than the temptation. Upon this principle the rules of the company were founded. In 1779 they had passed a resolution enabling the Court of Directors to dismiss any person whose appointment had been procured by undue means. This resolution had never been enforced by example, because no case of corruption had been discovered till the present inquiry. The immediate consequence of what had now been brought to light must be, that a certain number of persons in the service of the company would be instantly deprived of their employments, recalled from India, and declared incapable of again receiving any appointment under the company. The money paid for procuring their situations would be absolutely lost, without any possibility of recovery; and those who had either imprudently or corruptly been concerned in obtaining what they conceived to be benefits for their relatives or friends, would find that they had done the greatest injury to those whom they desired to serve. Hard as some of these cases must be, and innocent and ignorant as many of the young men nominated under these circumstances probably were of the undue means by which their appointments were acquired, the committee were of opinion, that nothing but a strict adherence to the rule laid down by the Court of Directors could put a stop to the continuance of such abuses.

In pursuance of this opinion the directors issued an order for the peremptory recal of all those persons whose appointments appeared by the evidence before the committee to have been procured by illegal means. The exceeding cruelty of this measure excited considerable opposition at the India House. The young men, it was represented, who were thus to be ruined, were innocent probably, and even ignorant, of the transaction for which they were to suffer; no criminality could attach to them, even if the act of purchase were criminal; nor was it to be supposed that the friends who had negociated for them could be aware that there was any thing illegal in purchasing what they

saw offered for sale in the public newspapers,—for thus public and notorious the transactions had been. Sir T. Turton moved in the House of Commons, that "that House did not concur with the determination of the directors as to the necessity of recalling, and declaring incapable of holding any future situations, those persons who, being innocent of any offence themselves, would thus be visited by a measure of severity equally repugnant to British justice and humanity." He argued upon the cruelty and injustice of not only recalling these persons from India after years of faithful service, but totally ruining their future prospects, by declaring them incapable of being again employed in that service, to the preparation for which the whole education and study of their youth had been devoted. Some of the persons who were to suffer under this rigorous sentence were young men of first-rate talents, who had carried out with them certificates of being the most accomplished proficients in the eastern languages ever sent out from England. If any charge of criminality was fairly incurred in these cases, it was not by the parties doomed to be the victims. They were not apprized that any risk was attached to their appointments when they undertook the trouble and expence of a voyage to India, and devoted some of the best years of their youth to pursuits from which they must now be cut off, for facts of which they would receive the first intimation with the order for their recal! Even if the offending parties knew that they were offending against a resolution passed in 1799, it was not very natural for them to conceive that the company seriously intended the rigorous inforcement of such a law, when they every day saw advertisements in the public prints for the open sale and purchase of such appointments, without any public or avowed discountenance from the Court of Directors.

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Mr Dundas replied, that so lately as 1806 the directors had announced in the London Gazette, and in all the London and provincial newspapers, their determination to annul every appointment in their service which should appear to be obtained by clandestine or surreptitious means. It would be in vain for the directors to lay down any law for the prevention of abuses, if parliament was to prevent them from executing it, and the offence was to pass with impunity in the only quarter where it could be punished with exemplary effect. The same rigorous opinion was supported by Mr Bankes and Mr Wallace. Mr Windham argued on the better and humaner side; and Mr Stephen called upon the House to consider "what it was thus to inflict ruin upon young men who had endured the unspeakable suffering of leaving their nearest and dearest relations, their friends and their native country, for the purpose of rising in the world, whose prospects would perhaps be just beginning to brighten upon them when they would receive their recal for an act done by their father or guardian, to which they were no parties. Was it to the father who gave the money that the son was to be brought back? Alas! he might be dead, and it would be to a widowed mother, who looked to him as the prop of her old age, or to destitute sisters, who would behold in him an object of beggary and ruin." Notwithstanding these arguments, the chairman of the East India Company, Mr Grant, insisted on the necessity

of such an example; it was however implied by Mr Lushington and Mr H. Thornton, that some relaxation was to be expected, and that the cadets would suffer no injustice; and this in some degree reconciled the public feeling to the failure of Sir T. Turton's motion, and of all the attempts to mitigate the measure which were made at the India House. After some months the directors reinstated the persons in question, with the exception of one, who, being a person of colour, and therefore ineligible, had procured another man to personate him when the appointment was given.

Among the witnesses whom the committee examined during their inquiry were Pohlman and Keylock, the unlucky persons whom Colonel Wardle had denounced in parliament as selling places for the Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Portland. The account which they gave of themselves ill supported this heinous accusation. They had opened, they said, some eight months ago a medical and clerical office, to dispose of partnerships and businesses among medical practitioners, and with respect to glebe lands belonging to livings, and other such things. In the clerical department they had been very unsuccessful; they had only gone so far as to have one gentleman call upon them, saying he was willing to preach an afternoon sermon if it was wished, and a person was found who wanted an afternoon preacher: this, and an application from one gentleman in Ireland, was all their ecclesiastical business. In the medical line they had disposed of some partnerships; but on the whole, so little was there to do in this foolish concern, that, by way of extending their agency, they ventured into the contraband line of brokerage, which they were invited to by advertisements in the papers. In this way they got connected with some of those persons who were most notorious in the course of the late inquiry—very innocently, if their own story were to be believed, and to their own loss. It was their evident object in this examination to represent themselves as dupes, and from the folly of their original speculation it seems not unreasonable to believe them. Shortly afterwards they were brought to trial in the Court of King's Bench, and convicted of conspiring to procure 2000l. for the sale of an appointment. Proof enough appeared upon the trial that they had not been sparing of boasts to bring their office into repute, at the expence of persons high in the state;—unfortunately for themselves, for Colonel Wardle, either believing or seeming to believe their assertions respecting the Duke of Portland, had occasioned this prosecution against them. It was pleaded in extenuation, that Pohlman was a stranger, and ignorant of our laws; and that they meant to provide the place for the money: so that there was clearly no fraud intended in the case. These things were considered; and as the fact upon which they were found guilty was in consequence of a plan confessedly laid to entrap them by the ministry, they escaped with three months imprisonment. The punishment was light, but sufficient; it fully answered its intended purpose, of making the illegality of such transactions publicly known, and bringing the dealers in places into disrepute.

That party in the House who were for inflicting punishment upon the innocent cadets and writers to the very letter of the bond, and who may be called the state economists,

brought forward sundry measures of retrenchment and minor reform during this year's session. Two resolutions, following up the advice of the Finance Committee, were proposed by Mr H. Martin, and adopted after a slight modification by Mr Perceval. One was the truism, "that the utmost attention to economy, in all the branches of public expenditure which is consistent with the interests of the public service, is at all times the duty of the House of Commons;" the other was, "that it was expedient to extend the principles of regulation and abolition already acted upon by that House to certain sinecure offices, and offices executed by deputy." It will not be difficult to demonstrate, when the fit opportunity shall present itself, that the economizing system, as it is called, leads to great injustice, great cruelty, and ultimately to additional expence. And it is worthy of notice, that at the very time when the prevaling humour was flattered by these resolutions, it was found necessary to augment the salaries of the English judges by an additional 1000l. a-year, and of the Welsh judges by 400l. The fact is, that in the army and navy, and in every department of state, men are under-paid; grievously, and in some instances almost ruinously, under-paid. Not by these petty retrenchments is a diminution of the public expenditure to be brought about. That object can only be effected by carrying on the war vigorously and decisively, so as to break down the power of France. Our strength and our resources are abundantly sufficient for the most vigorous offensive war.* Any other system is wasteful both of men and money, and may be ruinous.

June 2.

June 9.

June 1.

A report of the Finance Committee, upon the conduct of the commissioners for Dutch prizes, excited considerable interest from the notoriety of one of the persons who now appeared before the public in character of a peculator. The circumstances were stated by Mr Ord, and when he made a motion upon the subject, "These commissioners," he said, "had been appointed in 1795, to manage, sell, and dispose of the cargoes of Dutch ships detained or brought in, in order to prevent those cargoes from being injured, or destroyed. They had general instructions from the Lords of the Privy Council, requiring them to keep minutes of all their proceedings, and to keep their accounts in such form as the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury should direct and approve, and upon points of any difficulty, they were to refer to the committee of the privy council for instructions. These commissioners were five in number—James Crauford, John Brickwood, Allen Chatfield, Alexander Baxter, and John Bowles, a member of the society for the suppression of vice. Their sales ceased, and their transactions were nearly brought to a close in July 1799. Nothing remained after that but small sales of remnants, not completed till 1801, and a few other things which would give them very little trouble. To these, however, was to be added an important law-suit commenced in 1797, which brought into question property to the amount of 180,000l. But this could not impose much labour upon the commissioners,

May 1.

* See Captain Pasley's Essay,—a book which ought to be in the hand and in the heart of every Englishman.

as it was obvious that the burthen must rest upon the solicitors and counsel.—No fixed remuneration had been assigned to the commissioners, in consequence of which these gentlemen resolved to remunerate themselves, and charged a commission of 5 per cent. on the gross proceeds of their sales, which commission in the four first years amounted in all to 80,000l. No regular accounts were furnished to government. Only one account was rendered to the privy council, and in this, no mention of commission was made, which, as the report of the committee observed, might lead the privy council to imagine that no commission was charged, although at that time 25,000l. had actually been divided. The act authorizing the appointment of these commissioners required that the proceeds of the sales should be paid into the bank of England. But, instead of this, they opened accounts with private bankers. Mr Pitt, in 1796, applied to them to know whether any sum arising from the sale of the property under their management could be paid into the exchequer for the current service of the year? They denied that they could pay any sum into the exchequer, although it appeared that at that time they had a balance of no less than 190,000l. out of which, though it was proved that they had great demands upon them at that time, they might at the least have advanced 50,000l.—It was their duty to have applied the balances in their hands in a way that might render them productive to the public, instead of discounting private bills; and applying these balances, during the years that preceded the completion of their sales, entirely to their own emolument. If these balances had been vested in exchequer bills, between 40 and 50,000l. would have been saved to the public: but though they had been instructed to keep minutes of their proceedings, no minutes whatever were preserved of the mode in which they employed the balances in question.—By the commission at 5 per cent. on the gross proceeds, by brokerage and interest on the balances, it appeared that they had taken for their labours, the enormous sum of 133,198l., being at the rate of 26,000l. for each commissioner! There was also a circumstance which seemed to have escaped the attention of the committee; the commissioners appeared to have charged the 5 per cent. commission upon the property which had been managed and sold by the East India Company, in the disposal of which they had had no trouble whatever; so that, in point of fact, a commission of 10 per cent. had been paid upon much the largest proportion of this property, in as much as the East India Company had also a commission of 5 per cent. on their sales. The futility of those reasons by which they had attempted to defend the appropriation to their own use of the 5 per cent. was obvious. Some of these commissioners were themselves merchants, and it was therefore most extraordinary that they should have asserted that 5 per cent. on the gross proceeds was the usual commission, when it was well known that the highest commission common among merchants was 2½ per cent. on the gross proceeds. Now, said Mr Ord, let the House consider what were the real services of these men. Their sales had been finished in four years and a half from the time of their appointment, and the important part of their labours had of course then closed. The law-suit must have been entirely the business of the so-

licitors and counsel. Nay, in 1804, it had actually occurred to the treasury, that it was useless to retain this commission any longer, and they applied to the law officers of the crown to know whether it might not be dissolved. Nothing prevented that dissolution, except that it was thought proper to continue them nominally, because the suit had been commenced in their names—a circumstance which rendered it necessary to maintain their existence till the suit was concluded. The real labours of the commissioners had however closed; and, in point of fact, during the ten years the commission lasted after the completion of the business, the gentlemen found time enough to do a great deal of other business. The aforesaid John Bowles had been active in several elections, which had since taken place, and had time, besides, to write above thirty pamphlets. Two of the commissioners pleaded, it appeared, that they had quitted their professions with a view to the fulfilment of their trust. This was not the first time that professions were abandoned for something better. Mr John Bowles, too, must have a consideration for abandoning his profession, and the House had no difficulty to appreciate the means he had taken to secure that consideration. Mr John Bowles to be compensated for the loss of a profession, at which he might have starved, had it not been for this profitable job of Dutch Commissioner! Mr Bowles had discovered that it was much more profitable to trade in anti-jacobinism under Mr Pitt, than to wait for causes at the bar.—I am sorry to detain the House with such a man as Mr Bowles, but it happened that his career was connected with some very important points. It shewed the nature of the cry of anti-jacobinism, which had been set up with so much vigour to defeat the most beneficial political objects—it exposed the principle upon which the loudest of these anti-jacobin declaimers acted, which was solely a view to their own private emolument. This John Bowles afforded an admirable specimen of an anti-jacobin—the eulogist of existing powers—the defender of present establishments—the denouncer of all who might condemn abuses, or call for reform, as vile Jacobins. This transaction afforded a useful lesson to all governments how they should bestow important pecuniary trusts upon persons having no merit to recommend them but the circumstance of their being mercenary hireling authors. If governments would employ such persons, they must share the disgrace brought on by their conduct."

Criminal as the conduct of the commissioners had been, Mr Ord concluded, he did not move for a criminal prosecution against them, because a doubt was entertained whether they were liable to such a proceeding. But looking upon the neglect of government in permitting such transactions to go on so long with impunity, he moved "that to commit pecuniary trusts to any persons, without providing any check on their proceedings, without calling for any regular or periodical accounts, and without settling, during a long course of years, the mode or amount of their remuneration, is a neglect which must inevitably lead to the most prejudicial consequences, and is a violation of the obvious duty of government. That such neglect and deviation had been proved to exist, and might have been attended with material loss to the public. That

the commissioners upon Dutch property had been guilty of gross misconduct, in violating the act under which they were appointed, and appropriating to their own use, without authority, sums for which they ought to have accounted to the public. That the accounts of the commissioners be referred to the auditors of public accounts to be examined; and that all consideration of the remuneration to be allowed to the commissioners, ought to be deferred till their accounts are finally settled."

The attack upon John Bowles was followed up by Mr Whitbread. "If this Mr Bowles, the Dutch commissioner," said he, "be really the author, the sanctified anti-jacobin, who writes under the signature of Christianus Laicus, I will venture to say, that a discovery so rare, and in all its circumstances so amusing, has not been made since the moment when philosopher Square was discovered in Miss Seagrim's garret. Mr Bowles was a lawyer, and, if I am not much misinformed as to the state of his practice, he might very easily have satisfied all his clients, and executed all the duties of his commission, without the smallest interference with their interests. But I am not at all surprised that he should have abandoned his profession after a few months, for we see by the report, that within a very few months these commissioners had appropriated to themselves no less a sum than 26,000l.! Why this must have been as unexpected to Mr Bowles as the 20,000l. prize was to the apothecary in the farce,—and he might well say with Mr Lenitive,

> My gown and my wig
> I'll hang upon a peg,—
> I am all for the publico bono.

In two pamphlets addressed personally to myself, this gentleman has thought proper to charge me with a want of proper attention to the cause of religion. I shall take the liberty of comparing him to that Athenian in Horace, who says, *Populus me sibilat, Populus sibilabit*; but Mr Bowles will not have the satisfaction of contemplating his money in a chest as a salve for the ridicule of the people, for I am persuaded he will be made to refund the uttermost farthing. If these peculators are treated with more severity in this House than some of those that have lately appeared before us, the reason is obvious; others surrendered at discretion, but the Dutch commissioners fight upon their very stumps, and have even had the modesty to canvas the members of this House for their votes and interest. But the evidence upon which we proceed with regard to them is conclusive. There is no possibility of evading the charge of a gross fraud upon the public. Sorry, indeed, should I be, that the House should proceed upon that sort of evidence upon which this Mr Bowles propagated his calumny of irreligion against the Duke of Bedford. He had heard from a person, who said he had heard from another, who was the parish-clerk of Woburn, that the Duke of Bedford employed his labourers on a Sunday.—A reverend clergyman of the church of England gave this information to Mr Bowles, and Mr Bowles declared, that if the charge were not true, it was so foul a calumny that it was impossible to suppose a clergyman of the church of England could have fabricated the whole story:—yet the parish-clerk, who was stated to be the author of this precious information, roundly asserts, that he never did give any such information, that he never could have given it,

because it was not true, and that whoever said it was a villain, for bringing up his name with so villainous a falsehood. Mr John Bowles was called upon to retract the calumny which he had so maliciously circulated, and he replied by modestly demanding the proof of a direct negative to enable him to do justice. Difficult as such a proof is, it so happened that it could be afforded him; still, however, he shuffled and equivocated, and denied justice to him whom he had calumniated."

No terrier ever worried vermin with more delight than Mr Whitbread poured out the gall of his bitterness upon John Bowles,—and it was well bestowed. The calumny with which he charged him was notorious and flagrant; and the case before the House flagrant and undeniable. He alluded to Mr Bowles's three-and-thirty pamphlets; and this led to an unlucky retort, for Mr Whitbread himself had written a pamphlet about Spain, and Mr Canning, in return for some personalities addressed to him in the course of the evening, told him he had read that sixpenny pamphlet, and must in truth say, that in that sort of department Mr Bowles beat him out and out. To Mr Ord's speech a fair and satisfactory reply was made by Mr Perceval. "The proposed resolutions," he said, "past a general censure upon all the governments that had successively existed since the appointment of these commissioners; now the effect of such a censure would fall entirely upon the present government, which, least of any, could be justly deemed obnoxious to it. To shew what his conduct was in similar commissions, he referred to the commissioners for Portugueze property, who were directed to restore the whole property, without any deduction of centage, to the Portugueze claimants, who should prove themselves the owners, as a course most consistent with justice, and most worthy of the crown and the character of the nation. In the present case no time had been lost by the Treasury in taking proper measures. The report was not printed till within a fortnight of the time when Mr Ord gave notice of his intended motion; it was not, therefore, to be wondered at, if at that time no measure had been taken in consequence of it; but he could now state, that the committee of the privy council had been applied to, to call upon the commissioners to give in their accounts, which would then be transferred to the auditors of public accounts. The Treasury also, following the suggestions in the report, proposed that the rate of remuneration should be five per cent. on the net proceeds, the commissioners being to defray the charges of their establishment, and to pay interest for any sums which they might have kept at their private bankers."

The remuneration thus to be granted would amount to 10,000l. each commissioner,—about 2650l. more than would be due to them according to the usual practice of merchants. Mr H. Thornton proposed to consolidate Mr Ord's resolutions into the following form: "That the commissioners taking advantage of the *neglect* of government to inquire into their proceedings had, without authority, appropriated to their own use large and unreasonable profits; that they had privately taken interest on large balances of money which ought to have been lodged in the Bank of England; that they had refrained from giving correct and explicit information respecting the interest so

taken to the committee appointed for inquiring into the public expenditure, and that they had thereby been guilty of a great violation of their public duty." It was moved that *omission* should be substituted for *neglect* in this resolution, and the gentler word was preferred by a majority of 20.

An attempt was again made to carry the bill against offices in reversion, which had twice past the House of Commons, and twice been rejected by the lords. Lord Porchester moved for leave to bring it in again, in the same form, word for word. "Its rejection in the Upper House," he said, "was not only against the unanimous feeling of the Commons, but against the general and expressed opinion of the country, and the protest which had been entered against it by three of the royal dukes held no inconsiderable rank among the follies of princes, either of past or present times." Mr Perceval objected to the motion, "because," he said, "the discussion upon the report of the finance committee would go to determine whether any of the offices in question should be abolished. Moreover, the measure which was now proposed was unnecessary, because they had already an act which would not expire till six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament." He repeated his own opinion of the bill, that it was of little or no importance, neither on the one hand making any serious attack on the prerogative, nor on the other comprehending any valuable acquisition to the privilege of the people, nor leading to any alleviation of the public burdens. As an economical measure it was nothing, or rather it would probably prove injurious; for there were instances in which services were at present rewarded with reversions, which services, if the proposed bill were to become a law, must receive some immediate reward of perhaps greater value." Mr Canning pursued the same strain of reasoning. "It might be argued against reversions," he said, "that they put it out of his Majesty's power to reward services, because they anticipated grants; and it might be urged on the other side, that they afforded a stimulant to the public man, by the consideration that the reward of his labours would descend to his children." Upon the whole he thought the arguments in favour of reversions were better than those against them, but the public feeling lay on the other side, and, in balanced and doubtful cases, that consideration ought to decide them. Nevertheless, as the present motion seemed to him unnecessary, he should vote against it. The House divided 106 to 121, and Lord Porchester was left in a minority. The principle of this measure is so decidedly adopted by the Commons, that it will unquestionably be established. The practice which it will abolish is at least indecorous, and the abolition, while it gratifies all the reasonable and well-meaning reformers, will neither intrench upon the prerogative, nor diminish the influence of the crown.

June 13. A resolution against sinecures was moved by Lord Ossulston. The speech with which he prefaced it was not audible by the reporters; no part of it, therefore, reached the public, and it was negatived without a reply. Mr Whitbread succeeded but little better in moving that the House should, early in the next session, take into its most serious consideration, how far it may

June 8.

be expedient to provide some farther limitation to the number of persons holding seats in that House, together with pensions, sinecures, and places of emolument under the crown. He argued upon the provisions made in the act of settlement, and upon the alarming increase of the influence of the crown, increased as it was by that additional mass which the establishment of the local militia had created. He was told in reply, that the provisions in the act of settlement were found so impracticable, and so certain to produce serious inconveniences, that they were very soon repealed; and that the argument from the local militia could not have been adduced by a more unlucky person, when he himself knew that he was not in the slightest degree influenced by holding a colonel's commission in that very establishment. Nevertheless, Mr Canning said, there was an old philosopher who said he would not argue with a man of fifty legions, and for the same reason it did not become him to argue about the influence of an appointment in the militia with a militia colonel. The alarming increase of the influence of the crown was denied and disproved. The House of Commons, Mr Rose said, consisted of 658 members, of whom the proposed measure would not disqualify more than 25,—a number so small that it could not make any sensible alteration in the constitution or decisions of parliament. This number was five or six-and-twenty less than it was in the year 1781, and the diminution of the crown influence was still greater, in what was called the unobserved influence, than in the ostensible places. Formerly, valuable bonuses in loans, lotteries, and contracts, used to be given to the members, and nothing was more common than for them to receive the profits of offices held in other names, and of which none but the ministers and those immediately about them knew any thing. There were in former times 50 or 60 members who thus enjoyed concealed favours from the crown. Mr Tierney and Mr Ponsonby, though both concurring in the principle of the proposed resolution, maintained that there could be no reason for excluding sinecure placemen and pensioners who had their appointments for life; they were just as independent as other men, and the late administration were constantly opposed by many persons of this description, and the present by some. Mr Canning took a wider view of the subject. "As it was evident," he said, "that the House of Commons must always want information on various public subjects from the members of the administration, it was much better that ministers, and persons in ostensible situations, should be spoken to in their places, as members of that House, than be brought up to the bar like culprits. The present practice experience had shewn to be a wholesome one, and if it did not at present exist, it would be beneficial to introduce it. If no placemen were suffered to sit in parliament but the ministers themselves, it would follow, that when the present generation of ministers were over, they must be succeeded by raw and inexperienced persons. This was a necessary consequence; for if those who were acquiring knowledge of the business of government in inferior departments were to be absolutely excluded from sitting in Parliament, in what office were they to learn that necessary and constitutional part of a minister's duty, to explain to that House the motives of their conduct,

and to defend the propriety and policy of their measures? If men were to be trained up for ministers in any other school besides that of parliament, if the crown were to look for its ministers any where but in parliament, then, indeed, there might be a well-founded jealousy of the power of the crown. He knew no greater security to the people for the faithful discharge of the duties of government, than that those who held high situations should have seats in that house, and be there obliged to explain the motives of their measures and conduct to the house and to the country."

Mr Whitbread's motion was negatived by 113 votes to 54. He consoled himself the next day by a triumph which deserves especial mention in a record of his parliamentary achievements.

A magazine of powder was kept in the Tower, and literally under the Record-room. Guy Faux's cellars would hardly have been a more extraordinary situation to have appropriated to such a purpose. The absurdity of keeping the most ancient records of England over a powder magazine did not escape the notice of the Commissioners of Records, and the Speaker, to whose zeal for these precious monuments our future historians will be deeply indebted, caused its removal. It was accordingly placed in Hyde Park, where a suitable building was erected, under the title of the Royal Military Depot. This edifice unluckily attracted Mr Whitbread's notice during one of his rides in the Park. What was it, he asked, and who was employed there?—A German.—A foreigner!—holding a place,—a military place, and a salary!—Here was a matter for parliamentary inquiry,—a mine which he would spring under the ministers, and blow up the German. Accordingly he made all due inquiry concerning this inoffensive old man, and then called the attention of the House of Commons to what he had discovered. *May* 15. "Trivial as the subject might be," he said, "in one point of view, it was of some importance in another. Here was a foreigner, who had never served the country for a single hour, either in the army or navy, holding a situation which ought to have been conferred on some meritorious old officer, one of the many hundreds who were now pining out the evening of life in penury! This foreigner held the office of ordnance store-keeper in Hyde Park, with a salary of 120l. a-year—a comfortable house to live in—coals, candles, and other perquisites. It was a disgusting circumstance!—an abuse which ought not to exist!" He moved, therefore, for a copy of the appointment of Christian Frederick Walter to the said office of ordnance store-keeper in Hyde Park, with an account of his services either in the army or navy, and of the salary and all emoluments attached to the said office,—which salary and emoluments Mr Whitbread had already stated, and which services he knew to be none.

Upon this, Mr Wellesley Pole rose and said, he was the person who had, five years ago, recommended Mr Walter to this situation, in consequence of an application from Lord Chatham, then master of the ordnance, to him to look out for a trusty person to fill that office, and he had named the salary of 100l. a-year (not 120l.) as a reasonable allowance for the service. It is true that Mr Walter was a foreigner,—he was a Hanoverian who had lived six-and-thirty years in Eng-

land, during the greater part of which time he had been a faithful servant in the employment of Mr Villiers, and maintained an unimpeachable character. The employment required constant attendance; and could it have been conceived to be of such a nature that a military officer could look upon it as acceptable, Mr W. Pole said he certainly should have recommended the place to be filled by such a gentleman; but it was not an office for a gentleman. This was sufficiently proved by the papers which, in conformity with Mr Whitbread's motion, were laid before the House of Commons on this insignificant subject. Mr Whitbread obtained what he desired, an official return that "Mr Walter had not at any time served either in his Majesty's army or navy." The emoluments were, a salary of 100l. a-year, a dwelling-house, and an allowance of 12l. in lieu of coals and candle. The duty required was full and hard employment, part of it consisting in separating the serviceable from the unserviceable powder with a copper shovel, and this without help, for he was not to employ any labourers without the authority of the Board of Ordnance. He was to take care that no iron, in any shape, was brought into the magazine, and to see that all persons who entered it took off their shoes and put on magazine pumps. It was a situation of hard work, incessant attention, and requiring the most perfect steadiness and sobriety. These papers were laid on the table, and the day after Mr Whitbread's motion against placemen had been rejected, he again called the attention of the House to this subject. "It appeared," he said, "by an official return, that the foreigner in question never filled any military office, and he trusted he would be removed before the next session; if not, he should feel himself obliged to make a motion to that effect." Thus, in his zeal for reform, and in his singular humanity, did Mr Whitbread endeavour to turn out of house and out of employment, that is, literally to ruin, an industrious, inoffensive old man, for no other reason than that he was a foreigner; though, being a Hanoverian, he was a subject of the same prince as Mr Whitbread himself, and, preserving his loyalty to that prince, had at this very time no other country than England, where, by all laws of common feeling, of honour, and of hospitality, he was thus naturalized.

A few measures in reform, or mitigation of the existing laws, were effected during the session. A bill was passed for the relief of insolvent debtors. Sir T. Turton brought it in, and it differed from former bills of the same kind in extending its benefit to those whose debts did not exceed 2000l., instead of the former limit of 1500l., and in allowing the prisoner surrendering his property to retain 10l. instead of 5l. and furniture and working tools to the amount of 40l. instead of 30l. Sir Thomas said, "he was aware that this was but a temporary and palliative measure towards alleviating that system of misery and oppression which had so long subsisted under our common law, namely, imprisonment for debt, which was a disgrace to our civil code, and ought to be abolished altogether. Nevertheless, it was something to mitigate the evil. The persons suffering under these cruel laws, including the wives and children of the prisoners, amounted to above 18,200, many of whom were enduring a degree of misery which could hardly be imagined by those unacquainted with

their situation,—many were actually starving. The prisons of the metropolis were crowded almost beyond example: in one prison there were no less than 13 persons herded in one room, which was only 15 feet by 16; and in no room of that prison were there less than three persons at this hot summer season."

May 25.

March 1. A bill to alter and amend the bankrupt laws was brought in by Sir Samuel Romilly. By the existing laws, a bankrupt, after giving up all he possessed in the world to his creditors, was still answerable for many debts, the proof of which could not be received under the commission. The most numerous class of debts of this kind consisted of those for which some one else was liable as security. These surety debts did not legally arise till after the commission. The consequence was, they could not be proved under the commission, and the consequence of that again was, that the bankrupt was still liable. The remedy proposed was, that the sureties might prove their debts under the commission, provided they paid them at any time before the final dividend, and the effect of this would be, that the bankrupt would be exempt from any liability for these debts upon obtaining his certificate.—Under the existing laws the assignees were in the habit of using the bankrupt's effects for their own advantage, and of speculating with the property before the dividends, as if it were their own. The consequences often were, that the assignee became bankrupt, and the creditors had, in the end, only the remainder, after a bankruptcy upon a bankruptcy. To remedy this, he proposed that if the creditors did not appoint a bank to receive the property, at an early period, the commissioners should be bound to do it; and that, if after that the assignees should retain any part of the property, it should be imperious upon the commissioners to charge 20 per cent. on the money so retained. A third defect in the system was, the expence and uncertainty of proceedings under commissions of bankruptcy. In actions by the assignees to recover debts due to the estate, it was incumbent on them to prove an act of bankruptcy, and a petitioning creditor's debt, and in many instances the debtors of bankrupts were induced to withhold the payment of their debts, in the hope that the assignees might find it impossible to establish them. This might be remedied by providing, that in actions by the assignees they should not be obliged to prove the proceedings, unless the defendant gave notice some time before that he meant to contest any of these points. And the mode of recovering from the assignees should not be by action as at present, but by petition to the chancellor. The fourth amendment was of the greatest importance. It was, to take from the creditors the power which they possessed, without any controul, and without the obligation to assign a reason, of refusing a certificate to the bankrupt when they chose. An uncertificated bankrupt could acquire no property, for whatever he gained might be instantly seized upon by the assignees; his industry was lost to himself and to his country, and he was liable to be imprisoned for life for debts contracted before the bankruptcy, which he was unable to discharge. By a statute in the early part of the reign of George the Second, this power was given to the chancellor, but by a subsequent sta-

tute of the same reign, it was enacted, that a bankrupt could not receive his certificate without the consent of 4-5ths in number and value of his creditors; this often rested with a small number of the creditors, and sometimes on a single creditor whose debt bore a large proportion to that of the rest. But this was not the only hardship to which the bankrupt was exposed. Any creditor who could not prove under the commission, nor receive a dividend, was yet admitted to refuse the certificate, in order to give effect to his action. This involved the very serious consideration of imprisonment for life for debt. On that point generally, Sir Samuel said, he would at this time say no more than this, that in his opinion a man could not do a greater service to his country, than to procure the abolition of imprisonment for debt altogether. It was mischievous to the individual; it was pernicious to the public; and the worst of it was, that it made the creditor the judge in his own cause. With respect to an uncertificated bankrupt it was always unjust; for the only object of the punishment was to compel him to do that which the law supposed impossible for him to do, and what indeed it rendered it impossible for him to do, unless he chose to be guilty of a capital felony. The certificates were often withheld from the innocent, and given to the fraudulent bankrupt; for in fraudulent commissions it seldom happened that the certificate was refused. Fraudulent bankrupts always contrived to have false debts proved, in order to get themselves white-washed; their bankruptcies were for the purpose of gaining their certificates: But in the cases of the honest, the unfortunate trader, the certificate was often withheld for the purpose of extorting an advantage over the other creditors. The law, it was true, gave several securities against such practices, but still they prevailed to a considerable extent. The temptation was too often indeed sufficient to overcome the moral principle. The parent was often tempted to assist the child, and the child the parent, in an improper way; and it was notorious that cases of this kind were constantly occurring. But there was another temptation to which the defect in question exposed the bankrupt, and that was, to avoid making a full disclosure of his effects. When the creditors came forward to prove their debts, the bankrupt was sensible how much he was in their power, and did not give that assistance in examining the debts, which, under other circumstances, he might be inclined to do. And a case had occurred the other day in the court of chancery, where it appeared that a creditor had refused to sign a certificate, because the bankrupt had suggested what turned out to be the fact, that he was endeavouring to prove a larger debt than was due to him. There also existed another motive to withhold the certificate. The bankrupt, until he obtained the certificate, could not be a witness in any thing that related to the estate; and the creditors who had any contest with respect to it, often refused to sign, in order to prevent the testimony upon which the verdict and the justice of the case might depend. Within a period of three or four years, there were more cases where certificates had been withheld than where they were granted.—In the last twenty years, there were 16,202 commissions taken out, and of these 6,597 remained without certificate.

The evil had been found to be of such magnitude, that a temporary relief had sometimes been given. In 1772, and afterwards in 1778, bills were passed to compel creditors to give certificates, unless they could shew that there was something fraudulent in the conduct of the bankrupts; but this relief was confined to cases that had occurred previous to those periods. But if the thing was unjust at all, it was always unjust, and therefore the remedy ought not to be temporary, but permanent. The remedy he suggested was not to take the power out of the hands of the creditors; but that, if the certificate was withheld for two years, the bankrupt might petition the chancellor to allow the certificate, while the creditors might shew cause why the certificate should not be granted. The chancellor would decide upon the merits and allow the certificate, provided there appeared no good reason to the contrary.—The only objection to this was, the additional expence which it would occasion; and in order to obviate this, he proposed that the additional process should be exempt from taxes. It was his intention to make this part of the bill not only prospective but retrospective.—It might be asked, however, why, when a law was proposed for the protection of the honest bankrupt, something was not done to protect the creditor against the dishonest one. At present he had no remedy to propose but one, which he rather thought the House would not adopt. It was to render the law more efficacious, by making it less severe. The cause of the frequency of fraudulent bankruptcies he believed was, that the fraudulent bankrupt was, upon proof of the fact, liable to lose his life. Instances were every year occurring of bankrupts withholding their property, and yet there had been, in the space of 80 years, only three prosecutions, and only one executed.—There never perhaps existed a stronger instance of the inefficacy of laws owing to their severity. Was it surprising that few persons were found to prosecute, when for an offence of this nature the punishment was death? Under such circumstances bankrupts were under the strongest temptation to withhold their property. If the law had been less severe, it would have been more enforced, and the end would have been attained in a much greater degree.

No opposition was made to the bill. The clause which vested the power of granting a certificate in the lord chancellor was objected to, because, it was said, the creditors must be the best judges whether the bankruptcy was fraudulent; but Sir Samuel Romilly replied, that it only empowered the chancellor to interfere if he thought proper, and that not till a bankrupt had been two years without his certificate; and he related a shocking story which had occurred within his own knowledge, wherein a creditor, availing himself of every delay which the law enabled him to interpose, kept a bankrupt in prison with the avowed determination that he should never come out alive, and literally killed him by confinement. It was stated to the chancellor, that the prisoner could not live more than two or three weeks longer in confinement, and an early day was on that account appointed for hearing his petition. The decree was in his favour; but the creditor, who was an assignee, contrived to have another detainer laid upon him, which gave rise to a more protracted litigation, and

in the mean time his victim died, according to his hope and intention. "There was no doubt," said Sir Samuel, "that the death of the bankrupt was owing to the obduracy of the creditor. It is not sufficient to say, such instances of wickedness are not common; neither are murders common, but yet it is necessary that there should be laws against them."

Sir Samuel pursued his plans of alteration in the criminal law no farther this session, than to move for accounts of the number of persons committed or convicted during the last six years. The only other point connected with the penal laws which came before Parliament was a petition from the printer and publisher of a newspaper, then suffering imprisonment in Gloucester gaol for a libel. He complained that he was prevented from using any fermented liquors, and that all letters and papers sent to him were subject to inspection. The statement was not repelled and refuted, like that of another complaint which was presented at the same time.

Apr. 24.

That the management of our prisons requires reform, is indeed abundantly notorious; and additional proof was laid before the House of Commons during the present session, in the report of the commissioners appointed in the preceding year to inquire into the charges which Mr Sheridan,* on the authority of Mr Sheriff Phillips and the Grand Jury of Middlesex, had brought against the prison in Cold Bath Fields. The charges of specific cruelty were indeed proved to be unfounded; and it appeared also that those respecting the false weights and the bread, as being deficient in weight, originated in error; the chance deficiency in the loaves being no more than is unavoidable when the dough for two loaves is weighed and then divided by hand, for the sake of expedition, in which case what is lost by one is gained by the other. Nor could the inequality be completely remedied (if it could be thought deserving a remedy) by weighing each separately; for when the loaves are divided after baking, part of one will adhere to another. The inquiry was accurately and fairly made; a whole day's batch was weighed, the gross weight was eight pounds over weight, and when the 306 loaves into which it was divided were weighed separately after baking, 79 were under weight, 85 at the standard, 142 above it. The false weight which had been complained of was not a prison weight; it had been taken from one of the prisoners, and found its way into the kitchen, where the cooks swore they only used it with other weights in purchasing potatoes. The defect in the scales was occasioned by their being rusty; but it so happened that it gave the advantage to the person taking the article weighed. The commissioners fully acquitted the gaoler of any intention of fraud; but they observed, that it was his duty to see that the scales were kept clean, and that no deficient weight should be used in the prison for any purpose.

The commissioners were in every respect unexceptionable; five of them were chairmen of quarter-sessions in their respective counties, the sixth a master in Chancery, added for legal advice. It appeared, however, from their report, that a part of the complaints against this prison, and that in fact the heaviest, was substantially

* Vol. I. Part I. p. 157.

and literally true. The cells in which persons who are committed for farther examination are confined, are eight feet three inches long, by six feet three inches wide; the light passes through an aperture in the wall, and the outer air can be excluded only by drawing up a wooden shutter, which also excludes the light. The persons committed to these dungeons are constantly confined; they have no access to fire; and such confinement, therefore, must, during many months of the year in this climate, produce severe bodily suffering. The commissioners observed justly, that if such prisoners were permitted to mix together in a common yard, it would frequently defeat the purpose of farther examination: they should at the same time have remarked, that the cells ought to be properly heated, which might easily be effected now that the management of heat is so well understood. It is no justification of unnecessary rigour to say, that the persons who suffer by it are generally criminals of the worst description. The felon who braves all punishment, and would go to execution in a spirit of desperate defiance both of man and his Maker, may be brought to compunction by gentle treatment,—kindness which he feels the more, because he feels that he has not deserved it,—and disinterested and painful sympathy, the existence of which appears to him like a miracle. Hard usage, on the other hand, hardens the young offender who has been seduced into one unlawful act, and who might yet be reclaimed. By provoking his spirit, it forces the better part of his nature into an alliance with evil,—he learns to consider himself as the injured person, as one in a state of moral outlawry, whose hand ought to be against every man, because every man's hand is against him. Place our prisons under the superintendence of the Quakers, and they will be made schools of reform and industry which will do honour, not only to our age and country, but even to our nature. Invite the Methodists to labour there;—these are the hospitals in which such soul-practitioners would indeed be useful! Their exertions would reclaim all in whom guilt was not absolute madness; and the sight of a reprobate at the gallows would hardly ever again shock the pious, and encourage those who are in the way of reprobation.

Two attempts were made at what may be called moral legislation in the Upper House. Lord Auckland renewed a project, in which he had failed nine years before, for discouraging adultery. *May* 2. At that time he attempted to make it punishable as a misdemeanour, and he still thought solitary confinement for two or three years would have a wholesome effect, both for the purposes of reform and example. He now, however, only proposed to make it a standing order of the House, that no petition for divorce should be received there unless a provision were inserted in the bill, that it should not be lawful for the adulterous parties to intermarry. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Erskine, and Lord Grenville, supported the motion; it was opposed by Earl Stanhope in his usual indecorous manner; and by Lord Mulgrave, upon the obvious and unanswerable objection, that such a law would be severe and cruel in its operation, shutting up the door to reformation, and affecting only those persons who were objects of pity as well as of censure. The motion, however, was past. Had it been in

the form of a bill, Lord Auckland knew that it would have been thrown out in the Lower House by the weight of Mr Windham's commanding talents; but by proposing it only as a standing order, he contrived to give it the force of the law without the sanction of the Commons: Lord Porchester, therefore, moved in the Commons, that a committee be appointed to inspect the Lords' journals for any standing order adopted in the present session on the subject of divorce bills, arguing that there was in the nature of such an order an unwarrantable interference with the privilege of the House. In this he was supported by Mr Ponsonby, Mr C. W. Wynn, and Mr Windham; but Mr Perceval insisted, that, as the regulations of the Lords were only binding upon themselves, that House could not interfere, and he carried this opinion by a majority of 67 to 43, though the object and motive of the standing order could not be mistaken. This was the second time that the existing ministry had suffered the Lords to intrench upon the privileges of the Commons. Mr Palmer's case was the first. In that they suffered a great injustice to be committed; in this they permitted a sort of penal law to be smuggled in, of which the good was dubious, and the evil certain.

The other attempt was a bill of Lord Erskine's for the punishment of cruelty to animals. The speech with which he prefaced it, was an elaborate treatise on humanity, and it was resisted after it had past the Upper House by Mr Windham, upon the grounds, that humanity was not to be taught by penal statutes, that the offences which it proposed to punish were in their nature too indefinite to be the subject of law, and that the bill left the cruelties of the higher classes untouched. These subjects were inforced by Mr Windham with his usual acuteness and strength of mind, and the bill was thrown out. Yet though his arguments were in the main well-founded, it did not necessarily follow that because all which was desirable could not be done, therefore nothing was to be attempted; and for the ease or difficulty of defining offences with sufficient accuracy for the purposes of law and justice, no man surely could be a more competent judge than Lord Erskine himself, and he had pronounced it to be, speaking from his own experience, easily practicable. Unquestionably it is better to strike at the root than to lop the branches,—to prevent crimes by good systems of education than to punish them, and for this, as well as on every other ground, it is in the highest degree desireable that effectual means should be taken to instruct the lower classes. But something meantime may be done towards lessening the evil, by such measures as Lord Erskine advised, and the next attempt at establishing his law will probably be successful. But of all means which are within the direct power of law for lessening the crimes and miseries of society, one of the most certain would be the abolishment of lotteries, which was again vainly attempted this session. Mr Whitbread opposed the resolution which enumerated them among the ways and means. 300,000l., he said, were thus to be raised for the government,—for which at least double that sum, and probably a million, would be taken out of the pockets of the public in the most mischievous of all ways. There was

May 15.

June 13.

May 18.

no sin pointed at in the decalogue which was not encouraged by the lottery. It was a speculation which begun in covetousness, and often led to theft, and instances were not new where murder, and particularly self-murder, had been instigated by losses incurred in this pernicious mode of gambling. The whole gain that was stated as a balance for all this evil was 300,000l. !—Sir T. Turton replied, that the stamps made the sum accruing to government amount to 700,000l.; and Mr Perceval argued, that as the chief evil confessedly arose from insurance, that would be prevented by the newly-adopted scheme of drawing all the tickets on one day. Mr Wilberforce and Sir S. Romilly exposed the evils of the practice, and Mr Windham concurred with them in opinion, though he would not vote against the resolution because it was now interwoven with the system of finance for the year. Mr Whitbread was left in a minority of 36 to 90.

June 7. 100,000l. was voted this session, to the governors of Queen Anne's bounty for the augmentation of small livings. "This was a matter," Mr Perceval said, "on which he had bestowed much attention, and he hoped to have been enabled to bring it fully under the consideration of Parliament; but the returns were as yet incomplete, those from four dioceses not having been made; and he proposed the present grant, as thinking that no time should be lost in doing something by way of pledge that the business would ultimately be reduced to a system. As far as the returns went, it appeared that the number of small livings under 150l. (to which the augmentation was now to extend) was not more than a third of the whole. By the regular application of Queen Anne's bounty, it would take 40 years to raise the smallest up to 50l. a year; 120 to make them up 100l., and so on in proportion. But if such a grant as the present merely were continued, the first object would be attained in four years. It was his intention," he added, "to extend the system to Scotland and Ireland, for which purpose he should, on a future day, move for a statement of the poor livings in those countries."

This is a measure for which Mr Perceval will be held in grateful remembrance by the church, and therefore by the country. Another question partly connected with the interests of religion, though partly political also, was started by Lord Sidmouth, as a subject for future consideration. He moved for an account of the number of licences granted to preachers under the toleration acts from the commencement of the year 1780 to the end of 1808. *June* 2. "It was highly desirable and important," he said, "that the information which it was the object of this motion to procure, should be possessed by Parliament and by the public. That a large majority of those persons who had obtained licences, under these acts had applied for them from motives the most strictly conscientious he had no reason to doubt, but as little could he doubt that the wise and liberal policy by which those acts were dictated had, in numerous instances, been grossly abused, and that such was the fact was well known to magistrates who were in the habit of attending quarter sessions of the peace. Under those acts, any person calling himself a protestant dissenter, of whatever age or condition,

however ignorant, however exceptionable in conduct or character, by taking the oath and making the declarations thereby required, might qualify himself, as it was termed, to hold forth any doctrine he pleased, and thus to obtain an exemption from all parochial offices, and from serving on juries, or in the militia; this was holding out a bounty to schism, and throwing an increased burthen upon the members of the established church. Lord Sidmouth, however, desired that he might be understood as applying this complaint solely to those preachers who were self-appointed, and not attached to any dissenting congregation; or to those who being in the ministry were also engaged in secular occupations. Persons duly appointed, and devoting themselves to the performance of their spiritual duties, ought, in his opinion, he added, to enjoy the same immunities as those who had received episcopal ordination. Licences were now claimable as a right by any person, and he was well aware how extremely delicate and important a point it was to draw a line of exclusion; yet surely all rational and sober-minded dissenters must themselves desire, that the doctrine which they believe should not be publicly preached by persons wholly destitute of ordinary attainments, or not arrived at that age previous to which deacon's orders could not be conferred, or of whose moral character and conduct satisfactory attestations had not been adduced. Neither could it be thought intolerant or unreasonable to require, that the persons claiming licences should state, if not the grounds of their dissent, at least the denomination of dissenters to which they professed to belong; that they should be recommended by the religious society of which they were members; that they should be attached to a known and distinct place of worship, and that they should not be at liberty to officiate habitually elsewhere without a fresh licence."

This part of his lordship's plan was designed to check the system of itinerancy, which is one of the causes of the rapid increase of methodism. A little consideration will show that the proposed restriction would be nugatory. The same testimonials which sufficed to procure the first licence, must necessarily be held valid upon every subsequent application by the same person, so that nothing is gained but vexatious trouble both to him and to the magistrates. Nor, if licences were withheld, would it be prudent, or even practicable, to prevent any man from praying with his neighbours, and preaching to them either in their dwelling houses, or in the open fields, or by the way side,—any where where no disorder necessarily arose from assembling them together. Our government is too wise, too enlightened, too humane to imitate the accursed conduct of the presbyterians toward the quakers in England, or the more open murders perpetrated by Charles and James the Second, during their persecutions in Scotland. Yet, unless they were prepared to go these lengths, any refusal of licences or restriction of the present unlimited toleration, must end in nothing, and could only expose them to contempt for holding out threats which they did not dare to put in execution. Intolerance is effectual if it be gone through with: this has been proved in Japan, in Italy, in the Spanish peninsula, and the Austrian dominions; but the history of its success is the foulest spot upon human nature, and to how dreadful an ex-

tent the experiment may be carried and yet fail, has been exemplified in France: the horrors of the religious wars in that country exceed those of its revolution tenfold; and St Bartholomew's day should be marked as a *Dies Nefastus* for the admonition of mankind in every kalendar to the end of time. Now we know that the utmost length to which Lord Sidmouth would proceed would be that of a short imprisonment, or an easy fine inflicted upon the person who should obstinately persist in preaching after a licence had been refused. What would be the consequence? the first infliction of either would elevate the most ignorant enthusiast to the rank of a confessor among his fellow-sectarians. The fine would be readily paid, or if imprisonment were adopted, the prisons would soon be filled, for there is a state of mind (and of all states of mind it is the most contagious and the most seductive) in which men brave persecution; and the trade of contraband preaching would become so popular, so fascinating, and even so gainful, that where one fanatic now applies for a licence, ten would preach without one. We have said thus much because the plan of restricting licences has been thought advisable by many persons who have not considered the alternative to which government would necessarily be reduced by it,—of becoming either contemptible by suffering its enactments to be set at defiance, or oppressive and odious by enforcing them. There is but one class of fanatics with whom the legislature ought to interfere,—and that consists of those who affect to prophesy and to preach a new revelation. The founders of such sects are manifestly either madmen or impostors; if the former, bedlam is the fit place for them as an hospital,—if the latter, it serves them properly for a prison. These moral diseases are so infectious, that, on the first symptom, the tainted person should be conveyed to the pest house, lest the plague should spread. This course was pursued with Brothers, and its success was so complete that the precedent ought to have been followed. In such cases the bishops should interfere: they would prevent a scandal from being brought on religion, and they would save many well-meaning but credulous persons from bringing ruin upon themselves and their families. The line of distinction is plain. We cannot prevent persons from praying as they please, nor preaching if they please,—these must be lawful acts; but we are fully justified in prohibiting prophecy, and in treating those persons as madmen who pretend to an immediate intercourse with the Almighty.

Lord Sidmouth attributed the great increase of conventicles, and of the persons frequenting them, to a more general sense of religion, occasioned by the awful occurrences of the last twenty years, and to the increasing population of the country, while the number of churches and of the established clergy remained the same. "The most effectual check," he said, "to the progress of schism must be derived from an augmentation of the number of churches properly endowed, to which all persons should have access. Proprietary chapels would not answer the purpose, unless it were enacted, as he thought it ought to be, that no pew-rent should be taken for a certain proportion of the area of places of public worship to be consecrated in future."—The fitness of permitting a trade in places of public worship might well be questioned; nor was Lord Sidmouth

right in ascribing the increase of methodism to these insufficient causes,—its causes lie deeper; they are to be found in its admirable organization, in the nature of its doctrines, and in the human heart.* His motion was carried without a dissenting voice. The archbishop of Canterbury agreed with him, that our population, particularly in large towns, far exceeded the machinery by which the beneficial effects of our church establishment could be communicated. Earl Grosvenor affirmed, that such was the ignorance of persons who applied for licences, that, out of no large number, seven or eight spelt the word gospel differently, and as many others made their mark instead of signing their names on paying their shillings for a licence under the act. The lord chancellor also expressed his approbation of Lord Sidmouth's intentions, and hoped something would be done to prevent those abuses which were practised under the toleration act, by which men took advantage of that liberal enactment to avoid that civil or military service, which, he said, no conscientious or religious persons would seek by such means to evade. Here the subject rested for the present.

* The reader, who may be desirous of seeing this subject fully and fairly examined, is referred to an article in the eighth number of the Quarterly Review.

CHAP. XIII

The Brest Squadron gets out, releases the Squadron from L'Orient, and is blockaded in the Road of Aix. Lord Cochrane appointed to command the Fire-Ships in an Attack upon them. Failure of the Fire-Ships; Success of the subsequent Attack. Court Martials upon Lord Gambier, and upon the French Officers.

THE parliamentary proceedings of the year 1809 excited the public attention in a more than ordinary degree, and their history has therefore necessarily extended to an unusual length. Yet of the transactions of Parliament a small part only is capable of being thus recorded; the greater, and not the least important, portion occasions no discussion, and is hardly heard of even in the House itself, except by those persons by whom the actual business is performed. In the course of the session, the number of public acts † that were passed amounted to 129; of local and personal ones, to 192; and of those which were not printed, to 112. The external history of the year is not less crowded with events. From the Baltic to the Euxine, and from the Scheldt to the Danube, almost every part of Europe was visited with war or revolution, or groaned under the heaviest yoke that ever ignorant and ferocious tyranny imposed upon mankind.

Early in the year, one of those events occurred, which, above all others, raise the exultation of the English people. Our blockading squadron off Brest, under Admiral Lord Gambier, was driven from its station about the middle of February by the continued prevalence of tempestuous westerly winds. On the 23d they returned, and discovered that the enemy's fleet had escaped. Lord Gambier had no information when they got out, nor what course they had taken. He had therefore no alternative but that of obeying his orders, which expressly directed him upon such an event to detach the senior flag officer in pursuit, with such force as might be thought sufficient, and return himself to Cawsand Bay for farther instructions. Mortifying as this was to the feelings of a brave man, nothing else could be done; he therefore placed the rest of the squadron under Sir J. Duckworth's command, and made sail with only his own ship, the Caledonia, for port. The immediate supposition was, that the French would make for Ferrol, and bring out the fleet which had been betrayed to them in that port. This it was too late to

† Appendix, No. II.

prevent, and where to follow them then, whether their destination was the Mediterranean or the West Indies, or South America, could only be conjectured. Sir J. Duckworth sailed for Cadiz; there he remained long enough to ascertain that they were not bound to the Mediterranean, then ran for Madeira, where all the high hopes of his squadron were destroyed, by certain information that they had no chance of meeting the enemy, whom, if they could have met, they were so sure of defeating.

The squadron which had thus escaped out of port consisted of eight sail of the line and two frigates. They made first for L'Orient, to liberate the ships which were blockaded there. In this they so far succeeded, that Captain Tronde, according to the boast of the French official account, was able to run out with his squadron to fulfil the mission which the emperor had entrusted to him. Three frigates were to join them here; they could not get out that evening, and Admiral Willaumez could not wait for them, being in that state of hurry and alarm which is now become natural to a Frenchman at sea, from the constant expectation of failing in with an English force, and the certainty, in that case, of being defeated. On the night of the 23d, Admiral Stopford, who was at anchor with his squadron off the Chasseron light-house, saw the French ships to the eastward; he chased them till day-light, when they stood into the Pertuis d'Antioche. Having no doubt that this was the Brest squadron, he then dispatched the Naiad to inform Lord Gambier. The Naiad having got a few miles to the N. W., made signal for three sail appearing suspicious; they were the three frigates from L'Orient standing in for the Sable d'Olonne. The admiral made chase, leaving two frigates to watch Willaumez; and seeing that they had anchored in a position which he thought attackable, stood in with the Defiance, the Amelia, the Donegal, and his own ship the Cæsar, and opened his fire in passing, as near as the depth would permit the two latter ships to go. The Defiance, drawing much less water, was judiciously anchored by Captain Hotham within half a mile of the enemy, from whence, aided by the other ships, he kept up so severe and well-directed a fire, that two of the French frigates cut their cables and ran ashore, and the third was soon driven ashore also. The ebb tide was now making in so fast, that our ships were obliged to stand out, leaving all the frigates ashore. The Defiance lost two men killed and 25 wounded, and all her masts were much injured; less loss than might have been expected, for the enemy had anchored under the protection of some strong batteries. One was killed, six wounded, on board the Donegal. The Cæsar suffered only in her bowsprit and rigging; the Amelia not at all. The French, in their official account, boasted of this action, affirming that they had beaten off a superior force of the English; they took care not to add, that their own ships had been driven aground and rendered unserviceable, and they also carefully omitted, that this passed almost within sight of a superior force of their own, which did not dare attempt to succour them. In fact, the chief object of Admiral Stopford in attacking them so near a superior force was to endeavour to draw that force out. Being disappointed in this, he returned at sunset to the Chasseron. The next day he was joined by reinforcements, making his squadron seven sail of the line and

five frigates. On the 26th the enemy weighed from Basque Roads, and proceeding to the Isle of Aix, anchored to join the Rochefort squadron. One of these ships, the Jean Bart, of 74 guns, grounded on the shoals near Isle Madame, called Les Palles, and was totally lost. The force of the enemy when thus united consisted of eleven sail of the line, three frigates, and the Calcutta.

The French ministers who planned this expedition expected to strike a blow against some of our small blockading squadrons. They announced in the official journal that this was the object; that Willaumez had sailed by Buonaparte's command to attack the English who were blockading L'Orient and Isle d'Aix, and so to relieve those harbours. But the English, they added, having received intelligence of their approach, had escaped from Basque Roads. However, thus much had been effected, that Tronde had been able to run out from L'Orient, and that the Brest fleet had united itself with the Rochefort division in the roads of Isle d'Aix. At the time when this statement was published at Paris, Admiral Stopford, who had never been farther from his station than the place where he had driven the frigates ashore, was with an inferior force blockading these united squadrons.

Lord Gambier was joined by the Naiad before he reached Cawsand Bay. On the 3d of March he received orders to put to sea with five sail of the line, and any frigates and small vessels that might be ready, to form a junction with Rear-Admiral Stopford, and then proceed in pursuit of the enemy, if they should have sailed from Basque Roads, which it was supposed would be the case, and which indeed they would have done if they had not been intimidated by the trifling force that watched them. On the 7th his lordship arrived off Rochefort, and found the French still there, anchored in a situation which they thought perfectly secure, having spared no means to render it so.

Basque Roads lie between the main land, the Isle of Rhe, and the Isle of Oleron. The entrance from the Bay of Biscay between these two islands through the Pertuis d'Antioche is too wide to be defended by batteries; this roadstead, therefore, we now consider as ours, and our ships anchor in it with the same confidence as if it were upon our own shores. At the bottom of a bay on the east side stands Rochelle, a city whose melancholy history we have reason to remember with regret; for had this country, in former times, supported the Protestant cause with that vigour which it was as well her duty as her interest to have displayed, that part of France might at this day have been allied, and perhaps united with Great Britain. The entrance to the inner or Aix Road, to which the enemy had retired, lies between a long sand-shoal, called the Boyart, and the Isle of Aix, whose batteries were supposed to command the passage. The navigation here is exceedingly difficult, because of the number of shoals on every side. Here is the mouth of the Charente defended by the Isle of Aix as by an outwork, by the batteries on the Isle of Oleron, by its own forts, and by Isle Madame, lying immediately in the mouth. A few leagues up the river is the strong town and important port of Rochefort. The enemy's ships were anchored in two lines, very near each other, in a direction due south from the fort on the Isle of Aix, and the ships in each line were not farther

apart than their own length; from which Lord Gambier inferred that the space for their anchorage was so confined by the shallowness of the water, that ships had not room to run in and anchor clear of each other. The most distant ships of their two lines were within point-blank shot of the works upon the Isle of Aix. They had taken this position not only for the purpose of being thus protected, but also that they might have the entrance of the Charente open to them, to run up in case of being attacked by fire-ships; for the wind and tide which would carry this annoyance against them would serve equally to carry them up the river. An attempt had been made six years ago by Sir Charles Pole, without success, to destroy a Spanish squadron lying at the same anchorage.

Lord Gambier, when he communicated this information to the Admiralty, observed, that the enemy lay very much exposed to an attack by fire-ships. "It was a horrible mode of warfare," he said, "and the attempt very hazardous, if not desperate; but there would be plenty of volunteers for it. If any thing of this kind were done, it should be done with secrecy and quickly." A successful attack upon them by the fleet he considered impossible; for such ships as might attempt it would be exposed to be raked by red-hot shot from the Isle of Aix, and should they be disabled in their masts they must remain within the range of the enemy's fire till they were destroyed, because there was not sufficient depth of water for them to move out of reach to the southward.

The Admiralty had anticipated this opinion; twelve transports were already fitting out as fire-ships, and Mr Congreve was under orders to join Lord Gambier with a large assortment of his rockets. A plan of attack was communicated to his lordship which had been drawn up two years before by that highly distinguished and able officer Sir Richard Keats, when an enemy's squadron had taken up a position in the same roads, completely under cover of the cannon of the Isle of Aix, in a narrow channel, close together, and with strong fasts passed from ship to ship, which would enable them to direct their fire to almost any point. Sir Richard thought that in this situation, though assuredly a very strong one, the enemy were subject to be destroyed by a superior naval force; but it was doubtful whether the attacking ships could be brought off afterwards without taking the island. Upon the practicability of this, he said, he did not feel himself capable of delivering an opinion, not possessing any knowledge of fortification. The works were said to be strong; but though its established garrison was considerable, it had to appearance been sometimes weakly manned. We have twice dismantled the works upon that island, in 1757 and in 1761; and Sir Richard seemed evidently inclined to think that this should be again attempted. He delivered an unqualified opinion that the hostile squadron was exposed to an attack of bombs and fire-ships. The enemy, he said, when thus attacked, must move to take up a less dangerous anchorage at the mouth of the Charente, and this would leave the road at our mercy to sink vessels in it; or, if they remained, they must submit to see some of their ships at least destroyed at their anchors. More important success might possibly result; but even if all failed, no disgrace could arise from an attack on an enemy in his own port.

While Lord Gambier, in conformity to the instructions which he had received, was considering in what manner the attack might best be made as soon as the fire-ships should reach him, Lord Cochrane returned to England from the coast of Catalonia, where, in that heroic spirit of enterprize by which he is so eminently distinguished, he had rendered signal services to the Spaniards. In his interview with the Board of Admiralty the expedition which was then fitting out was spoken of, and he was told it was for the purpose of destroying the French fleet in the roads of the Isle of Aix. He replied, that it was a service very easy to be accomplished. Upon this the question was asked him if he would undertake it, and he, of course, instantly answered yes. Lord Cochrane, therefore, in the Imperieuse, joined Lord Gambier. As soon as he made known to the admiral the commission with which he was entrusted, Lord Gambier communicated to the different ships that an attack was intended, and desired that the names of such lieutenants and men as would volunteer to man the fire-ships might be delivered in to him; thus wording his directions, because some of these ships may not be under officers of higher rank. Upon this, Rear-Admiral Harvey came on board the Caledonia, and stating that a number of officers and men on board his own ship were ready to volunteer upon this service, offered to take the direction of it himself. Lord Gambier replied, that the Board of Admiralty had fixed upon Lord Cochrane for that purpose. Admiral Harvey, irritated that an officer who was so much his junior should have been thus appointed, seemed to regard it as a personal injury to himself, inflicted by Lord Gambier, and he gave vent to his anger in such intemperate language, that Lord Gambier, though one of the mildest men in the world, and the least disposed to any resentful feelings, could not possibly avoid bringing him to a court martial. The offence was too public to be concealed, too gross to be palliated or excused, and the court sentenced him to be dismissed his Majesty's service. Every person acknowledged the justice and necessity of the sentence; yet, as the offence was committed under an impulse of violent anger, the public and the navy were well pleased when, after some months had elapsed, the King restored him to his rank.

Whether the principle of seniority is not carried, both in our army and navy, to an extent which renders it injurious, may well be called in question. The appointment of Lord Cochrane on the present service was loudly applauded by some of our most able journalists as a departure from this principle; yet the heart-burning which it would occasion might have been foreseen. Far better would it have been to have sent him back with a small squadron to Catalonia, where the patriots had the highest confidence in his talents and intrepidity, and where opportunities would not have been wanting in which he might have rendered the most important services to the common cause. He performed, indeed, a signal exploit in Basque Roads, but it was attended with consequences which seem to have at least contributed to deprive the navy, from that time, of one who assuredly is to be reckoned among its best hopes and brightest ornaments. The French, never free from alarm when a British fleet is in sight, whatever may be the strength of their position, omitted no imaginable means of securing themselves

April 1. against any attack. They attempted to erect works on the Boyart shoal. The Amelia and Conflict dispersed the men who were employed there, and frustrated their purpose. One reason why they had arranged their ships in two lines, was that the smallest possible front might be exposed to fire-ships. A boom of 800 toises long, composed of cables, secured by anchors, and floated by buoys, was laid across the midst of the narrow channel; this they thought no fire-ships could break through: And, as a farther precaution, 73 launches and boats kept watch every night, in five divisions, to guard the fleet against surprise, and to tow off the fire-ships. Thus prepared, and in such a situation, they began to fancy themselves secure, because the attack upon them had been so long delayed. A few days only before the action, their fleet dressed with colours, and the Calcutta, which had been an English vessel, hung out an English ensign under the quarter gallery,—a poor insult on the flag, for which ample vengeance was soon to be taken upon the boastful Frenchmen.

Lord Cochrane's preparations were completed at night-fall on the 11th. The officers who had volunteered for the fire-ships, had been previously assembled on board the admiral's ship, where they were now furnished with full instructions according to his lordship's plan. Lord Gambier then arranged the frigates and small vessels. The Unicorn, Aigle, and Pallas frigates, he directed to take a station near the Boyart shoal, for the purpose of receiving the crews of the fire-ships on their return, of supporting the boats of the fleet (which were assembled alongside the Cæsar, under the superintendance of Admiral Stopford, to proceed to assist the fire-ships,) and of giving assistance to the Imperieuse, which ship was still farther advanced. The Whiting schooner, and the King George and Nimrod cutters, which were fitted for throwing rockets, were ordered to take a station near the same shoal. The Indefatigable and the Foxhound were to take a station as near the fort on the Isle of Aix as possible, to protect the Etna bomb, while she threw shells into the fort. A diversion was to be made at the east end of that island by three sloops and three gun-brigs; and the Redpole and Lyra were directed to be anchored by the master of the fleet, one near the Isle of Aix, and the other near the Boyart, with lights hoisted to guide the fire-ships in their course to the attack. The fleet was unmoored, in readiness to render any service that might be practicable, but being anchored in a strong tideway, with the wind fresh from the N. W., it was again moored on the weather tide making, to prevent the ships from falling on board each other.

Twelve fire-ships had been sent out from England, eight others were fitted out upon the spot, and at Lord Cochrane's suggestion the Mediator was added to the number; fifty rockets were placed in the tops of each of these ships. But the most tremendous effect was expected from three explosion-ships. The largest of these Lord Cochrane charged himself; 1500 barrels of gun-powder were started into puncheons, which were placed end upward; upon these between three and four hundred shells were laid, charged with fusees, and between and upon these were between two and three thousand hand grenades. The puncheons were fastened to each other by cables wound

round them, and jammed together with wedges; and moistened sand was rammed down between them, so as to render the whole as solid as possible from stem to stern. In one of these most tremendous instruments of destruction Lord Cochrane committed himself, with one lieutenant and four seamen, and at half past eight at night proceeded to the attack. Let it be recollected that the batteries on shore were provided with furnaces for firing red-hot shot.

The wind blew so strong that it was not deemed advisable for the boats of the fleet to join in the attack; they could not have acted with effect in support of the fire-ships, and it would have been exceedingly difficult to return: the French also, considering an attack to be impossible in such weather, thought it unnecessary to have their boats upon guard. To the wind, however, it was in some measure owing that they escaped from total destruction. The fusees, partly from this cause, and partly perhaps from some error either in the making or the delivering, did not burn more than a third of the time which they ought, and which had been calculated: That in the largest explosion-ship, which Lord Cochrane conducted, should have burnt twenty minutes. Lord Cochrane, putting his brave crew into the boat, kindled it himself, and followed them. It was manifest that the fusee was burning too quickly, and they made the most violent exertions against wind and tide, to get out of reach of the explosion. Instead of twenty minutes, it burnt only six and a half. The boat escaped destruction, and but just escaped it. Nothing could have been better * placed than this ship had the fusee burnt its proper time,—that it should be faulty could not be foreseen, but it frustrated the immediate success of the attempt. The fire-ship which had been fitted out by the Cæsar, was near the explosion vessel when it blew up; two men were killed on board her, and one of the boats in which the men were to have come away was destroyed, they were, therefore, crowded into the other, and the efforts which they made to escape were so excessive, that the acting-lieutenant and one man died in the bottom of the boat, from pure fatigue. This was not the only evil which the premature explosion occasioned. The fire-ships were immediately kindled in consequence, many of them before they were in a proper situation to bear down upon the enemy, having brought to upon a wrong tack. One of those which were better managed, was commanded by Captain Newcomb, another by Lieutenant Cooksley, who, declaring that he would not fire his till he was among the French, ran fairly aboard one of their two-deckers. One ran ashore on the Isle of Aix, and her volley of rockets going into the batteries in one flight, silenced a very heavy fire. Most of them, however, ran upon shoals and sands where they burnt out. The second explosion-vessel was not more fortunately di-

* Naval Chronicle, July 1809, p. 49. Mr Fairfax, the master of the fleet, affirms this in a letter signed with his name. He was in the Lyra, so near as to be endangered by the explosion. On Lord Gambier's trial it was insinuated that some blame was imputable to Lord Cochrane for this premature explosion. Mr Fairfax should then have repeated in his evidence the opinion which he delivered in his printed letter.

rected. The Imperieuse had a wonderful escape herself from the third. A fire-ship had been so ill conducted that it past close by her all in flames, and actually swept away this tremendous machine from her stern, providentially without kindling it. This, therefore, having thus got adrift, was not exploded.

As soon as the French discovered the blue lights of the fire-ships, one of their signal ships gave the alarm. The signal was a blue light also, and the French in their alarm fired upon their own vessel. The explosion almost immediately followed, and though it failed of its intended effect, it so completely terrified the enemy that they cut their cables. Two only of the fire-ships fell on board them, one on the Regulus, the other on L'Ocean, but both vessels got clear. In all directions the fire-ships were blazing, and as the flames reached the rigging the rockets took flight. From all the surrounding shores, from their forts and batteries on the islands, and from Rochefort and Rochelle, the French beheld this terrific illumination in their own harbour. When morning came the situation of the enemy could be perceived. During the night they had landed many of the men, so that most of the boats were ashore, and instead of them there were two or three *chasse-marees* taking things on board to lighten the ships, and thus render it practicable to get them off, and secure them up the river. A quarter before six Lord Cochrane made signal that seven of the enemy's ships were on shore and might be destroyed;—presently, as he distinguished more clearly, he discovered that they were all ashore except two, and signal was made from the Imperieuse, that part of the fleet might destroy them. It was his own opinion that a much smaller force would have been sufficient, and when the Caledonia directed him to repeat the signal, he ordered it to be replied, that two sail of the line would be enough: but the signal officer thinking this would appear like an insult, repeated the former signal; thus leaving it to the discretion of the commander-in-chief to send what force he should think proper.

There were at this time but two of the enemy's ships in a situation to resist an attack, all the rest being fast aground; the three-decker and two others lying so close together that their masts and yards seemed to be locked and heeling inwards. Lord Cochrane expected that an endeavour would immediately be made to dislodge the two ships which still remained at anchor. The wind and tide were favourable, and, according to his judgement, our ships, by passing near to the Boyart, and putting their helm a-lee, their fore and main-top sails being to the mast, could have been able to bring all their guns to bear upon these vessels of the enemy, at a distance where the shot from the Isle of Aix would have been of no effect; and by putting their helms up, and running under their sterns between them and the ships on shore, they might either capture them, or force them to cut, and run aground likewise, and then effect the destruction of all. Lord Gambier, however, thought the tide, which was then at the last quarter ebb, was so far spent that if a force were sent in, it could not possibly return in case of disaster before the making of the flood; and then our ships would have been effectually locked up, within the enemy's confined anchorage, during the whole of that tide. Here, in his

opinion, they would have been exposed to the point-blank shot of the batteries, and to the broadsides of the two line of battle ships at anchor, which, even without assistance from the batteries, must have entirely crippled every one of the British ships in their approach through so narrow a channel; besides which, some of the grounded ships were sufficiently upright, and so situated as to enable them to bring their guns upon the entrance. Being convinced, therefore, that no attempt could be made till the tide had flowed for some time, all that he thought could be done, was to make preparations for the attack, and accordingly he ordered the fleet to be immediately unmoored. Between nine and ten he made signal to weigh, and ordered the Etna, which was the only bomb present, to proceed as soon as the tide would permit her to approach near enough, and bombard the enemy's ships. The fleet stood in, and came to anchor about half past eleven, some three miles distant from the fortress of Aix. The ships were ordered to have spare or sheet cables out of the stern-ports, and springs on them, that any one might be in readiness to go in; and three fire-ships were prepared. Lord Cochrane, burning with impatience to commence the attack, supposed that the fleet was anchored for the sake of giving the seamen something to eat and drink before they went into action; and though he regretted the precious time which had been lost, and which was then passing by, he consoled himself by supposing that it was intended to strike a grand blow on the island as well as the ships, though he did not see the necessity for it.

Lord Cochrane's mind was bent wholly upon destroying the enemy, and he calculated upon the fear of the French, which an English sailor has always a right to calculate upon. Lord Gambier's chief thought was for the preservation of his ships, and his reason for delaying the attack till the latter part of the flood, was for the purpose of giving any ships that might be disabled on their approach, a chance of returning by means of the receding tide. That his apprehensions from the two ships which were at anchor, and which, as he thought, might have commanded the channel, were unfounded, the event proved. The crew of those ships, as Lord Cochrane expected, were thoroughly frightened; they had been from day light for six hours attempting to get their top-masts up, and had not quite effected it, when, seeing the British fleet approach, instead of profiting by the strength of their position, they cut and ran aground in the middle of the channel leading to the Charente. Twelve o'clock came, no signal was made for the fleet to weigh anchor; half-past twelve, still no signal; meantime the French were using every exertion to get their ships into the river, and many of them were already afloat, and crowding sail. It was now one o'clock. The Etna came up, and was hailed from the Imperieuse, to know what attack was intended to be made. The commander replied, he was ordered to bombard them. Lord Cochrane directed him to go close, and promised to protect him. The French three-decker at this time swung to her hawsers, and the last of their ships began to move. Never was brave man, who had full confidence in his own power and in his own judgement, in a more painful state of impatience. The fire-ships of which he had been intrusted with the charge had failed. "I knew," said he,

"what the tongue of slander was capable of,—the expectations of my country, the hopes of the admiralty, and my own prospects were about to vanish." If there were any farther delay, the opportunity, already too long neglected, would irrevocably be lost. Thus he felt, and without orders or signal, acting from his own impulse, he weighed anchor, ran in, and went beyond the possibility of return.

At this time part of the fleet had just been instructed to weigh. Lord Cochrane ordered sail to be made after the sternmost ships of the enemy, and he made signal that the chace was superior to the chasing ship, because the Ville de Varsovie and the Calcutta were both afloat. Immediately afterwards he made signal that he wanted assistance,—this signal happens to be coupled with the words 'being in distress,'—which, in this case, there was no intention to imply. The Imperieuse brought up on the Palles, and opened her fire upon the Calcutta and the Varsovie; the former was broad-side, the latter with her stern towards the English ship, and under sail; the Aquilon also had her stern towards the Imperieuse, but she was aground. The Etna at this time was bombarding the enemy; some brigs had anchored for the protection of the bomb, and were firing, but too far off to be of any use. Lord Cochrane made signal for them to close; there was no flag to express brigs only, without frigates or larger vessels, and most of those were commanded by senior officers; so, to explain as far as possible that the brigs only were meant, he fired upon them from the main-deck,—the quarter-deck shot, which he elevated himself, not reaching them. This gave offence, though it was intended to prevent it. There was, however, no time to express what was designed by tedious telegraphic communication. It was 20 minutes after two when the Imperieuse opened her fire; it threw the enemy into such alarm, that the Calcutta cut, or broke a hawser which lay from a weather-port, and the Varsovie ran ashore. The crew of the Aquilon also were so confused, that it was an hour and a half before they could clear away their stern, and get a single gun out of the stern ports. The Aigle came up at three, and several other ships soon afterwards came within hail. Lord Cochrane hailed them to anchor, or they would ground immediately, the Imperieuse having taken her birth upon the very edge of the shoal. These ships, when anchored, opened their fire upon the three enemies within reach, the Ville de Varsovie, the Aquilon, and the Calcutta; the latter, however, had already struck to the Imperieuse, and Lord Cochrane made signal to this effect, and sent to inform those who were firing at her, that he had a boat at that time on board her. They then turned their fire upon the other two, and his lordship seeing there were ships enough to destroy the other two vessels, ordered his own men, who were exceedingly fatigued, to cease firing. So the crew of the Imperieuse, except those who were stationed to repair the rigging, rested themselves. The Ville de Varsovie and the Aquilon struck about six o'-clock. The French meantime were deserting several of their ships with every boat that belonged to them, and pulling and sailing for the Rochefort river. Two got in; the enemy themselves set fire to one, and the remaining five ran ashore.

It was now the close of the after-

noon; Lord Cochrane was too much exhausted to be capable of farther exertions; he could scarcely stand from extreme fatigue. Five ships were still aground at the mouth of the Charente, and in the hope that something might be effected against them during the night, Lord Gambier sent Rear-Admiral Stopford, in the Cæsar, with the Theseus, the three fire-ships, and the boats of the fleet, with Congreve rockets, giving him discretional orders to proceed as far as he should judge proper, and apply that force as he should think fit. The Cæsar grounded in going in, either on a continuation of the Boyart, or else on a separate bank in the direction of that shoal. It was nearly dark, and the French on the island did not perceive that the ship was ashore, though she lay there three hours within range of shot from their batteries. The Theseus and the Valiant had also been aground that evening. Admiral Stopford perceiving, that if any thing farther could be effected against the enemy, it must be by smaller vessels, availed himself of a shift of wind before daylight on the 13th, and returned with the line of battle ships to Basque Roads. The fire-ships were to have acted against the Foudroyant, and against the Ocean, a three-decker, but a baffling wind blew directly out. The enemy also had moored two lines of boats across the stern of their three-decker, with boats in advance. This was the only instance in which they displayed skill, or made a shew of resolution. Captain Bligh, who had charge of the fire-ships, applied to Admiral Stopford for some gun-brigs to cover the retreat of the boats. The wind continued directly against them till about four in the morning, when he gave up the attempt as impracticable, and ordered the fire-vessels to move where the Imperieuse was laid, and follow the directions of Lord Cochrane. The Calcutta had previously been burnt; and at half past three Captain Bligh ordered the two other prizes to be set on fire. And here Lord Cochrane's humanity was as strikingly displayed as his skill and intrepidity had been. When the prisoners were taken out of the Varsovie, he brought away a dog in his arms, which was howling upon the deck. The Captain of one of the captured ships lamented to him, that all he had in the world was about to be destroyed in the conflagration. Instantly he got out the boat and pushed off, in hopes of saving his property for the prisoner; but in passing by one of the blazing ships, her guns began to go off, and killed the French captain by his side, and so damaged the boat, that she was with difficulty prevented from sinking.

Admiral Stopford had ordered the line of battle ships out, because of the imminent and evident danger to which they were exposed by a longer continuance in that anchorage, and the certainty that they could not be employed in any farther operations against the enemy. The Imperieuse still remained in Aix Road with the Pallas frigate, which had hailed Lord Cochrane in passing, to know if she should continue in the inner anchorage; this he directed her to do, if she had no orders to the contrary, and the bomb and brigs observing the Imperieuse at anchor, and the Pallas bringing up, anchored likewise. A signal of recall was made, which Lord Cochrane answered, by telegraphing that the enemy could be destroyed. This was about five in the morning of the 13th. In the

course of the day Lord Cochrane received a letter from Lord Gambier, telling him he had done his part so admirably, that the commander-in-chief would not suffer him to tarnish it by attempting impossibilities, for any farther effort to destroy the enemy's ships was, both in his own opinion and in that of those captains who had returned from the inner anchorage, altogether hopeless; he must therefore join the fleet as soon as he could. It was added in a postscript, that Lord Gambier had ordered three brigs and two rocket-vessels to join him, with which he might make an attempt on the ship that was aground at the Palles, or towards Isle Madame; "but I do not," said his lordship, "think you will succeed, and I am anxious you should come to me, as I wish to send you to England as soon as possible; you must therefore come as soon as the tide turns." Lord Cochrane wrote in reply, that they could destroy the ships which were on shore, and hoped that his lordship would approve of it. Lord Gambier's letter placed him in a most unpleasant situation,—first it recalled him,—then gave him liberty to act,—then dissuaded him from acting, and then recalled him again. Had he been left freely to have followed his own impulses, he would have attacked the enemy with his own ship, the Pallas, and the bomb, and brigs; but this letter, which expressed so strongly the opinion of Lord Gambier, and of so many senior officers, made him feel that a heavy,—a very heavy responsibility would lie upon him in case of any disaster, such as in military operations is always possible. If, for instance, his cable had been shot away, he might have been sunk,—such things were possible, though he considered them as by no means likely. Thus discouraged, he did nothing that day. But in his own mind he was assured, that if the rest of the frigates, instead of leaving the inner anchorage that morning, in company with the ships of the line, had remained there, full opportunity offered of destroying several sail of the enemy, which were not out of reach of vessels, properly placed at proper times of the tide, or of smaller vessels during any part of the tide.

Though thus prevented from acting against the enemy, Lord Cochrane did not join the fleet that day, nor was the signal of recall repeated, because it was impossible to get out. The next morning the signal was made again. He did not again make answer that the enemy could be destroyed, because that he thought would be disrespectful to the commander-in-chief, but he made an interrogatory signal to ask if he should unmoor, concluding, that his lordship would understand what was intended by it. The signal, however, was repeated, and the Imperieuse, being unmoored, hove short; but as the tide was done, she was permitted to remain till the ebb began to set. In the meantime Lord Gambier sent another letter to Lord Cochrane, which indicated the same irresolution as the last. "It was necessary," he said, "that he should have some communication with him before the dispatches to the admiralty were closed, and therefore he had ordered Captain Wolfe to relieve the Imperieuse, which the admiral wished to join him as soon as possible, that she might convey Sir Harry Neale with the dispatches to England; or," Lord Gambier added, "Lord Cochrane might return to carry on the service where he was; two bombs were ex-

pected to arrive every moment, and they would be useful in it." Lord Cochrane now joined the admiral, and said to him, that as there could be no jealousy with respect to Admiral Stopford, it would be essential to the service to send that officer in with the frigates or other vessels as might be thought best; his zeal would then accomplish what would be yet more creditable than any thing which had hitherto been done. Then he apologized for the freedom which he used in advising the commander in-chief, saying, he took that liberty as a friend, for it would be impossible, things remaining as they were, to prevent murmurs in England. My lord, he concluded, you have desired me to speak candidly to you, and I have used that freedom. I have no wish or desire but for the service of our country. The admiral replied, that if Lord Cochrane threw blame, it would appear like arrogantly claiming all the merit to himself; he had complained of the officers who commanded the other ships engaged in the attack; but Lord Gambier, who thought he had equal means of judging their conduct, averred that it was highly meritorious.

The Imperieuse was now sent to England; and from the 15th to the 24th some fruitless attempts were made by the bombs and small vessels upon the ships at the mouth of the Charente, but the enemy had had too much time allowed them, and by throwing overboard their guns and stores, got so high up, that even the gun-brigs frequently grounded in endeavouring to approach them, and never could get sufficiently near to produce any effect. But the French had yet to suffer other losses:—the Tourville 74 was wrecked up the river, the L'Indienne frigate they set fire to themselves at the mouth of the Charente, lest the English should do it for them. One or two ships of the line and two frigates were all that escaped without injury; the rest having been long and repeatedly aground, were rendered unfit for sea till after a thorough repair. What had been achieved was of signal importance. The fleet it was understood, from the best information which could be obtained, was to have gone to Ferrol, and there to have been joined by the Spanish squadron which had been betrayed; thence to have proceeded to Toulon; it would then, by a junction with the Toulon fleet, have had so decided a superiority to any force which could have been brought against it, that troops were to have been taken on board, and landed, to take possession of Cadiz and the Spanish navy. Their after destination was to the West Indies, to succour Guadaloupe and Martinique, and do what mischief they could elsewhere. Probably some blow upon South America was to have been the completion of the plan. The whole had been frustrated: in their own harbour, in sight of their own shores, and of two of their seaports the enemy had been attacked, and the French people themselves had witnessed the destruction of part of these ships, and the panic with which all had fled before their assailants. The total loss sustained by the conquerors was only ten killed, 37 wounded, one missing.

The merit of what had been done was given, as it was due, to Lord Cochrane, and he was rewarded with the order of the Bath; but Lord Cochrane himself was dissatisfied that more had not been effected; and when the first Lord of the Admiralty told him that it was his intention to

move thanks in Parliament to the commander-in-chief and the men and officers employed, he replied, that he should feel it his duty to oppose any vote of approbation to Lord Gambier for his conduct on that occasion. Under such circumstances the motion was necessarily suspended, and Lord Gambier of course, being made acquainted with the cause, demanded a court-martial. Great part of the case turned upon the state of the anchorage in the inner Road, and of the batteries in the Isle of Aix, and on both these points there was a material difference in the evidence given by Lord Cochrane, and in that given by most of the other officers who were called as witnesses by Lord Gambier. The evidence was equally positive on both sides, but the preponderance, which would else have been produced by the number on one side, was counterbalanced on the other, because Lord Cochrane spoke from his own personal observation, they from their own opinions. With regard to the anchorage he relied upon the French charts, and the soundings which he made confirmed his opinion of their accuracy: ours, he said, were abominable, and not fit to be delivered out. Lord Gambier relied upon the pilots. Cochrane said there was no confidence to be placed in them; for his part he never had one, and he never knew a pilot, particularly a French one, who did not find a shoal wherever there was a gun. The works upon the Isle of Aix, he affirmed, were in a ruinous state, the inner fortifications having been completely blown up and destroyed. He had ascertained this from the deck with perfect precision as to the side towards him, and as to the opposite side also from one of the tops of the ship. There were only 13 guns mounted on that side, where he had formerly seen about fifty. Lord Gambier argued, in opposition to this statement, that what Lord Cochrane supposed to be ruins, were in fact materials for improving or increasing the works. "Can it be natural to suppose," he said, "that the enemy, who are so active in forming batteries wherever they can be useful, and whose engineers are considered to be equal to any, would of all moments, chuse that for dismantling or blowing up works when they expected those works would be most required, for they were fully apprized of the intention of attacking them; and it was still less likely that they should weaken their defences on the Isle of Aix, (raised evidently for the protection of the fleet,) when at the same time they were endeavouring to form others on the Boyart shoal, as a farther protection for it." Lord Gambier's secretary also affirmed, that Lord Cochrane, in conversation with the admiral, had said, that if the ships had been sent in agreeably to his signal, he reckoned upon three or four of them being lost. This was a point upon which Lord Cochrane had no opportunity of explaining himself. The great error seems to have been in not attacking the Isle of Aix at first, when it might have been carried with little loss, and then the whole of the enemy's fleet must have been destroyed. That the works were weak, is proved by the fact, that for many months afterwards the French were employed in strengthening them. There appeared also a difference of opinion upon the trial concerning the rise and fall of the tide. Lord Cochrane thought it did not fall more than twelve feet: he spoke entirely from the French chart; which in this re-

spect is certainly erroneous, for it rises three † fathoms.

The trial occupied nine days, and the court decided, that the conduct of the commander-in-chief had been marked by zeal, judgement, ability, and an anxious attention to the welfare of his Majesty's service; they therefore most honourably acquitted him. Lord Gambier was a man so universally respected, so gentle and irreproachable in every part of his conduct, and it is always so painful to see a brave man censured for an error of judgement, that every person rejoiced in his acquittal; yet it was generally regretted that any inquiry had taken place. Lord Gambier had so conducted his defence, as if not his own conduct only, but that of all the other officers concerned in the affair had been impeached; and Lord Cochrane, who wished to explain this at the close of the trial, could not be permitted, because the matter did not bear upon the specific subject of inquiry. It was manifest that his appointment to this service had deeply wounded the officers of the fleet, and this ought to have been foreseen. The result is greatly to be lamented; it has made him enemies, and his political connections were not such as to lessen the evil. The distinction between Lord Cochrane and the radical reformers, whose meetings he has attended, has not been sufficiently remembered. He has seen the question of parliamentary reform in that light in which it appears to an ardent, and frank, and generous mind, which has not yet considered it in all its bearings; but the baneful spirit of party has never for a moment benumbed his British feelings. He has never slandered the allies, nor flattered the enemies of England,—he has never disgraced himself by holding the language of despondency and fear;—these are feelings which have never found entrance in his heart; and that his love for freedom is sincere, has been amply evinced by the enthusiasm which he displayed in assisting that heroic people, whose sufferings and whose constancy no true lover of liberty can contemplate without admiration. Since the court-martial Lord Cochrane has been unemployed, and more perhaps has been lost by thus keeping him in inactivity, than was gained by his victory in Basque Roads. Lord Cochrane, like our great Nelson, possesses that highest and rarest quality, whereby things are achieved, which neither zeal, nor courage, nor talents, would accomplish without it. He is a man who, by attempting what others conceive beyond the bounds of possibility, will never leave any thing that is possible undone.

The destruction of the French ships had happened in sight of France, and therefore could not be concealed there. A court martial was held upon the officers whose ships had been lost. The captain of the Tonnerre, who had set fire to her, was acquitted; the captain of the Indienne, who had done the same, was sentenced to three months confinement in his own chamber, for having acted with too much precipitation, and without previously advising the admiral; the captain of the Tourville, for having quitted his vessel, was adjudged to two years imprisonment wherever the government should think fit, to have his name struck out of the list of naval

† This is affirmed upon the authority of an officer who has frequently tried the rise of the tide upon that station, when anchored about four miles off the Isle of Aix.

officers, and to be degraded from the legion. These two officers were found liable in expences of process, a species of mulct which is discreditable to the French courts of justice. The captain of the Calcutta received sentence of death, for having in a cowardly manner abandoned his ship in the presence of the enemy; and the sentence was executed upon him. It is worthy of remark, that the captains of those two ships whose position was considered by Lord Gambier as so formidable on the morning of the 12th, and who cut and run as soon as the fleet moved towards them, were not thought to have misbehaved, though their misconduct had appeared so egregious to the English.

CHAP. XIV.

Capture of Martinique. Regulations concerning the Produce of the Island. Capture of the Saints. Expulsion of the French from Hispaniola by the Spanish Colonists, aided by the English. French Guiana taken for the Prince of Brazil by a Portugueze and British Force. Capture of Senegal.

Tronde's squadron, with the escape of which from L'Orient the French consoled themselves when Willaumez was blockaded in the roads of Aix, was destined to throw reinforcements and supplies into Martinique and Guadaloupe. Small vessels were continually running from France upon the same service, several of which, notwithstanding the blockade of Martinique, eluded our cruisers and got in; and in the month of November three frigates, having troops and provisions on board, sailed from Cherbourgh, in hope of succouring this most important island. They parted company on the voyage, and one of them, the Amphitrite, having made some captures on the way, escaped from the Ethalion frigate, and two smaller vessels in her company, by singular boldness and good fortune. Falling in with them in the night, instead of attempting to run, the Frenchman passed close within hail of the Ethalion, and as close to one of the sloops, both taking her for one of their own squadron, till day-light discovered the deceit, when it was too late to remedy it. The Amphitrite had 200 troops on board, and was laden with provisions; several small vessels had succeeded about the same time in throwing supplies into the island; and the English commanders upon that station, who had prepared an expedition for reducing it, disheartened at the ill success of the blockade, determined to postpone their intended attempt. They had expected to starve the place, the American embargo co-operating to this effect. It was said, that their disappointment was in some degree owing to a scandalous commerce with the enemy, carried on by British speculators in British ships. Such vessels, being secure from our own cruisers, kept the sea safely till opportunity offered of being captured, according to agreement.

Our commanders soon changed their determination, it was supposed in consequence of a secret communication with some of the leading inhabitants of Martinique, and an understanding that the militia, which consisted of 6000 well-disciplined men, accustomed to the climate, would take no part in opposing them. Lieut.-Gen. Beckwith, commander of the forces, consulted at Barbadoes

with Sir Alexander Cochrane, who had the naval command, and at the latter end of January the armament sailed from that island. Six hundred men, under Major Henderson, were detached on board the York to win the battery at Point Solomon, and thus secure a safe anchorage for the ships. Captain Fahie of the Belleisle landed one division, under Major-Gen. Maitland, at Saint Luce, on the 30th; the other, under Major-General Sir George Prevost, who so eminently distinguished himself in 1805 at Dominica, was landed in Bay Robert by Captain Beaver of the Acasta. The weather was uncommonly rough and squally, and there was a very considerable sv ell as far out as Loup Garou, where he meant to have anchored. But the small frigates which were to have gone in with the transports had not joined, and Captain Beaver therefore resolved to enter the Cul de Sac with all the men of war, that he might effectually protect the landing, not knowing what resistance might be made; so having placed boats with flags at a graplin under the edges of the shoals, he led in with the Acasta, and anchored with the whole of the transports about noon. Before sunset he had landed 4500 men, with a proportion of artillery and horses, and all the remainder by seven the next morning. General Beckwith advanced towards Fort Bourbon, fell in with the enemy on the 1st, and defeated them in three actions, in themselves slight, but of importance in their consequence, as the British were enabled to take possession of the heights of Surerey, which command Fort Bourbon. The French then spiked the guns of the lower fort, blew up the magazines, and abandoned it. Gen. Maitland reached Samanton on the 2d without opposition, and afterwards formed a junction with the besieging army. As soon as the landing had been effected a proclamation was issued, which concluded with an invidious and unjust distinction between the different races on the island. Every white person, it stated, who might be taken in arms, should be treated as a prisoner of war; every person of colour taken in like manner, be sent out of the island; and every slave so taken, be subject to be tried by a military tribunal. So sure, however, were the British commanders of the disposition of the people, that they sent a detachment of only 200 men to take possession of the capital, St Pierre, a city defended by strong forts and batteries, and containing more than 20,000 inhabitants, comprizing among them the greater part of the embodied militia.

Jan. 30.

Meantime the troops in the York had proceeded to invest the fort of Pigeon island, where they were joined by Brig.-Gens. Sir Charles Shipley and Stahelin. Ten mortars and howitzers were landed, five of which, by the exertions which the seamen made with their characteristic spirit, were got up to the top of a commanding height. The effect was this, that the batteries, which opened at six one evening, compelled the enemy to capitulate the next morning, when 136 persons surrendered prisoners of war. Every where the measures of the British were successful. Two frigates and a sloop had been sent round to the upper part of Fort Royal Bay, to cut off the retreat of the enemy. The French no sooner perceived them than they set fire to all the shipping in the harbour; among these vessels was the Amphitrite, which had only escaped capture to be thus destroyed by her own crew. Another frigate was

burned in like manner at Maru, and a corvette at St Pierre. These circumstances evinced that the enemy had little hope of making a successful resistance, notwithstanding the boasted strength of the island. On the 5th a fire was opened on the enemy from four batteries on the western side, and their own guns were also turned upon them from Fort Edward. It was returned at first with great spirit, but the garrison slackened during the day and night in their fire, and by the following morning had been beaten from their guns. It still remained to attack the eastern side of the fort, and before this could be done, the difficulty of dragging cannon and mortars up Mount Surerey was to be surmounted, a labour which the rains and the heavy roads rendered exceedingly arduous. The seamen and marines of the York and Intrepid at length effected it. A battery of four 24-pounders and four mortars was ready on the 22d; on the following day several more were got up, ready to be mounted in an advanced battery, which was designed for eight 24-pounders; another such battery was preparing to the westward: but before they opened, a flag of truce was sent out by the garrison with proposals to surrender, on condition of being sent to France upon their parole. It was not thought proper to accede to this; the batteries therefore commenced *Feb. 23.* their fire about nine in the evening, and continued it through the night. They fired with great effect; the French were driven from their defences, their cannon dismounted, and the whole of the interior of the works ploughed up by shot and shells. Between six and seven one of the magazines in the fort blew up; three flags of truce were soon afterwards hoisted by the enemy, and hostilities ceased. Commissioners were appointed to treat, and a tent erected for them between the advanced picquets on either side.

This praise is due to the French, that they never fail to demand the best terms for themselves: it seems as if they always calculated upon their superiority in negociating as certainly as an English ship upon its superiority in action. They demanded that they should march out with all their arms, and be conveyed to France, without any restriction from serving again. The British commanders replied, that they might march out with the honours of war, but must ground their arms beyond the glacis; they should be conveyed to Quiberon Bay, and there exchanged rank for rank; but from the high consideration in which they held the captain-general, Villaret Joyeuse, he and his aides-de-camp should be sent to France free from any restriction. It was demanded, that all the prisoners who had already surrendered unconditionally should now be admitted to the same conditions as the garrison, and this was granted; they required also that the fortifications of Fort Desaix should not be demolished till after a treaty of peace had been concluded between the two powers. The French evidently calculated that the island would certainly be restored to them, and therefore were for stipulating that no injury should be done to the works. The proper answer was made, that the British government alone could determine that. The garrison, according to the terms of capitulation, were sent to France, and arrived in Quiberon Bay: Buonaparte refused to exchange them, as had been stipulated, man for man and rank for rank, and they were therefore necessarily

brought to England, and added to the number of those unfortunate prisoners whom the relentless Corsican has deprived of all hope of being restored to their country while he continues to oppress it.

Thus was Martinique won in eight-and-twenty days after the British armament sailed against it from Barbadoes. The wonder in England was, seeing it had so easily been subdued, why we had suffered the enemy so long to remain in possession of a finer harbour than any in our own islands, which served as an asylum for his marauding squadrons, and enabled him at all times grievously to annoy our commerce by his privateers. The proclamation which the commanders had issued excited some comments in Parliament. Mr Stephen *June* 6. objected to the unjust and impolitic distinction which was made between the people of colour and the negroes,—he might have added the whites also, all races being entitled to equal treatment. He grounded his objections upon two reasons, each of sufficient weight, that a considerable portion of our own troops employed in reducing the island were negroes, whom such a measure must naturally disgust; and that it would afford Buonaparte an excuse for, and at least countenance him in, the detestable measures which he pursued against those persons who, from principles of loyalty and patriotism, opposed his usurpations. Colonel Dillon defended the conduct of the commanders, saying, that the dreadful example of the negroes in Hispaniola justified them in taking every precautionary step of intimidation; and the event had proved that they were right, for the white inhabitants received them with open arms, and the blacks remained neutral. But the conduct of the commanders was disavowed by ministry. This part of the proclamation, Lord Castlereagh said, had attracted the attention of government; they had asked for explanation, and could do nothing farther till it arrived.

The capture of Martinique, though of such essential importance to the security of our islands, which, while the enemy possessed its ports, were always liable to be pillaged by their running squadrons, was nevertheless regarded by our West-India planters and merchants as detrimental to their interests; and at their suggestion a bill was brought in for making the sugar and coffee of this new conquest and of Mariegalante liable to duty on importation, as if they had not been the growth of a British plantation. The bill was carried, notwithstanding its *May* 15. mischievous tendency was pointed out in a very able manner by Mr Marryat. He argued, "that the exclusion of Martinique produce would be no benefit whatever to the British planter, because the market which he was to look up to was Europe, not Great Britain alone; the quantity of sugar brought to Europe governed the price of the commodity here, for the demand from abroad must increase in proportion to the increased quantity which, being diverted from the foreign markets, finds its way to ours. But while this exclusion was nugatory as to any good which the planters expected from it, it would be highly injurious to the British sugar refiner. An act had lately been passed permitting the exportation of refined sugar in a crushed state, so as to imitate the French clayed sugars; and nearly two-thirds of the whole quantity of refined sugar exported during the last year was of

that description. But if the clayed sugars of Martinique were to be imported for exportation alone, they would supply the place of these crushed lumps on the continent, and the British plantation sugars, from which this imitation was now made, must necessarily be left a dead weight upon the home market. Now," said Mr Marryat, "I cannot comprehend how the price of sugar would be more depressed by bringing these clayed sugars into the home market, than by leaving those raw sugars upon the market which are now manufactured in imitation of them and exported. The clayed sugars of Martinique are peculiarly calculated for making a certain description of refined sugar, known by the name of Hamburgh loaves, which circulate all over the continent with the greater facility, in the present state of things, because, being made in such moulds as are used at Hamburgh, it is impossible to distinguish them from the goods of the foreign refiners. Four-fifths of the whole quantity of refined sugar now exported consists of the crushed lumps and the Hamburgh loaves. If we export all the Martinique clayed sugars, they will supersede the demand for the first, because foreigners will prefer the originals to the copies; and they will also supersede the demand for the second, because we shall give the foreign refiners the exclusive right of using the choicest and best materials from which they can be manufactured. Thus the export trade of our refiners will be reduced to one-fifth of its actual amount by the operation of this bill, and nearly one-third of the refineries at present at work in London will be thrown out of employment.

"The value and importance of the sugar refinery in this country," Mr Marryat continued, "might not perhaps be sufficiently understood. The buildings and utensils employed in it occupied a capital of about two millions, and a much larger capital was necessary for carrying it on. The annual expenditure in the trade was about one million. Some idea might be formed of the employment which it furnished to the potteries by the fact, that 80,000 pots and moulds might be found in a single sugar-house in London, and that a very large proportion of the whole quantity in use was annually consumed by breakage. The manufactory possessed this rare advantage, that both the raw material which it works up, and all the articles used in carrying it on, are the growth, produce, and manufacture of Great Britain or her colonies. This was the trade which the present bill would injure to the point of ruin; and was there ever a more preposterous idea conceived, than that of raising the value of a raw commodity by ruining those who manufactured it! Another argument yet remained to be urged,—the injustice of this measure to the inhabitants of Martinique. They had been told, in our proclamation, that 'the sources of their prosperity would be renewed; their ancient laws restored; and that government, the protector of persons and properties, to which they had formerly been subject under the British flag, would be re-established in the colony.' If there be any meaning in words," said Mr Marryat, "these words convey a general assurance that they would be replaced in that situation in which they before stood while under the British government. Looking to this, they have willingly received, if not invited us; this the proclamation has promised them, and upon that proclamation they stand

as their Magna Charta and their Bill of Rights. I might remind the House that we took Guadaloupe during the last war by the assistance of the inhabitants, and were driven out of it again in consequence of having alienated their affections; but I will not make this a question of policy, I stand upon the good faith and honour of the British nation." In spite of these powerful arguments the opinion of the planters and merchants prevailed, and the bill was past.

Meantime new successes had been obtained in the same quarter. The L'Orient squadron, consisting of three sail of the line and two frigates, finding on their arrival in the West Indies that Martinique had fallen, took shelter in the Saints, and there Sir Alexander Cochrane blockaded them with five ships of the line. General Beckwith detached a corps of between 3 and 4000 men, under General Maitland, to co-operate with the navy in reducing these islands, and to destroy or capture the enemy's ships, or at least force them to sea. The entire direction of our naval operations, connected with the army, was left to Captain Beaver, one of those gifted men to whose rare genius and sound ability any service, however arduous, may safely be entrusted. On the 12th of April they sailed from Fort Royal Bay; the 13th was passed in examining the enemy's position and making arrangements. The disembarkation should have taken place at six on the following morning, but the ships were separated by bad weather during the night. They were collected by ten in the forenoon, and the Acasta led in through a very narrow channel, which was buoyed on both sides. The troops landed in the little bay Bois Joly, on a stony beach, experiencing no opposition except from the islet of Cabrit, the guns of which fired over the ridge among the shipping. Ance Vanovre, the next bay to the eastward, was the place which had been appointed for landing; but this part of the plan was altered, because the boats would have had a long row against wind and current to have reached their destination.

Father Labat, who acted in the French islands as an engineer as well as a missionary, and with quite as much inclination for actual as for metaphorical warfare, considered the Saints as so strong by nature, that a very little art might render them impregnable. They consist of two small islands, and a smaller between the two, lying together so as to form a safe and spacious port. When the troops had advanced to the first ridge, they found that the enemy occupied the height of Mount Russel, immediately on their right, nor could they advance till this position was won. The attempt was in the highest degree perilous. The mount is above 800 feet high, and the ascent is at an angle of fifty degrees, covered with bushes and with the prickly pear. Two rifle companies, however, being supported by some flank companies on their right, scaled this formidable height, and drove back the French with considerable loss. Our troops had now obtained a strong position, but they could not advance without being flanked on the left by the fort on Isle Cabrit. Before them were the three forts of the enemy, well garrisoned, and the squadron in the harbour. Two howitzers were immediately landed, and before six in the evening a battery opened upon the ships. In about an hour it was perceived that the French were preparing to push out: the port was

singularly favourable for their escape, having three passages in different directions; so that, with a blockading force of five ships, it was impossible to bring an equal force to meet the enemy at every point. Signals were made to the admiral by rockets from a headland, advising him that the enemy were gone both to windward and leeward, the frigates proceeding one way and the line-of-battle ships another. Captain Fahie, in the Pompee, was nearest the passage through which the latter came out, and immediately gave chase to them. At ten o'clock he closed with the sternmost, and endeavoured to stop her by the discharge of two broadsides; but being under a press of sail, and a strong breeze, steering away W. S. W. she succeeded in crossing him without returning his fire.

The admiral perceived this from the Neptune; but he was deceived as to the size of the enemy's ships, and he was at a loss how to act, for if these should prove to be the frigates, and the line-of-battle ships should remain behind, then he thought the withdrawing his squadron from the Saints would be fatal to the troops which were landed. He crossed so near the sternmost of the flying enemy that her shot struck the Neptune, killing one man and wounding four, and yet so dark was the night, that he could not ascertain what the ships were. Day-light made it plain, but it appeared also that the Neptune had no chance of coming up to them; the Pompee alone was in company, and if her masts had been injured they must all have escaped. Sir Alexander, therefore, made signal to Captain Fahie to endeavour to cripple the sternmost, without bringing on the collected fire of the three, which were then in line abreast. In this attempt he was excellently seconded by Captain Napier, in the Recruit sloop, who kept within the fire of the stern-chasers of three sail of the line the whole day, constantly annoying them. The Latona and Castor frigates came up, but by five in the afternoon they had entirely lost sight of the Neptune from the mast-head, and only one of the enemy could be seen, which was about three miles ahead. Just before sunset the high land of Puerto Rico was seen; the night shut in extremely dark, and as the English drew in with the land they were baffled with light and variable winds: But they never lost sight of their prey, and at half past three in the morning the Castor got within shot, and began a brisk cannonade. The enemy returned the fire, and in yawing to bring their guns to bear, gave Captain Fahie an opportunity of ranging up abreast of them. It proved to be the D'Hautpolt of 74 guns, 680 men, a ship which had never been at sea till she sailed from L'Orient on this luckless expedition. At four the Pompee brought her to action, and continued hotly engaged and constantly nearing her for an hour and a quarter, when she struck, after a brave defence. Both ships were at this time complete wrecks in their sails and rigging, and within their own lengths of each other, the Pompee nearly unmanageable, the D'Hautpolt entirely so. Our loss in the Pompee was nine killed, thirty wounded; in the Castor, one killed, six wounded. One man was wounded in the sloop. The French lost between eighty and ninety men.

The troops, by gaining possession of Mount Russel, had succeeded in forcing the enemy's squadron out;

but the difficulty of advancing on the west side of the island was such, that it was found necessary to re-embark the greater part of the troops, and land them, according to the original plan, at Ance Vanovre. The French occupied a strong and commanding position on the east side of this bay, but a few companies descending from Mount Russel dislodged them, and covered the landing. A position was then gained, from whence batteries could reach both Fort Napoleon and the fort on the islet. In the night following the English took possession of the middle ridge, meaning to confine the enemy within their works. A sally was made from Forts Napoleon and Morelle to recover this ground the following morning; but the French were driven back with loss, and the middle of the next day they proposed terms and surrendered prisoners of war. They were between 7 and 800 men, of whom 600 were landed from the ships. The conquest cost us 63 men wounded, 5 killed, besides one officer, who lost his life by falling from a precipice.

These conquests were of great immediate importance in securing our trade from the French privateers, and our smaller islands from those predatory invasions, which are not more destructive to the inhabitants than they are disgraceful to the enemy: invasions, however, which might have been stopped by the threat of retaliating upon the shores of France,—a threat which the whole French people know might so effectually be put in execution. In other points there was little to rejoice at in the acquisition of these islands, experience having shewn that the most lenient, accommodating, and bountiful system of government cannot, even after half a century, thoroughly conciliate subjects whose religion it is to consider us as heretics, and whose mother tongue is the language of our enemies. Our successes in Hispaniola, though perhaps of less direct advantage, were of more ultimate importance, inasmuch as they effected the complete, and, it is to be hoped, the final expulsion of the French from the finest of the Columbian islands.

The peace between France and Spain in 1795, which gave his peculiar title and the rank of prince to the infamous and execrable Godoy, ceded the Spanish part of Hispaniola to France. No cession could more completely have displayed the imbecillity of the court, and the baseness or treachery of its ministers. This was the first island which the Spaniards had acquired, and its capital, St Domingo, the first city which they had founded in the new world. A century of continual warfare against the French, who had intruded upon them with as little right as they themselves had for dispossessing the original inhabitants, had rooted in these colonists an animosity against their successful rivals, and rendered it hereditary and inveterate. They sent to Madrid a remonstrance against the cession, as being doubly illegal; first, because this country was considered as appertaining to the Prince of Asturias, and therefore could not, they argued, be conveyed away without his concurrence; secondly, for this curious reason, that in the year 1585, when Sir Francis Drake won the city, the inhabitants ransomed it from him, and had thereby acquired a right of purchase in the colony for their descendants, which they considered as equal to the right of discovery, on which the government founded its title. The plea would have been less disrespectful had they contended, that

the five-and-twenty thousand ducats then paid to the English freebooter were lent to the crown, and that they held the city as security till principal and interest were repaid.

There is something abominable in transferring over brave and faithful subjects like a herd of cattle to another master. A people may be absolved from allegiance to their old government, but there the authority of that government ends; and the Spaniards of Hispaniola would have been justified before God and man in refusing submission, and proclaiming themselves independent. The cession was the more unpardonable, because it exposed them to the same horrors by which, in the other part of the island, vengeance had been exacted for the complicated cruelties of the slave trade. Those horrors had not extended to the Spanish territory: the Spaniards are kind masters, and difference of language, with perhaps something of animosity derived from the national enmity between the two white races, prevented their slaves from making common cause with the blacks of Hayti. Hayti was at this time in possession of the blacks, and was actually a negro government, though held by the admirable Toussaint in nominal subjection to France. What then was more probable, than that when the Spanish part of the island was ceded to these representatives of the French, the spirit of insubordination should be diffused here also, and this unhappy country, which had been the scene of such accumulated guilt, be visited with fresh slaughter? Toussaint, the best as well as the greatest man whom the French revolution produced, seems to have been apprehensive of this, and to have delayed taking possession till he had accustomed his uneducated and ferocious followers to habits of obedience and peace. It was not till the close of the year 1801 that he marched to St Domingo. He expected resistance, and the people were ready to have resisted him, if every possible means for preventing them from taking arms had not been employed by their governor. The negro chief behaved with his characteristic wisdom; though he came with a considerable army, no excesses of any kind were committed, and public and private property were equally respected.

But basely as the court of Spain had sacrificed them, the people of Hispaniola could not forget that they were Spaniards. An emigration greater perhaps than ever was known on any like occasion took place. Nearly a third of the whole population went over to Cuba, to Puerto Rico, or to the Main, to live under their own laws and their own government. For this they abandoned fair prospects and flourishing properties, the works of their own industry,—their hereditary estates and houses,—the scenes of their childhood, and the tombs of their fathers. The finest sugar works, both in structure and mechanism, that had ever been erected in the island, (though before the revolution the French part formed the most opulent colony in the new world) had just been completed at an immense expence. Such, however, was the high national feeling of the owner, that rather than live a subject of France, he left this and all his other property, carrying with him nothing more than his negroes; and at this day the buildings which he had erected stand in ruins upon the banks of the Nigua. But the most memorable circumstance which ensued upon the cession of this an-

cient colony, was the removal of the bones of Columbus, which, in conformity to his own will, had been translated from Seville, and deposited, together with the chains wherein he had been so unworthily fettered, in the city that he regarded as his own great monument. No sooner was the treaty known, than the representative of his family, with a pride worthy of his rank and race, sent over orders to take up the brazen coffin of the great discoverer once more, and remove it to the Havannah. This was done with becoming solemnity, the relicks were carried down to the harbour in procession, and the forts fired a salute as they were embarked for their destination.

It was not till the peace of Amiens that the French themselves obtained possession of St Domingo. They soon, in contempt of their own treaty, and with their usual insolent injustice, sequestered the property of all absentees. Houses every where fell to ruin, and plantations were overgrown, and cultivated fields became waste, for these intruders had obtained what they could not use. The churches, however, supplied them with pillage. There was some danger in venturing to touch this consecrated property in places where they had not an overpowering force,—a little deceit therefore was thought necessary. Devaux, the second in command, was stationed with 50 men at the inland town of Santiago de los Cavalleros, at once to keep the Spaniards quiet, and hold the Haytians in check. These Frenchmen did not dare lay violent hands upon the church plate and jewels, because they were at a distance from their own army, and in a populous part of the country; but they alarmed the inhabitants by reporting that the blacks were about to attack them, and they persuaded them that their valuables could not be secure anywhere but in the city, the fortifications of which would baffle all the force of the enemy. The people were duped by this; but the French having succeeded in duping them, did not endeavour to conceal their own rascality. One of their prostitutes appeared in public with a pearl necklace which had belonged to an image of the Virgin, and it was soon discovered that the other jewels had been disposed of in like manner. The Spaniards of Santiago had borne many injuries and many galling indignities, but this insult to their religion was beyond endurance. They obtained arms, surrounded the French in the night, and, after a struggle at the expence of many lives, made them prisoners; they then marched them under a sufficient escort of peasantry to the capital, with intimation to the commander-in-chief, General Ferrand, that if another armed force was sent among them, little as they were disposed to make common cause with the Haytians, they would call them in and change their allegiance.

In the capital the French carried on their system of pillage with open and undissembled insolence. Among the spoils of the churches one singular relic fell into their destructive hands; it was a land-crab of solid gold, as large as a drum head. The people of the island had made this costly image in memory of their remarkable deliverance from the expedition under Penn and Venables in 1655. The English had landed at night to surprise the Spanish camp, and as the Spaniards were unprepared, and their whole force consisted of irregular troops, the attempt would probably have been completely successful. The advanced line of

the invaders formed, and were proceeding, when they heard what they supposed to be the sound of horses approaching in great numbers, and being in fear of the lanciers, whose courage and dexterity they had already experienced, they hastily retreated to their boats. What they had heard proved to be the great land-crabs which burrow in the sands by day, and issue out by myriads in the night. The sound of footsteps had alarmed these grotesque animals, and the noise which disconcerted the enterprize was what they made scampering over the dry leaves as they hurried to hide themselves in their holes. Many a less remarkable circumstance passes current for miracle in catholic countries; this was firmly believed to be so: in Hispaniola its anniversary was celebrated by the name of the *La Fiesta de los Cangrejos*, the feast of the land-crabs, and the inhabitants carried this splendid proof of their gratitude and superstition in yearly procession, till the French arrived and consigned it to the crucible.

It seemed as if the system of this insolent people was to break down the spirit of the Spaniards by a series of insults and injuries, till they were degraded to the thraldom for which they were designed. The bulletins and official papers published at St Domingo affirmed, that Puerto Rico and half of Cuba, were ceded to the French. Such plans had been formed by some of that nation, who, having escaped from the massacre in Hayti, had been hospitably received in the Spanish islands and permitted to settle there. That enterprizing and indefatigable activity for which the French are remarkable, made them recover their losses almost as soon as with their characteristic levity they forgot them, and they had no sooner done this, than, with an ingratitude which is not less their characteristic, they began to plot against the people who had afforded them an asylum. Memorials were sent to Buonaparte, representing how convenient it would be to the great empire that half of the island of Cuba, by a line drawn from Trinidad to Baracoa, should be ceded to France, and the whole of Puerto Rico also. The number of French, with their negroes and mixed breed, who were already collected in Cuba, amounted to 40,000; in Puerto Rico, too, they were very numerous; their industry had already materially enriched and improved these islands, and how better could they repay the Spaniards for the protection they had given, than by requesting the great emperor to receive them among his subjects, and extend to them the glory and the privileges of his protection! Agents were deputed to Paris by these treacherous refugees, and funds raised to prosecute their plans. But at this time Buonaparte was conspiring how to usurp the whole dominions of Spain, otherwise he would, no doubt, have solicited and obtained these cessions from the wretched Bourbon and his infamous favourite.

The Spanish revolution broke up this conspiracy, and the French were expelled from Cuba. In Hispaniola the Spaniards immediately took arms. Christophe, the black president of Hayti, who had had sufficient experience of French perfidy, as soon as the news reached him, which it did by some ships from England, sent some Spaniards, who had come in those ships on their way to the Havannah, in a vessel of his own with dispatches to the governor, expressing his desire to enter into an alliance

with the Spaniards; and making known the same sentiments to those upon his border, he set at liberty all his prisoners of that nation. The patriots were thus delivered from this enemy, and received from Hayti such supplies as it afforded. Their countrymen, who had left the island rather than submit to become subjects of a people whom they hated, recovered hope at the glorious intelligence that Spain was in arms, and struggling for independence: between six and seven hundred of the more adventurous collected, and landed to assist in recovering their country. They found the Spaniards of the eastern provinces assembled under Don Juan Sanchez Ramirez, the greater number mounted and armed like the lanciers of old, few of them having any fire-arms. Ferrand despising such enemies, and thinking at once to crush them before the insurrection gathered strength, left the city at the head of 600 men, and marched against them. He found them about twelve leagues from St Domingo, encamped in the plains between Romana and Quiabon. Aware of the superiority which their cavalry gave them in such a situation, the patriots acted with great skill as well as courage. They provoked the enemy to fire, and before they could reload, charged them on all sides, and broke their ranks. The rout was complete, and then they hunted down the fugitives. Not more than twenty escaped. Ferrand himself, who was mounted, clapt spurs to his horse, but the horse failed; his pursuers were close upon him, and, rather than fall into the power of men, who, he believed, would show him as little mercy as he deserved, he blew out his brains.

Nov. 7. 1808.

The patriots, pursuing their victory, laid siege to the city: here, however, being without artillery and engineers, they could do nothing more than blockade it, and this produced more evil to their own unhappy countrymen than to the French. Barquier who had accompanied Leclerc's expedition on the hospital staff, succeeded Ferrand in the command,—all his superiors having, in the course of six years, been cut off by the war or the climate, or surrendered to the English to escape the vengeance of the negroes, upon whom they had exercised such infamous barbarities. This man behaved with great cruelty to the citizens. Blockaded as he was by land, and with little chance of receiving any succours by sea where the English were masters, it was undoubtedly his duty to husband his stores, and maintain his post to the utmost, nor could this be effected without considering his own men in preference to the inhabitants; but it seems to have been his design to destroy the inhabitants by famine. He forbade them to go into the streets in search of food; they were denied all rations; cats and dogs were soon consumed; horse, mule, and ass-flesh, when they could obtain it, were paid for at a dollar a pound; and hides were purchased at a price proportionally dear to serve as food. If a cargo of provisions escaped the vigilance of our cruisers and got in, the father of a family might be seen kneeling in the open street to a brutal Frenchman, and beseeching that he might be allowed to purchase a small share for his starving wife and children; and this was uniformly refused till all the French had been fully served. The ends of policy would have been better answered if Barquier, as soon as he knew that it was intended to starve him out, had sent the in-

habitants out of the town, instead of compelling them to remain there, and die by inches.

The siege commenced in November, 1808, and continued till the following Midsummer without success, the patriots suffering the most grievous privations, yet still resolved to persevere to the end, and expecting from the English those means of offence which they themselves wanted. At the commencement of their operations an essential service was rendered them by five of our cruisers, which, accidentally meeting together off the bay of Samana, agreed to dispossess the enemy of that commanding station. The history of Hispaniola is such a tissue of crimes and calamities, some of them so fresh in remembrance, that we connect with the bare mention of its name the thoughts of massacre and pestilence, forgetful that no country in that delightful region wherein it is placed is more highly gifted for the use and enjoyment of man. Of this fine island the bay of Samana is the most important point, both for situation and for natural advantages. It derives its name from the peninsula which forms its northern side, and which, being about fifteen leagues in length and forty in circumference, is connected with the island by an isthmus not more than a mile wide, and the more easily defensible because it is a swamp filled with reeds. The entrance of this bay is 18 miles from point to point, but the shoals on the south side contract the channel, so that a fort placed upon an islanded ridge of rocks, called the Callo de Levantados, and another in the peninsula, would completely command it; but, if farther security were thought needful, works might be erected on the shoals within a mile from the Callo. The bay itself is sixty miles long and about eighteen wide; it is full of smaller ports, and of such depth close to the land that ships may lie moored to the shore. The river Yuna, which some thirty years ago was made navigable for about fifty miles, discharges itself into this bay: and adjoining this river are mines of lead, copper, and iron: its shores, and those of all the other streams which flow into the same great bay, are wooded with the finest timber. Here then are materials for establishing a naval arsenal and foundery; and the bay lying to windward of Cuba and the Mexican Gulph, is the point from whence some of the most valuable Spanish possessions, and indeed the whole of the Columbian islands, could most easily be succoured or attacked.

These advantages had not escaped the French. D'Ogeron, the founder of their colony in Hispaniola, attempted to form a settlement here, which would probably have succeeded, had not his death interrupted the plans which he had laid before the court of France. The writers of that nation continually represented to their government the importance of this position, which was utterly neglected by the Spaniards; but the Spaniards were aware of it themselves; Valverde, in his book upon the value of the colony and the means of improving it, dwells particularly upon the superiority which the Spanish part of the island derived over the French possessions from this bay; and two towns, called Samana and Sabana la Mar, were founded there about the middle of the last century, thirty years before he wrote. Families were brought over from the Canaries to form these new settlements; but neither men nor means were furnished in sufficient abundance, and the

injudicious restrictions upon commerce prevented these towns from flourishing as they would have done under a more liberal system of policy.

The French had no sooner obtained possession of St Domingo than they prepared to avail themselves of Samana bay. It was carefully surveyed by L'Eissegue, after he had seen his ships destroyed: lands in the peninsula were allotted to the officers, and the ground laid out for the new city of Napoleon, which was to be the Brest of the Carribbean seas. Till the great works which had been planned could be begun upon, the bay served as a refuge to their privateers; and this was now of such consequence to the enemy, that they were in the act of erecting batteries at Samana, when Captain Dashwood, with the little squadron which accident had placed under his command, entered the harbour of that town, captured five privateers, which had taken shelter there, made himself master of their works, and gave up the place to the patriots, whom he furnished with arms and ammunition taken from the prisoners, and thus enabled them to defend it.

Nov. 11. 1808.

A blockading squadron, under Captain Pryce Cumby, soon appeared before the city,—but the patriots had no means to press the siege; no succours were sent from Cuba, and few from Puerto Rico, and sickness began to prevail among them. They had procured arms and ammunition from Jamaica, but more were needful, and now also they wanted cloathing and medicines. To raise money for purchasing these, the wood-cutters contributed mahogany, loaded a double-decked Spanish polacre, and sent it to Kingston for sale, where the ship and cargo were condemned, as having violated the navigation act. The astonishment of the Spaniards may be conceived at such an act of hostility on the part of their allies, and it happened that the sick and half-naked troops, who had relied upon the return of this vessel for relief, received the news of her condemnation at the very time when Brig.-Gen. Carmichael arrived from Kingston with 1200 men to assist in the siege. They knew not at first whether he came as friend or enemy, and the French, ever ready to profit by any accident or imprudence of their opponents, did not let pass so favourable an occasion of making them suspect the intentions of England. "The English," they said, "came to take the city and keep it for themselves," and they circulated a caricature, in which they represented an English officer giving guns to some ragged patriots with one hand, and receiving logs of mahogany with the other. General Carmichael's conduct prevented the mischievous effect which might else have arisen: in his first communication with the Spanish General he expressly stated, that he was come to aid him in dispossessing the French of the city of St Domingo, that it might be restored to its lawful sovereign: he explained the seizure of the polacre, and in a short time, notwithstanding this incident, the most perfect confidence was established between the Spaniards and the British troops.

Our force landed at Palenque, thirty miles from the city, that being the nearest landing place. The works were reconnoitred the next day. The Spanish General, who was at this time very ill, worn out by fatigue and privation, and suffering from a disease of the liver, ordered his troops

June 28.

to execute any directions given by the British commander. This they cheerfully obeyed, and by a forward movement cut off all communication between the city and fort Jeronimo, a stronghold two miles west of the capital, which covered the only landing place and prevented the army from communicating with the ships. Barquier began now to feel his danger, and proposed a suspension of hostilities, which was refused. General Carmichael advanced with a detachment of Spaniards to the church of St Carlos, and there established his quarters within musket-shot of the city, expecting that the British would join him that night; but heavy and incessant rain delayed this junction for four-and-twenty hours, during which time they were dragging the field-pieces through dreadful roads, intersected by rivers, over which there was no proper conveyance. The white flag was still kept flying by the French, and on the 1st of July Barquier again proposed to treat. General Carmichael had learned, both from prisoners and intercepted letters, that his instructions were positively not to surrender, and there was reason to believe that his only object was to gain time, and ascertain the strength of the British forces. For this reason the British commander required him to capitulate, and allowed him only till twelve the next day for an answer. During this suspension, to the great surprise of the English, a continual fire of musketry was heard from the walls, and General Carmichael sent an aid-de-camp to demand the cause. At this season of the year the wild pigeons pass in innumerable flights over the city, and the flat roofs of the houses used to be covered with people, who shot at random into the cloud till they were satisfied with prey and tired of destroying. The inhabitants were not at this time allowed to profit by this periodical supply, but the half-starved soldiers were storing themselves with food. On the 3d, commissioners met without coming to an agreement; the negociation, however, was not altogether broken off, and they adjourned till our naval commander could be consulted. The weather prevented this for three days. Captain Cumby, when a meeting was practicable, fully agreed with the general, that no terms short of surrender could be accepted, and it was determined to bring the matter to an immediate decision. This was the more necessary, because the river Haina had overflown, and thus separated the troops from the greater part of their ordnance, stores, and provisions.

June 30.

Preparations were immediately made for an assault. A detachment was posted in a hollow, where, if the enemy should attempt a sally, they were to wait their close approach, then charge with bayonets, and follow them into the city. If, on the other hand, the French remained within the walls, false attacks were to be made at different points during the night, and scaling-ladders being made ready, a general assault was to take place in open day. One hour for deliberation was allowed to General Barquier. The hour elapsed, and still the white flag continued flying. The British commander sent an officer to learn why no answer had been returned, and this messenger met the answer at the gate, announcing that the garrison consented to lay down their arms, on condition of being sent to France, and not to serve again till regularly exchanged. This important success was obtained without the

loss of a single British soldier, either by shot or sickness. The garrison consisted of 1200 effective men, besides 200 sick or convalescent; they had also 300 militia and about 400 armed inhabitants of their party. A provisional treaty, subject to the approbation of their respective governments, was then concluded between the Spanish and British generals, by virtue of which all vessels under the British flag, and navigated according to law, were to have free access into all the Spanish ports of Hispaniola, paying the same duties only, and enjoying the same privileges, as the ships of Spain. The treaty, and the terms of surrender also, were drawn up by Mr Walton, an English gentleman, who, having been long resident in the island, had suffered a most cruel imprisonment during the whole siege, narrowly escaping with his life. He had the satisfaction of penning the capitulation of his oppressors, and recording the history of their tyranny and their expulsion. Wherever the emigrants from this island resided, in the different towns of the adjoining islands or of the Main, Te Deum was sung for its recovery, and George III. was prayed for in catholic churches with undissembled gratitude. There was a venerable dignitary of the cathedral of St Domingo, by name Don Pedro de Prado. After the cession of the island greater preferment was offered him on the Main, where he was born, and where all his kindred resided; but he refused to leave the flock which had been committed to his care when he was young, thinking that no political change could dissolve the union between them. But though from this sense of duty he submitted to live under the French government, his patriotism was not less intense than his piety; and, indulging hopes which there was little reason to believe would ever be realized, he used to express his confident expectation, that he should live to see his church restored to its rightful owners. When this event took place he was too infirm to perform the Te Deum himself, being nearly in his eightieth year, but he repeated with fervent joy the words of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace;" and, as if only hope had kept him alive till then, died within a few days, leaving all that he possessed to be distributed among his suffering countrymen.

This conquest was of great importance; for while the French retained their footing in the island, they constantly looked on to recovering their former possessions from the negroes, and becoming masters of the whole. The disastrous expedition against Toussaint had failed of its direct purpose; but some of those objects which Buonaparte intended had been accomplished. He had secured his own personal safety, by disposing of the army which had served under Moreau; and by the villainous breach of faith towards Toussaint, and the subsequent murder of that admirable man, he had left the negroes of Hayti without a leader capable of establishing their dominion, and forming them into a civilized nation. France had also now been taught by her own experience, what she might have learned from ours, that it was impossible for fresh European troops to carry on a protracted war in that island; and upon this experience the French government founded its future plans. It was determined to raise soldiers in the island itself, and the conscription would have been introduced

whenever the fit season arrived for it. Meantime all the officers of Leclerc's army, who had escaped to the neighbouring islands, were ordered to repair to St Domingo, and hold themselves in readiness there; and they were permitted to intermarry with the natives, but not with their own Creoles. Thus it was thought they should be enabled to attack the Haytians with native soldiers; and if the war could be removed from the coast into the interior, where the negroes would readily betake themselves, there they would have been followed by men whose habits and constitutions would enable them to hunt down and extirpate the rival race.

These prospects were thus frustrated by the Spaniards, with our co-operation. France suffered another loss from another enemy, whom she had as wantonly and wickedly provoked as the Spaniards, and whom she despised still more. In the December of the preceding year a Portugueze expedition, under Lieut.-Col. Manoel Marquez, proceeded against the French possessions in Guiana. It consisted of 550 troops, who were embarked on board two brigs and some smaller vessels, and the Confiance, Capt. Yeo. They took possession of the districts of Oyapok and Aproak, then proceeded to make a descent on the east side of the island (as it is called) of Cayenne. The troops were embarked on board the small vessels, with a party of Portugueze marines from the two brigs, and 80 men from the Confiance, and on the morning of the 6th of January they dropped into the mouth of the river. In the evening Captain Yeo proceeded with 10 canoes, and about 250 men, to endeavour to gain possession of Fort Diamant,* which commands the entrance of the Mahuri, and Grand Cane, another battery, commanding the great road to the town; the vessels with the remainder of the troops were left under the Portugueze Captain Salgado, to follow after dusk, anchor in the mouth of the river, and wait till the batteries were won. Captain Yeo reached Point Mahuri at three in the morning with five canoes, for the others, being heavy, had not kept up: he landed in a bay half way between the batteries; the surf was so great that the boats soon went to pieces. Yeo, though only with half the force designed for this part of the plan, knowing that no time was to be lost, divided those who had landed, and ordering the Portugueze, under Major Joaquim Manoel Pinto, to proceed to the left and take Grand Cane, went himself with a party of his own crew against the other battery, which mounted two twenty-four and one nine-pounder, and was manned by fifty men. It was carried with the loss of six men; and the Portugueze were equally successful on their side, winning Fort Cane, which had two nine-pounders and forty men. Thus the entrance of the river was in their possession, and at the appointed signal the remainder of the troops were disembarked. It was now noon, and information was at this time obtained that Victor Hugues was advancing against them

* D'Anville's map of the Isle of Cayenne, in Des Marchais' Voyage, though very minute, is of no service in tracing these operations, new works having been erected, and places having received new names since it was made. There is a map of more apparent accuracy in the *Voyage a la Guiane et a Cayenne fait en 1789, et annces suivantes*; but upon this occasion it is equally useless.

at the head of a thousand troops. The allied force was too small to be divided; and as the two posts which had been won were too distant from each other, and only twelve miles from Cayenne, Lieut. Mulcaster was directed to evacuate Fort Diamant, and join the rest of the expedition at Grand Cane. When Captain Yeo came to the latter fort, he perceived two other batteries about a mile up the river, on opposite sides, and within half gun-shot of each other: one called Treo, upon an eminence on the right bank, commanding the creek leading to Cayenne; the other was at the entrance of the creek leading to the house and plantation of Victor Hugues, and had evidently been erected for no other purpose than the defence of the governor's possessions. Two cutters were anchored abreast of these batteries, but the enemy had the advantage in weight of metal as well as position, and after an hour's warm action Captain Yeo determined to storm them. Each fort mounted two nine-pounders, and was manned by fifty men: at both the assailants had to land at the very muzzles of the guns, under a continual fire of musketry; but, Portugueze and English alike, they landed with the steadiest courage, and at both points put the enemy to flight.

In consequence of the time which had been lost in previously cannonading these forts, Captain Yeo's intention of collecting all his force at Grand Cane to resist the great body of the French was frustrated. They reached that point while the greater part of the expedition were thus employed, and attacked the small party which had been left under Colonel Manoel Marquez in the battery. He however gallantly withstood them, and Captain Yeo, the moment he perceived his danger, which was just as he had won the two forts, reimbarked his men in the boats, and hastened to the colonel's relief. After a smart action of three hours the enemy were repulsed, and retreated to Cayenne. A detachment of 250 French were not more successful against Fort Diamant; they reached it before Lieutenant Mulcaster had time to have withdrawn, and luckily before he had dismantled it. He, perceiving them approach, prepared to receive them; but they imagined his force to be greater than it was, and hearing that their general had been repulsed, retreated in like manner. These operations took place on the 7th. The strongest of the outposts yet remained to be taken: this was the private house of the general, who had not only erected the battery which had already been carried for its defence, but had also planted before it a field-piece and a swivel, and stationed a hundred of his best troops there. It was situated at the end of an avenue, between two and three miles in length from the river, having on the right a thick wood, and Creek Fouille on the left. As a military position, it could not afford the slightest defence to the colony, and the preparation for protecting it had been made by Victor Hugues solely for the sake of his own property. Captain Yeo thought it was of consequence to weaken the garrison of Cayenne by taking prisoners the troops at this place, and as this was his only object, he sent a boat with a flag of truce to the commanding officer, requesting him not to attempt defending a post that was untenable; promising not to injure the habitation in any way if no resistance were made, but declaring that if it was defended like a fortress, he would treat it as a

fortress, and level it to the ground. The advanced guard of the French suffered the flag of truce to approach within a boat's length, then fired two vollies at them, and retreated. The English commander, repressing his indignation at this outrage, because he thought it might have been committed by some ignorant inferior officer, landed, and sent Lieutenant Mulcaster with a second flag. When he approached the house the field-piece was fired at him. Captain Yeo still wishing to preserve the private property of the French governor, sent a slave of the estate to the officer with the same message; the officer returned for answer, that any thing which the English commander had to communicate must be in writing. At the same moment he fired his field-piece, as a signal to the troops who were ambushed in the wood; on this they opened a fire, and he kept up a well-directed discharge from his gun at the house. Farther forbearance was now impossible. Captain Yeo had landed a field-piece, meaning to advance with it; but finding that several fosses had been made on the road, and that the wood was lined with musketeers, not a man of whom was to be seen, he threw his gun into one of the fosses, and ordered his men to push forward with pike and bayonet. This they did with loud cheers, drove the French from their gun, and followed them into the house, in spite of the fire which was kept up from the windows. As soon as they had entered, the enemy fled by the back premises into the wood, and Captain Yeo, to mark his sense of the outrages which had been committed against the received laws of war, levelled every thing to the ground except the huts of the slaves.

The slaves meantime, in great number, joined the assailants, tempted by a promise of liberty which was held out to them. Several plantations were set fire to by some of this unhappy race, who had, no doubt, grievous injuries to goad them on. Information was now obtained that the enemy were about to take possession of Beauregarde plain, on an eminence commanding the several roads to Cayenne. Captain Yeo anticipating them in this, marched his whole force there on the 9th, and the following day summoned the town. Victor Hugues immediately consented to treat, and this personage, who acted so conspicuous a part in the French colonies during the revolution, concluded his career there by surrendering their only possession on the continent of America to the Prince of Brazil. 400 regular troops laid down their arms, and were immediately embarked for France. 200 blacks had been incorporated with them, and there were 600 militia. The loss on the allied part consisted of four-and-twenty English killed and wounded, nine Portugueze. No men could possibly have behaved better than the seamen, soldiers, and marines of both nations. From the 15th of December they never slept in their beds, the weather was constantly both boisterous and rainy, the roads almost impassable, and from the time they landed till the surrender of the place, they had not the least cessation from fatigue. This praise Captain Yeo bestowed upon all who acted with him; during the whole course of his service, he said, he had never witnessed such persevering resolution as they displayed from the commencement of the campaign. He himself is entitled to equal praise,—no man, even in the present age of the British navy, has ever more signally distinguished himself by heroic

enterprize. It is painful to add, that the termination of an enterprize so well begun and so bravely carried through to the end, cannot be related without censure. Victor Hugues was permitted in the preamble to the capitulation to inveigh against his conquerors for having proclaimed freedom to all slaves who would join them, to enter his protest against it, and to affirm, that he surrendered less to the force of the assailant, than for the sake of preventing the destructive effects of this emancipation. It is astonishing that the English and Portugueze commanders should have suffered such a preamble to stand, couched too, as it was, in insolent language. But this was not all, they promised to solicit the Prince of Brazil to replace these slaves, or to indemnify their former masters;—now they might, with as much justice, have promised to indemnify Victor Hugues for his house which they had demolished, or any other person for any injury which he had sustained during the operations of the war. They agreed that the laws known in France under the title of the Napoleon Code should be observed in Cayenne till peace; and they suffered the Frenchman to insert an article, declaring that none of the plants in the spice plantation called La Gabrielle should be destroyed, but that the whole should be preserved in the same state in which it was delivered up; he, it was stated, being desirous that that plantation should retain all its splendour. So that, in the very act of capitulation, they permitted him thus covertly to record his hopes and expectations that the colony would be recovered by France.

While the allied troops were engaged upon the island, the Topaze, a French frigate of 48 guns, arrived in the offing with stores for the garrison, and a reinforcement of 100 men from Brest. The Portugueze vessels were up the river, and the united force of the Portugueze and the English was so small, that Capt. Yeo had left only 25 sailors and 20 negroes in his own ship, with two midshipmen and the master. They manœuvred the ship so skilfully as to drive the enemy from the coast, the very sight of an English frigate sufficing to dismay the Frenchman, who, had he not been thus panic-stricken, might not only have accomplished the service on which he was sent, but must also have taken the Confiance. Being thus frightened from Cayenne, the Topaze ran from Guadaloupe, and fell in with three of our ships cruising off Basseterre. She hauled close in shore, and anchored under a small battery a little to the southward of Pont Novo, where she was secured by springs on her cables, and cables fast to the trees on shore. But the advantages of such a position were of no avail; the Cleopatra anchored at the distance from her of half musket shot, and by her first fire cut away the Frenchman's outside spring, in consequence of which he swung on shore, and could never afterwards get more than half his broadside to bear. The two other English ships came up, and then the Topaze struck. Great part of her crew jumpt over board, thinking to swim ashore, and many perished in the attempt.

By the success of the Portugueze expedition the French were deprived of that territory which had been extorted from Portugal at the peace of Amiens, and expelled from the continent of South America. A few months afterwards they were driven from their only settlement on the

coast of Africa. Some of their small privateers fitted out at Senegal had annoyed our trade, and Major Maxwell, who commanded at Goree, thought the easiest means of protecting our possessions in that quarter, and securing our commerce, would be to attack the enemy in their asylum. Towards the end of June Commodore Columbine arrived in the Solebay frigate, with the Tygress brig, and some merchant ships under convoy; light vessels and boats adapted for passing the bar of the Senegal were procured, 166 men of the garrison of Goree were embarked, and on the evening of the 7th of July they anchored off the entrance of the river. The chief settlement of the French was at St Louis, an islet in the middle of the stream, about four leagues above the bar, which is its chief defence, being the most dangerous in the world. It is a great moving bank, formed by the mud and sand which the current constantly brings down, and the sea constantly throws back. Through this bank the river has made two channels; one so narrow and shallow that it is only practicable for canoes or small boats; the other, which is called the Great Pass, about a hundred fathoms wide, and eight or nine feet deep. But this channel is so perpetually varying, both in its depth and direction, that the pilots examine it every day, and to attempt the passage without one of these men on board is considered as inevitable destruction. The passage is through a tremendous surf, and after a quarter of an hour's imminent danger the ship enters a wide, deep, and gentle stream. The French assert, that one or two armed boats stationed within the bar might sink all the vessels that should attempt to pass, because only one ship can pass at a time. A flat moving sand, frequented only by pelicans and crabs, and about a hundred fathoms in length, on the right of the road, separates the river from the sea; the opposite shore, though level also, is covered with luxuriant grass and large trees. The natives, from some unexplained superstition, call it the Devil's Land.

On the morning after their arrival the British attempted the passage of the bar. By the great exertions of the sailors this was accomplished; but not without great difficulty, and some loss. One schooner, the George, went on shore inside the bar; another and a sloop, containing much of their provision and ammunition, were lost. The detachment with 60 marines were landed on the left bank, and took up a position there till provisions could be brought from the ships, and till the George could be got off. The enemy meantime had made a formidable line of defence at Babaque, twelve miles up the river; three cannoniers and four other vessels were moored in front, and a strong boom drawn across the stream protected the whole. They attacked the British the next day, but were repulsed and driven within the lines. *July* 9. The conquerors then returned to resume their labours at the schooner, and on the following evening succeeded in getting her off. Another day was employed in refitting her and embarking provisions and water; but that the enemy might not profit by this unavoidable delay, the frigate and the Derwent sloop of war were ordered to anchor opposite the post of Babaque, and bombard it. The troops were reembarked on the 12th, and proceeded up the river till just out of gun-shot from the enemy's line of defence.

Every thing was in readiness for a night attack, when they received notice that the French commander was willing to capitulate. At day-light it appeared that the boom was broken, and that the French had abandoned their battery and vessels, leaving their colours flying. Proposals soon arrived from the town, and the garrison laid down their arms on condition of being conveyed to France, and not serving against Great Britain or her allies till regularly exchanged. They were 160 in number; there were also 240 militia and volunteers, but from this part of the force little opposition had been expected.

These men were sent to Rochelle, and arrived in Basque Roads when Rear-Admiral Sotheby commanded the blockading squadron on that station. The vessel, as it approached the town, was fired at, and not suffered to proceed. The English officer then sent a boat with none but Frenchmen on board, but this was driven off also. Two days the vessel was kept at anchor so near the shore, that it might plainly be seen the men who were embarked in her were prisoners; one of them had his family in Rochelle; he had been five-and-twenty years absent, and could now see the roof of his own house. Never were deeper curses breathed from the heart of man than these poor Frenchmen imprecated upon the tyrant, who was thus giving a character of barbarity to modern warfare unknown before. Here we are, said one of the officers when dining on board the English admiral's ship, here we are, in sight of our country, receiving hospitality and kindness from our enemies, while our own mother refuses to take us in! Admiral Sotheby sent them to Quiberon, and succeeded in putting them on shore. He acted humanely in this; but if they had been sent to England, they would have taught the whole body of prisoners in this country what the real feelings of this Corsican are toward the people of France.

The settlement which had thus been wrested from the French is of great value. The island of St Louis, or of Senegal, is one of those places upon which a fine commercial situation has conferred importance, notwithstanding every natural disadvantage. It is a strip of sand only 1150 toises in length from north to south, and from 80 to 130 in width. Not a stone is to be found upon it, except what have been left from the ruins of European buildings, or a few flints thrown out among their ballast by vessels coming from Goree. At the northern point there are a few mangoes and banyans growing in the water: higher up they skirt the river, and form delightful open bowers upon its banks; there are but few upon the island, and these are the only trees, except a few lonely palms, which are to be seen there; the rest of its surface, where it is not built upon, is naked and burning sand. The heat is almost insupportable; those fruits which in such climates are not less salutary than delicious are not produced there, partly, it is said, because of the sterility of the soil, partly because of the saline vapours with which the air is loaded. The neighbouring islands are full of standing pools, which serve only to engender diseases. During four months in the year the climate is pestilential: at this time the fresh comes down with such force as to prevent the tide from reaching the island, and the inhabitants are supplied with water from the river; during the other eight months they have none but what is brought in

boats from far up the stream, or what they obtain by digging holes in the sand. Yet upon this miserable spot ten thousand persons were collected when the census was taken in 1801: about three hundred were white, mulattos, or free negroes, the rest slaves. There were some twenty brick houses in the settlement, a fort, a powder magazine, a church, and an hospital. The negroes dwelt in wooden huts, of a conical form, and covered with thatch. Wretched, however, as this place is, it is of importance on two accounts: It is the great mart of the gum trade,—the French exported annually from hence 1,500,000 lbs. of this valuable article: it was also the market where they obtained their slaves, and their expulsion from this hold was therefore necessary towards effecting the abolishment of that detestable traffic, which has so long been the shame of Europe and the curse of Africa.

CHAP. XV.

Disputes with America. Debates upon the Orders in Council. Excellent Speech of Mr Stephen. Effects of the Embargo upon the British Colonies and upon America itself. Non-Intercourse Bill. Apparent Progress towards Conciliation. Arrangement concluded by the British Minister, Mr Erskine, in Opposition to his Instructions, and disavowed by his Court. Mr Jackson sent out. Subsequent Disputes.

THOSE writers who look on to the improvement of society have indulged a belief, that the disputes of nations will one day be decided without reference to the sword. We have lived to see a more remarkable experiment upon this system than any that has been made in former times. The disputes between this country and America are not indeed concluded, nor is there any prospect of their termination; but there is as little prospect of their worsening into a state of war. Great Britain will continue to act with steadiness and forbearance, and though the American government has, by its conduct towards France and Spain, shewn itself capable of any act of meanness and injustice, it is too prudent to act offensively against a nation powerful enough to avenge itself.

When Parliament assembled, the orders in council and the embargo had been in force long enough to disprove all the predictions which had been uttered of their ruinous effects. The opposition, however, would not confess that their expectations had been disappointed; and on the opening of the session Mr Tierney renewed these fallacious prophecies, and pronounced a panegyric upon the conduct of the United States. All the evil which had arisen, and was yet to arise, he imputed to Mr Canning: "For the sake of a few pointed periods and well-turned sentences, that minister," he said, "had done all this incalculable mischief! He had wounded the mind of America to such a degree, that she had voluntarily sacrificed her commerce, deprived herself of her own trade by her own deliberate act, cut off all intercourse with England, and shut herself out of communication with the rest of the world; but by this act she would be enabled hereafter to chuse her own conditions. The activity of her citizens would be directed to fresh pursuits; her maritime habits would be

diverted from peaceful commerce to predatory attacks on our ships, and then those Englishmen who now treated the power of America with contempt would alter their tone. It might suit the sentiments of Mr Canning to say, that we would never rescind our orders in council unless France revoked her decrees; that is, that while France was perverse we would be obstinate, even though it militated against our interest and against all rational policy; it might suit his feelings to say this, but would it be an answer to our starving manufacturers? Would he be able to satisfy them for their hardships, because he was afraid of making what he called concessions? Would this be an answer to those who complained of the price of bread, depending as it did upon the want of importation of flour?"

An address to the King, praying him to adopt without delay such measures as might best tend to the immediate re-establishment of a commercial intercourse with America, was moved in the Upper House by Lord Grenville, and in the Lower by Mr Whitbread. The former *Feb.* 17. declared it to be his firm belief, "that it was the object of ministers to force America into a war with this country. The profit resulting from their measures, in the form of duties levied under the orders in council up to the 5th of January, amounted to 31,000l. Such was the paltry issue! The injury was a diminution of commerce that might be estimated at 14,000,000l. An alarming diminution had taken place in many articles essential to our manufactures, cotton mills were stopped, and workmen thrown out of employ. The linen manufacturers were threatened with ruin: 45 hogsheads of flax seed were annually required for sowing, and of these 35 must be procured from America; the price of this indispensable article, which used to be from 2l. to 3l. per quarter, had therefore risen from 22l. to 24l. It was now February, and if the necessary quantity was not procured before May, the consequences would be serious indeed. Still more alarming was the deficient supply of corn: it was notorious that we did not grow enough for our own consumption; the ports of the north were now shut against us; we could only look to America for an adequate importation, and it was needless to point out what would be the effect if that resource were cut off. I wish, however," said his lordship, "to be distinctly understood upon one point: if the maritime rights and the maritime superiority of the country were really in question, then war in support of them would be just and legitimate, and every privation ought to be submitted to in such a cause; but for the war which his Majesty's ministers were endeavouring to provoke, there was neither ground nor pretence, and therefore it must needs be unnecessary and unjust. America had offered to suspend her embargo if we rescinded our orders in council. Here was a clear proposition, taking away the only ground upon which those orders stood."

The same arguments were repeated in the House of Commons by Mr Whitbread. They *Mar.* 6. were most ably and completely refuted by Mr Stephen. "Three great subjects of discussion," said he, "have been brought before us this session by this honourable gentleman and his friends; the con-

vention of Cintra,—the conduct of the war in Spain,—and the present question. In the first they called upon us to decide before the papers relating to it could possibly be read; in the second, before they were laid on the table; and now, when an ample body of evidence, taken at their own urgent request, has been a whole year in their hands, they think proper wholly to overlook all the information which it contains. At the instance of Mr Whitbread and his friends, we were patiently employed nearly ten weeks in examining witnesses on this subject; yet he has not cited a single passage from their testimony, nor once adverted to its general tendency and effect. Sometimes this party are so eager that they hunt before the hounds, at other times so tardy that the game has grown stale before they come up with it, and they then leave it on the ground. In both cases they take care to deliver their eloquence from the incumbrance of facts. If they collect such lumber at all, its use is only like that of ballast in a balloon,—to be thrown away in their course, that their fancy may mount the more freely. The diminution of our trade is insisted upon by this party, and imputed to the orders in council. Here Mr Whitbread's neglect of the evidence is peculiarly strange and unfortunate, for it lay directly in his way, and would have shewn him in the clearest manner the fallacy of his present arguments.

"The point to which the examinations on this side of the House were chiefly directed, was to fix the real effects which the Berlin decree had produced upon our trade before the counteraction of that decree by the orders in council of November 1807. This was of fundamental importance; for before the effects of the retaliation or counteraction could be determined, it was necessary to ascertain what the effects of the hostile system had previously been. Upon this part of the case the witnesses on the part of the petitioners were prudently silent; and to supply this strange defect it seemed necessary to gentlemen on this side of the House to call witnesses in answer to the allegations on the part of the petitioners, and in support of the orders in council. The facts, indeed, to which they had to speak were notorious; but I was one of those who then thought, and experience has shewn with how much reason, that it was proper to establish them by positive evidence on the records of Parliament. Accordingly many gentlemen of the first commercial eminence were examined as to the state of our commerce with the continent immediately prior to the orders of council of November 1807. They unanimously declared, that from the month of August preceding, or at latest during the month of September, it was absolutely ruined and destroyed; and, with equal unanimity, they ascribed its ruin to the Berlin decree. They unanimously affirmed, that the ports of the continent were shut by the Berlin decree, not by the orders in council; that our trade to the continent was totally at a stand before those orders were issued; and that those orders had no effect at all upon that trade, for it was already gone. It was proved also, by the evidence of several eminent underwriters, that the premiums upon insurance to the continent were raised by the Berlin decree from 4 per cent. to 15, 20, and 30 guineas; that insurance to any considerable extent

could not be effected at any price; and that the business was finally put a stop to in consequence. These high rates of insurance were not the effect of the orders in council, they were given before those orders were enacted, and before any knowledge or suspicion existed that such a measure was in agitation. Even upon American ships, trading directly between their own country and this, and comparatively out of reach of the enemy as they appeared to be, the enormous advance of full 50 per cent. took place upon the former rates of insurance."

This statement Mr Stephen proved by extracts from the evidence; the facts were plainly and unequivocally stated, uncontradicted, and from unquestionable authority. He then read a passage from the Edinburgh Review, in which, with that dogmatic tone of superior wisdom which infallibility alone could justify, and that characteristic and immoral rashness of assertion which sets facts and evidence at defiance, it was asserted, that this very evidence made it appear that there had been no interruption of trade from this country to the continent before the date of our orders in council, and that the rate of insurance had remained precisely at its usual point till the orders in council raised it so high as to put an end to it altogether. Upon this gross misrepresentation the journalist affirmed, that the preamble of the orders in council, containing their justification, was fallacious in all points; that the Berlin decree was neither enforced nor submitted to till it was seconded and superseded by our effective and most injurious proclamations; and that we therefore were chargeable with the whole injustice and oppression which we had been accustomed to charge against the enemy. "Thus, sir," said Mr Stephen, addressing the Speaker, "his Majesty's government is accused of open falsehood in a solemn act of state, and its conduct toward foreign powers arraigned of injustice and oppression; and this by a direct inversion of the uniform tenor of the evidence given at the bar of this house, as well as in opposition to public and notorious facts. The very grossness of such misrepresentation, sir, is calculated to assist its object. Men are accustomed to make great allowance for party-spirited relations of facts, and to expect that they will differ in some, nay in a wide degree, from the truth of the case; but they still expect some resemblance between the one and the other. The truth may not lie in the same parallel of latitude, or even in the same climate or zone, with the statement; but they suppose it to be at least in the same hemisphere. When, therefore, a representation is carried to the very antipodes of the truth, it often effectually deceives, in spite of a reasonable distrust of its authority. Our audacious and profligate enemy well understands this. His falsehoods, therefore, are generally as remote from reality as he can possibly make them. Our glorious victory of Trafalgar is a defeat, in which we lost sixteen sail of the line!—the gallant and high-born Palafox is an upstart and a coward!—and in the battle of Coruna our brave soldiers were defeated by a third of their numbers! His style, indeed, begins to be understood. Men look for the real fact in the reverse of his statements. But the English press is not yet accustomed to such utter contempt of truth. If we paint, it is commonly in imitation of nature, and not, like this

coarse daubing, in defiance of it. The bold fictions of which I speak, therefore, when found in English journals, are likely to be credited to a great and mischievous extent."

Mr Stephen proceeded to shew in what manner this system of misrepresentation, upon which the opposition and their journalists were proceeding, had already injured the country; for their falsehoods were believed in America. The government of that country, deceived by such statements, assumed as a fact that the French decrees had been totally inefficient against our commerce; the American people were duped in like manner, and the resentment, therefore, which they expressed against Great Britain was only natural. It is impossible, thus they might reasonably argue, that such statements would be made in England, if the trade in question had been materially injured, much more if it had been totally at a stand. But if the Americans had known the real fact, that we were driven to a too tardy retaliation by the actual downfal of our commerce, they could hardly have been so unreasonable as to condemn the necessary expedient to which we resorted in self-defence. "It is singular enough," he pursued, "as those orders are alleged to be destructive of our commerce, that the commercial members of this House should almost unanimously be their active supporters. They understand the subject in all its bearings; but to make it fully understood, a more enlarged view is necessary than is commonly taken of it either in America or England. It is a very inadequate statement of the mischiefs which would have resulted to our commerce by the enemy's plan, if unresisted, to say, that we must have finally lost by it all our trade with the continent. That we had actually lost by a temporary acquiescence. But the same system would soon have driven us almost entirely out of the trade of the new world as well as that of the old; and even our commerce with the United States themselves must have been ruined by a state of things to which we submitted for the sake of amity with them.

"This is strictly demonstrable upon principles which every merchant will admit. Great part of our exports to America have been paid for by bills of exchange upon England, received by American merchants in payment for cargoes carried by them to the continent. The balance of trade between this country and America is largely against the latter, and she must pay that balance by the returns of the trade which she carries on with other countries, or not at all. It has been contended, that bills of exchange might be remitted from the continent, notwithstanding the most rigid execution of the Berlin decree; but the fact is, that, under the circumstances in which the orders of council found our foreign trade, such bills would soon have ceased to exist. For they are the fruit as well as the medium of commerce; and when trade between two countries has for some time ceased to exist, there can no longer be any ordinary means of obtaining bills drawn from the one upon the other. They depend upon actual commerce, as the shadow upon the substance. Let it be supposed, then, that the blockade of the British islands is completely enforced in every part of the continent, and it is clear that American merchants, if they still wished to obtain bills there drawn on this country, in order to

purchase our manufactures, would be unable to find them. Unless then the Americans could have sold their cargoes on the continent for specie, and were willing to bring it here, at the risk of violating the French decrees, we should soon have ceased to derive any indirect benefit from their trade with the rest of Europe. We should have lost as much of our export trade to the United States as used to be paid for by their continental remittances, and in the same proportion we must have been supplanted in the supply of the American and West-Indian markets. The mischief would not have ended here. Of the American produce which we imported, in return for part of our exports to America, a considerable proportion was for re-exportation to the continent. More than half our annual import of tobacco was thus re-exported. Now all exportation to the continent being cut off by the Berlin decrees, we must have lost as much of our export trade to America as these returns used to pay for; we could not supply her gratuitously; our exports must have fallen off with her means of payment, and she must have carried to the continent all that part of her produce which we formerly imported, but did not consume, and have taken her returns from thence, not from Great Britain; and thus continental manufactures, to the exclusion of our own, must have been forced upon the American and West-Indian consumer.

"This would have been the natural and sure effect; and if this were not sufficiently sure, the enemy had an expedient in reserve, of which he was kindly reminded by the American minister, General Armstrong. France had only to prescribe, that all neutral vessels trading to her ports should take the returns for articles imported by them exclusively in her own goods and manufactures, and to impose the same system on the other maritime powers of the continent. See here a simple and infallible means of ruining our commerce on both sides the Atlantic. This very measure has been recommended by Hauterive as the expedient by which France and her allies must pull down the maritime superiority of England: it is the measure upon which the French government relies for destroying our commerce in peace as well as in war. It would exclude us, in its consequences, from the trade of Portugueze and Spanish America, and from that of the United States themselves; it would, in short, destroy our maritime commerce, on which not only so much of our revenue, but our navy also, essentially depends. I would do much," said Mr Stephen, "very much, to avoid a quarrel with America; but we cannot afford to avoid it at the expence of ruin to our manufactures, to our commerce, and our maritime power."

After these close and convincing arguments, Mr Stephen noticed an edict of the Dutch in retaliation for one of Philip III., whereby they carried the principle of retaliation upon this precise point farther than we had done, and yet neither France nor England remonstrated against the measure as inconsistent with neutral rights. Henry IV. even published a declaration, that if any of his subjects should adventure their property by trading into Spain, they must do it at their own risk, without any hope of his protection; so clearly was the right of such retaliation acknowledged. "Neither," said he, "do I find that this order in council occasioned any party disputes in the

States-General. They also had their parties; they had their Maurices and their Barnevelts; they had their peace-party and their war-party; but though they differed widely among themselves on other subjects, there seems to have been a perfect unanimity in respect of measures necessary to the defence of their commerce and maritime power. Here then is a clear precedent for those who seek such sanction. But, independently of all precedent, can it be seriously thought that we are bound in point of principle to submit to be ruined as a commercial people, and by a hostile system expressly directed to that end, while we have the means of resistance in our power? While our flag is triumphant and unresisted on every sea, this audacious enemy proclaims war against our commerce, claims a right to exclude it from every part of Europe, declares that there shall be no neutrals in Europe, insists that nations in amity with us shall banish us from their ports, and if they refuse or hesitate, invades their countries and subverts their thrones to enforce compliance! But his use of the American flag is necessary to give effect to this atrocious system; he can no otherwise carry on trade between the different countries under his dominion and influence, and no otherwise prevent a contraband trade with England; for the necessities of the continent would be too strong for all the precautions he could use. It is in this enormous, this unexampled case, that we are told it is our duty to submit, and that the rights of neutrality entitle America thus to give effect to a plan avowedly concerted for our destruction and that of neutrality itself. The proposition is too extravagant and insulting to deserve a serious refutation.

"But we are asked by Mr Whitbread, what we would have had America to do? could America force France to repeal her decrees? Perhaps not. But America could at least desist from trading with France till those injurious decrees were repealed. This was due to her own honour and dignity, as well as in justice to us. This was the best way to make France recede from her unjust system, by making her feel its ill effects and its inefficacy to the end proposed. America was ready upon fancied wrongs to renounce her trade with England, but far from being disposed, even on extreme provocation, to take the same course with France; and when that government at last laid on its embargo, it was actually, both in its tendency and design, much more directed against this injured country than our enemy, much more adverse to us than to them. No secret was made by the American government of its expectation that the embargo would stop our manufactories, give a severe check to our commerce and revenue, ruin our planters, and starve our colonial negroes. It is now affirmed by the advocates of America, that she has proffered to us her co-operation in the contest in which we are engaged, on condition of our repealing our orders in council. This is clearly much more than she has offered, and more perhaps than we need wish her to offer. But does she even propose to renounce effectually her trade with France and the confederates of France, if, after our revocation of the orders in council, the Berlin decree should be continued in force? Mr Whitbread has talked of the impartiality of the American government: surely it is impossible not to see the strong predilection for France by which it has

been actuated during the whole of these disputes. The public law maintained by the president is this,—the sea is the only place of possible offence to neutral powers, because the sea is governed by England; on the continent every thing is lawful, because the continent is in the hands of Buonaparte."

These were the leading arguments which Mr Stephen enforced at great length, in a speech that, for its distinguished ability and its full and comprehensive view of the subject in dispute, may be considered as one of the best political treatises of the time. The errors which the opposition had advanced upon this question, and the falsehoods of their leading journalist, were completely exposed by him; and a large majority of the people, as well as of both Houses of Parliament, approved his opinions, and the conduct of our government towards America. Time, indeed, had already confuted the opposers of the orders in council, by disproving and disappointing their predictions. They had told us of the danger to be apprehended from scarcity at home: we had been accustomed to import corn from the Baltic and from America; shut out from the one market by the enemy, what was to become of us if we dared provoke the Americans to exclude us from the other? The experiment had now been tried. We had been for two years left to depend upon ourselves alone for bread,—no importation either of wheat or flour had taken place from either of these quarters; but our own produce had increased, the markets had been sufficiently supplied, and scarcity had neither been felt nor apprehended. Thus, then, the American embargo, and the war upon our commerce, had benefitted our agriculture, and put an end to all idle fears upon that score. Another prophecy was, that our sugar islands were to be ruined and the negroes starved, because they were dependent upon America for many of the necessaries of life. Some inconvenience was felt at first, but it was soon at an end; and by this time the situation of the West India islands had been materially improved by the consequences of a measure which had been devised for their destruction. The revolution in Spain opened to them the resources of the Spanish Main, from whence they received abundant supplies of provisions. This indeed was an event not to be foreseen when Mr Jefferson and the French party in America commenced their operations against the commerce of Great Britain; but they might have foreseen that when the planters had once felt the danger of scarcity, they would raise more provisions and render themselves less dependent for the future, and that the moment any of the articles which the United States used to supply became scarce enough to be of high price, the Americans would supply them in contempt of their own embargo; and the president might be thankful, when he considered the temper of the American people, the privations to which such a measure exposed them, and the perilous weakness of the executive government, if their disobedience extended no farther. A ship, laden with timber and stores, bound for Liverpool, sailed from Hudson's river, and passed the batteries at New York, with colours flying, in defiance of the embargo. The batteries fired, probably without designing to hit her, and the spectators, many of whom were on the batteries, huzzaed her as she sailed by. The effects upon the Bri-

tish possessions in North America might also have been foreseen; for not only did Canada now begin to supply the islands with timber, but it became the mart from which our manufactures found their way into the United States. The Americans, eluding the embargo, went there with their commodities and their specie to purchase British goods; so that, instead of America continuing to be the carrier of Great Britain, Great Britain became the carrier for America. The tide of emigration turned in consequence of this change, and swarms of that restless but busy and active race, by which the United States are overspread, poured into Canada.

Such had been the effects of the embargo upon Great Britain and the British colonies; while upon America itself it pressed so severely that the government seemed upon the point of dissolution. In that country the agriculturist suffered by the suspension of commerce, for he had cultivated for exportation, and there was no longer vent for his superfluous produce. In the northern states, where English feelings as well as English manners are more prevalent than in those parts of the country where the system of slavery has produced its inevitable consequences of corrupting the morals and hardening the heart, something of that spirit appeared which had first led the New Englanders to seek for liberty in a savage land. Several persons who were employed in the custom-houses resigned their offices, alleging, that the duty now imposed upon them was incompatible with the oath which they had taken to support the rights of the citizens and of the constitution. Boston and other of the northern towns resolved not to petition the general government any farther, but to seek redress from their state legislature. Party feeling was not less exasperated on the other side. The President was burnt in effigy in some places, and Mr Pickering, a conspicuous leader of the federalists, in others. The Massachusetts House of Representatives appointed a committee to consider, whether it was proper for that legislature to adopt any means of obtaining a repeal of the embargo, and the committee declared their belief that a continuance of the restrictive laws would soon become intolerable. To the end proposed, they said, the embargo was now acknowledged to be altogether impotent; it afforded satisfaction to France, and was regarded by Great Britain as an ineffectual demonstration of a hostile disposition: meantime upon America itself the effects became daily and palpably more injurious, and the evils were so enormous and deplorable, the suspension of commerce so contrary to the habits of the people, and so repugnant to their interests and feelings, that the domestic peace and union of the states were endangered."

The real cause of the misconduct of the American government, is to be traced to the erroneous opinions which prevailed concerning the state of England. The French party, with Mr Jefferson at their head, believed that the downfall of the British empire was certain; they believed what they wished, and the declamations of the English opposition, and the statements of the English opposition journals and the anarchists, confirmed them in their delusion. Our party orators and pamphleteers, while they thus contributed to dupe the Americans, encouraged them to insult us by predicting our ruin if we provoked a quarrel, and added fresh fuel

to their enmity, by representing them as grossly injured and insulted by the English ministry. The American government, acting thus under the double influence of delusive hope, and exasperated enmity, had created such distress among its own people and excited such agitation, that if some speedy relief had not been afforded, that dissolution of this ill-compacted confederacy, which seems but too certain, would probably soon have taken place. The means devised was that of suspending the embargo act, and substituting what was called a non-intercourse bill in its place. The embargo had interdicted all commerce whatever; the non-intercourse restricted the prohibition to the two belligerent powers and their dependencies; thus opening Holland and Hamburgh, the Baltic and the Levant, Spain and the Mediterranean coast of Africa, Turkey, South America, and the East. The gross partiality of the American government to France, was manifested by thus enumerating Holland among the independent powers; for even if Holland had been independent, which it notoriously was not, that country, having adopted the Berlin decree, stood precisely upon the same footing of offence towards America as France. This was of no other importance than as it indicated the temper of the new government, for Mr Maddison had now succeeded to Mr Jefferson. It was absurd to suppose that Great Britain would not adopt the same measure of retaliation towards Holland as towards France. But the American rulers thus continued to make their court to Buonaparte, by making all the concessions which they could. As for the real purport of the act, it was to let their vessels sail; when they had sailed the government was not ignorant that they would go to England, and to France too if our cruisers permitted them. As some means of checking the trade with England, which it was known would be carried on in defiance, or rather under favour of this act, Congress laid a tax of fifty per cent. upon all imported goods, thinking thus to exclude our manufactures by penalties, under the name of duties. In consequence of this mitigation of the embargo our government displayed its readiness to accommodate all differences as far as could be done without conceding our rights, by repealing the orders in council so far as to permit neutral vessels to trade with any part of Europe, except France, Holland, and those parts of Italy which were under the controul of France. Things were in this promising state when the indiscretion of the British minister in America occasioned a wider breach than ever between the two countries.

The points in dispute related first to the affair of the Chesapeake, secondly to the restrictions upon neutral trade, which Buonaparte had compelled this country to enact in self defence. Upon the first of these points the most ample reparation had been offered. We had proposed, 1st, a formal disavowal by his Majesty, of the act of Admiral Berkeley; 2dly, the restoration of the men forcibly taken from on board the Chesapeake, reserving to his Majesty the right of claiming, in a regular way, from the American government, the discharge of such of them as might prove, upon investigation, to be either natural-born subjects of Great Britain, or deserters from the British service; and, 3dly, a pecuniary provision, suitable to their respective situations in life, for the widows or orphans of such men (not being sub-

jects of Great Britain nor deserters) as had been unfortunately killed on board the Chesapeake. In return we required, 1st, a disavowal on the part of the American government of the detention, by Commodore Barron, of deserters from our service; of his denial that he had any such persons on board the ships under his command, and of his refusal to deliver them upon demand; 2dly, a like disavowal of the outrages committed on the persons or property of British subjects at Norfolk or elsewhere in consequence of this affair; and, 3dly, an engagement that the American government should not in future countenance any of its agents civil or military, in encouraging desertion from his Majesty's service. These proposals our minister, Mr Erskine, was instructed to repeat. We had formerly required as a preliminary, that the proclamation of July 2, 1807, by which our ships of war were interdicted from the American harbours, while those of France were allowed a free resort there, should be withdrawn. We now, in consequence of some qualifying language of Mr Maddison's, relaxed from this demand, admitted that of the exclusion of the ships of war of both belligerent powers from the ports of a neutral state, neither belligerent had a right to complain, and upon this ground we consented not to insist upon the formal recal of the proclamation, provided the French ships of war should, in point of fact, be excluded from the ports of the United States. It was still necessary that either the proclamation should be withdrawn, or its operation formally declared to be at an end; but it would be sufficient to record either measure in the same instrument, or at the same time, with the terms of reparation which the King of England offered. For the purpose of shortening the discussion, and simplifying its arrangements as far as possible, Mr Erskine was instructed that it was now no longer thought necessary to require a specific engagement from the American government, that it would not in future countenance any of its agents in encouraging desertion, this point being, as it was understood to be, provided for by a special act of Congress. And his Majesty would be contented to waive any demand for retrospective disavowals on the part of the American states, they being on the other hand contented to receive back the men forcibly taken out of the Chesapeake, as the single and sufficient act of reparation. The King, however, would still add a provision for the widows and orphans of the men killed, but as an act of his own spontaneous generosity.

The arrangement proposed respecting the embargo and the orders in council was equally simple and equally fair; there was also every reason to believe that it was conformable to the disposition of the American government itself. Mr Maddison, Mr Albert Galatin, and Mr Smith, the American secretary of state, led Mr Erskine to believe, 1st, That America, on Great Britain's consenting to withdraw the orders in council, was prepared contemporaneously to withdraw the interdiction of her harbours to our ships of war, and all non-intercourse and non-importation acts as far as respected Great Britain, leaving them in force towards France and the powers under French controul; 2dly, that America would renounce, during the war, the pretension of carrying on with the enemies colonies, all trade

from which she was excluded during peace. The third condition had been discussed between Mr Canning and Mr Pinckney, the American ambassador, in England; and that minister had expressed his opinion that it would not be objected to by his government. It was, that Great Britain, for the purpose of securing the operation of the embargo as it respected France, and of the *bonâ fide* intention of America to prevent her citizens from trading with France and the powers adopting and acting under the French decrees, should be at liberty to capture all such American vessels as might be found attempting to trade with the ports of any of those powers; without which security, it was stated, for the observance of the embargo, the raising it nominally with respect to Great Britain alone would, in fact, raise it with respect to all the world. It was added, that his Majesty, upon receiving a distinct and official recognition of these three conditions, would lose no time in sending to America, a minister fully empowered to consign them to a formal and regular treaty.

These were Mr Erskine's instructions; they were clear and explicit, and he was at liberty to communicate them at full to the American secretary of state; and he was directed, that if the arrangement was not made the subject of a convention, it should be settled by the exchange of ministerial notes, dated on the same day, and reciprocally delivered at the same time. This provision was intended to guard against the possibility of his committing himself, by a written proposal, in the uncertainty of what might be the nature of the answer returned to it. Overlooking this, *April* 17. however, that minister delivered in a note to Mr Smith, in which he departed as widely from the spirit as from the letter of his instructions. He stated, that as the Congress had evinced an intention of passing certain laws which would place the relations of Great Britain with the United States upon an equal footing in all respects with the other belligerent powers, and as the non-intercourse act was considered as having produced this state of equality, he was authorized to offer, on the part of his Majesty, an honourable reparation for the affair of the Chesapeake, the restoration of the men taken out of her, and a suitable provision for the sufferers on that occasion. Thus it appears that Mr Erskine omitted all mention whatever of the proclamation of July 1807, positive as his instructions were that the withdrawal of that edict, or a formal declaration that its operation was at an end, was to be the preliminary and indispensable condition. The consequence of this omission was, that if the non-intercourse act were suffered to expire, the proclamation might revive, and the inequality between the two belligerents be thereby restored. The reservation of his Majesty's right to reclaim in a regular way from the American government, such of the men who had been taken out of the Chesapeake, as were either his natural-born subjects, or had deserted from his service, was also omitted; and the intended provision for the relatives of those who had fallen was proposed without this essential restriction, brought forward at once as part of the reparation originally offered, and thus converted by him from an act of spontaneous generosity into one of positive obligation.

Mr Erskine's proposal, therefore,

unqualified as it was, appeared like an entire concession, and could not fail of being accepted. The acceptance, however, was conveyed by Mr Smith in most ungracious and disrespectful language. "As it appeared," he said in his reply, "that his Britannic Majesty, in making this offer, derived a motive from the equality then existing in the relations of the United States with the two belligerent powers, the president owed it to the occasion and to himself to let it be understood, that this equality resulted from a state of things growing out of distinct considerations. The reparation offered would be considered by the president, when fulfilled, as a satisfaction for the insult and injury of which he had complained; but I have it," said the American secretary, "in express charge from the president to state, that while he forbears to insist on a farther punishment of the offending officer, he is not the less sensible of the justice and utility of such an example, nor the less persuaded that it would best comport with what is due from his Britannic Majesty to his own honour." So intent was Mr Erskine upon bringing to a conclusion a dispute which had so long been pending, that, forgetting what was due to the dignity of his sovereign, he expressed no resentment whatever at this disrespectful language, and, supposing the affair of the Chesapeake was now finally settled, proceeded to arrange the other point in question as summarily and with equal neglect of his instructions. He delivered in a second note

April 18.

on the day after his first, saying, that his Majesty having anticipated the favourable change which the non-importation act had produced, had instructed him to communicate to the American government, his determination of sending an envoy extraordinary to the United States, with full powers to conclude a treaty on all the points of the relations between the two countries. In the meantime his Majesty would be willing to withdraw his orders in council so far as they respected America, in the persuasion that the president would issue a proclamation for the renewal of the intercourse with Great Britain, and that whatever difference might arise in interpreting the terms of such an agreement would be removed in the proposed negociation.

In this proposal Mr Erskine's disregard of his instructions was even more remarkable than in the former. The preliminary condition respecting the withdrawal of the proclamation of July 1807, was common to both points in dispute; but upon this point two other conditions equally indispensable were equally waived by the British envoy; for he neither proposed nor even hinted to Mr Smith, that America must give up the pretension of carrying on any trade with the enemy's colonies from which she was excluded during peace; nor that Great Britain must be allowed to capture all American vessels which should be found trading with the enemy in defiance of the American interdict. The repeal of the orders in council was to depend entirely and exclusively on the acceptance of these three conditions, which were precisely stated in his instructions; those instructions were peremptory, and left him no other discretion than that of complying with the wishes of the American government, if such wishes should be expressed, by anticipating the operation of the treaty, and engaging that his Majesty would

withdraw the orders in council, on receiving an official note containing the formal engagement of the American government to adopt these three condition. Waiving these essential preliminaries, he had begun his correspondence by informing the United States that Great Britain would send an envoy extraordinary, with full powers to conclude a treaty; whereas he was not authorized to hold out the expectation of any such mission, till he had obtained an authentic and official recognition of the three preliminary conditions.

The American secretary, perceiving that every thing in fact was thus conceded by the British envoy, notified to him, that the envoy extraordinary would be received by the president with a disposition correspondent to that of his Britannic Majesty; and that, in case the English orders in council were withdrawn, a proclamation should be issued opening the trade with Great Britain. Mr Erskine, the next day, declared himself authorized to assert that the orders of council, as they respected America, would be withdrawn on the 10th of June following; and received in return an official declaration, that the president would issue his proclamation, so that the trade might be renewed on the same day. The American government immediately published the whole correspondence. It was received with exultation by all parties. The federalists boasted, that although the past conduct of the government had been so servile to one nation, so hostile to another, and so ruinous to their own, they had now been compelled to abandon that system by which they would fain have led the country into an unjust and unnecessary war. At New York a day of public rejoicing was appointed by the federal republican committee; a grand federal salute was fired at sunrise; at noon and at sunset the bells rung; the shipping in the harbour were decorated with their flags at mast-head during the day, and the city was illuminated at night. The party who directed these demonstrations of joy, designed them as a triumph over their own government; the government or French party exulted with better reason, because they had conceded nothing, and, according to Mr Erskine's conduct, had brought Great Britain to their own terms. The people of both parties, or of neither, universally rejoiced because the prosperity of America was about to be restored, and their restrictions and privations were at an end. The granaries and warehouses, wherein the produce of America had so long been pent, were once more opened; vessels, which had lain idle in harbour, were laden; and the ports, which had been condemned to inactivity, were again enlivened with all the activity and bustle of cheerful industry.

April 19.

Whatever pleasure was felt in England at the prospect of renewing its intercourse with the United States, was hardly of a day's duration. Mr Erskine's dispatches reached government on the 22d of May,—the same ship brought over his correspondence with Mr Smith, as officially published in America. It was immediately perceived that he had ceded every point in dispute, and in both houses of Parliament ministers took the earliest opportunity to declare, that Mr Erskine's conduct was not only unauthorized by his instructions, but in direct contradiction to them. The secretary for foreign affairs immediately signified to that gentleman his Majesty's displeasure that any mi-

nister of his should have shewn himself so far insensible of what was due to the dignity of his sovereign, as to have consented to receive and transmit to be laid before his Majesty a note containing such expressions as those of Mr Smith. He was told, that without obtaining one of those conditions, on the obtaining of all of which the concession of this country was to depend, he had pledged his Majesty to the full extent of that concession, and thereby placed him in the painful alternative of having either to disavow an engagement taken in his name by an accredited agent, or to acquiesce in a measure which had been adopted, not only not in conformity to his views, but in contradiction to his positive directions. His Majesty, it was added, entertained no doubt of the zeal and good intentions by which he had been led to depart from his instructions; but the consequence of such a step, and the publicity which had been given to it by the American government, rendered it impossible that he should continue in the exercise of his functions, either with satisfaction to himself, or advantage to the public service. Mr Jackson, therefore, was appointed to replace him.

Thus was our government a second time compelled, by the incapacity of those whom it employed, either to sacrifice the honour and the interest of the country, or to annul the solemn act of its own agent. Upon the convention of Cintra ministers had chosen the worser part; they acted wiselier now, and the principle upon which they proceeded would have borne them out as clearly in the first case as in this. Under such circumstances, the first thought of the French government would have been to have seized upon as much American property as possible, and have confiscated it; our cabinet carefully provided that the Americans should sustain no injury from the confidence which they placed in the unratified arrangement, and a proclamation was issued suspending the orders of council in favour of all American ships which should have sailed for Holland between the 19th of April, (the day on which Mr Erskine concluded his unlucky negociation) and the 20th of July,—by which time intelligence that his act had been disavowed could reach the United States. This could not be done without injury to our own merchants, for it gave America an unrestricted trade with Holland for three months, during which time it might amply supply the continental market, to the exclusion of our own goods, which were lying at Heligoland and various other depots, waiting for opportunities to be imported into Holland. For this evil there was no remedy, and it was well that the indiscretion of the envoy produced no greater.

The determination of our cabinet reached America before the middle of July. The government of that country proclaimed in consequence, that, as the orders in council had not been withdrawn according to Mr Erskine's declaration, their prohibitory laws were again in force. This was plainly stated without any of that asperity or insolence of language to which the American ministers had accustomed themselves. The case, indeed, was so palpable, (for Mr Erskine's instructions were now published) that even the most * inveterate journalist of the French party was reduced to

* Duane. "This man," says Cobbett, "was banished from India some years ago, either by Sir John Shore, or by Lord Cornwallis. He was born in Ireland, where

assert, that the British government had suppressed those parts of the envoy's instructions which authorised him in the whole length and measure of his engagement. An argument so impudently false carried in it a full admission, that the papers which were made public condemned the envoy, and completely justified his court in disavowing him. No pains were spared by this party to inflame the public mind. The minister who superseded Mr Erskine happened to have been our last envoy to Denmark, and this furnished them with a topic of abuse. They raised a cry before he arrived, that Copenhagen Jackson must not be received; they insulted him in person at Annapolis, and at Norfolk they burnt him in effigy. The American news-writers, who equal the Hagues and the Manners of our own country, in disgracing the freedom of the press, poured out the vulgarest invectives against him. The personal insults which he had endured rendering it prudent that his servants should be armed behind his carriage, they said this might be accounted for, because murderers were ever afraid of ghosts, and he might be haunted by the remembrance of Copenhagen. Did his salary enable him to maintain these servants, or did his quota of the plunder of Copenhagen make up all deficits?—It was not to be expected that a † government which is not strong enough to make itself respected should be able to protect a foreign minister from this outrageous insolence. But the temper of the administration was sufficiently indicated in those cases where it was in their power to have rendered justice to the British. Thirteen men deserted from the frigate which carried out Mr Jackson; the British consul at Baltimore having obtained information that they were in that city, called upon the sheriff to secure them till they could be sent on board.

he served his time, and after having been some time in London he went to Calcutta, where he established a printing office. Being a man of spirit and of talents, he had the disposition and the capacity to make representations that were not relished by the government. He had no trial; his printing-office was put down; his property was destroyed; his fortune, which was fast accumulating, was in a moment annihilated; he himself was seized, was thrown into a guard-house like a criminal soldier, and was, as soon as possible, shipped off to Europe, where he was landed, without a shilling in his pocket, and without a friend to assist him, or to console him. From England he went, smarting under his injuries, to America, where he has taken ample vengeance; for of all the men in America, whether natives or foreigners, whether high or low in life, William Duane has been, and yet is, the most formidable enemy of England. Against such a man you can do nothing unless you take his *life*. He has obtained another printing-office; he has another fortune growing; the powers of his mind are left unshackled, and all those powers, which are very great, are employed in exciting and in perpetuating amongst the people of America, a hatred of England."

† In Kentucky, indeed, (where, from the character of the settlers, we might least have expected to find any relic of old puritan manners,) one "Isham Talbot, Esq., was presented to the grand jury for profane cursing, using the words, God d——n Mr Jackson; the president ought to dismiss him, and have him kicked from town to town, until he is kicked out of the country, God d——n him!" W. W. Cook, Esq., was presented at the same time for in like manner profanely cursing Mr Pickering, "who," he added, "ought to be hung." These swearing esquires were both lawyers, of the democratic or French party.

Seven of them were apprehended and held in custody; they did not want abettors who advised them to sue out a habeas corpus. Accordingly they were brought into court. The consul's counsel declared he was ready to prove that the men in question were deserters from his Britannic Majesty's ship the Africaine; but the chief justice stated, that the opinion of the secretary of state had satisfied him that deserters from British vessels ought not to be arrested or detained under the authority of the government of the United States for the purpose of delivering them up, and therefore he ordered them to be discharged. They were accordingly carried off in triumph, while the consul and his friends were insulted by the shouts and execrations of the multitude.

The disposition of the government accorded with these acts of insolence and injustice. After one or two conferences, Mr Smith informed the British envoy, that their farther discussions must be in writing, and he commenced those discussions, by complaining, that after an arrangement had been made in due form by the United States with Mr Erskine, and after it had been faithfully carried into execution on their part, under circumstances rendering its effects on their relative situation irrevocable, and in some respects irreparable, his Britannic Majesty had deemed it proper to disavow it. Under such circumstances the American government conceived itself entitled to an explicit explanation of the grounds of this disavowal; but the president learnt with no less surprise than regret, that Mr Jackson was not instructed to offer any such explanation. That minister, after protesting against the unusual manner in which all verbal communications between himself and the American government had been put an end to, replied, that the explanation had been previously made, before his arrival, by Mr Erskine; and that as Mr Smith, in the conversation which they had held, had made no complaint of the disavowal, it was plain that he himself must have thought it unreasonable to complain of the disavowal of an act done under such circumstances as could *only* lead to the consequences which had actually followed. It appeared from Mr Erskine's official correspondence, that, although he had not communicated his instructions in full to Mr Smith, as he was authorised, he had, however, submitted to him the three conditions specified in those instructions. Mr Smith, repeating the argument which the journalists had advanced, had said in his previous conferences, that he understood Mr Erskine had two sets of instructions, and that upon one of them, which had not been communicated either to him or to the public, was to be rested the justification of the terms which he had finally arranged. To this charge, which was, in fact, after the British government had published those instructions, charging it with direct and wilful falsehood, Mr Jackson replied in these words: "It is my duty, sir, solemnly to declare to you, and through you to the president, that the dispatch from Mr Canning to Mr Erskine, which was read by the former to the American minister in London, is the only dispatch by which the conditions were prescribed to Mr Erskine, for the conclusion of an arrangement with this country on the matter to which it relates." With regard to the *irreparable* effects which the American secretary said had been produced on

the situation of the United States by their fulfilment of the agreement, that epithet, Mr Jackson observed, seemed to imply that a loss had been sustained on the occasion by the public, or by individuals of America; but so far as the King of Great Britain could be by possibility supposed answerable for such an eventual loss, he had taken the utmost precautions to avert it.

The correspondence soon assumed the form of controversy. Mr Smith maintained, that what were the real and entire instructions given to Mr Erskine, was a question between him and his government; but that he had, or at least believed he had, sufficient authority to conclude the arrangement, his formal assurances during the discussion were such as left no room for doubt. It was true that he had made known the three conditions which now appeared in his printed instructions, and was disposed to urge them more than their nature would permit, two being probably inadmissable, and one more than merely inadmissable: but finding that they were thus considered, he had adopted the more reasonable terms on which the arrangement had been concluded. And what was there in this which could countenance his Britannic Majesty in his asserted right to disavow the proceeding? Was there any thing more common than that an ambassador should be provided with two sets of instructions, or two or more grades of propositions in the same set of instructions, that he might begin with what was most desirable, and end with what should be found admissable, in case the more desirable was not to be attained? If the dispatch containing Mr Erskine's instructions had been communicated to the American government at the time of the arrangement, or had it been known that the propositions prescribed therein were the only ones on which he was authorised to make an arrangement, the arrangement would not have been made.

It ill became the American government to complain of the disavowal of Mr Erskine's act, when they themselves had so lately afforded an example of exercising the same right in a much stronger case. Mr Erskine had no full powers to conclude an arrangement, and this they knew; for when he made his unauthorised concessions, he informed them the King would send over an envoy extraordinary with full powers to conclude a treaty, —thus clearly implying that he himself was not invested with such powers. But a treaty had been concluded in England by two American ministers, Messrs. Pinckney and Monroe, with full powers for that especial purpose, and after this treaty had been regularly signed, sealed, and delivered by those ministers, Mr Jefferson, the then president, refused to ratify it. Mr Smith's arguments were not more cogent upon the other points which he brought into altercation. His reproach, that America had faithfully, on her part, carried the arrangement into effect, meant no more than that the Americans had lost no time in availing themselves of the advantages which it gave them; and, as he admitted that Mr Erskine had proposed the three conditions, it followed that he knew them to be the instructions of that minister, and that his supposition, that other instructions had justified him in the concession which he actually made, was merely matter of opinion. This Mr Jackson noticed in his reply. "It appeared," he said, "from Mr Smith's own language, that the instructions in question, had

been made known to him in substance at the time; and no other proof than a reference to the terms of agreement could be required to show, that that agreement was in violation of those instructions. Upon that ground his Majesty disavowed it, Mr Erskine having been altogether without authority to subscribe to such terms."

Mr Smith's offensive language concerning the affair of the Chesapeake had shown how little likely he was to bring any discussion with Great Britain to its desired end,—if conciliation were the end desired. He now observed, that Mr Jackson's letter contained several irrelevant and improper allusions, and that he must advert to his repetition of expressions, implying a knowledge on the part of the American government, that Mr Erskine's instructions did not authorise the arrangement which he had formed. "After the explicit and peremptory asseveration," he continued, "that this government had no such knowledge, and that with such a knowledge no such arrangement would have been entered into, the view which you have again presented of the subject makes it my duty to apprize you, that such insinuations are inadmissable in the intercourse of a foreign minister with a government that understands what it owes to itself." This soon brought things to the point at which Mr Smith seems to have been aiming. The English envoy replied, that when there was not freedom of communication in the form substituted for the more usual one of verbal discussion, there could be little useful intercourse between ministers, and one at least of the epithets which Mr Smith had thought proper to apply to his last letter was such as necessarily abridged that freedom. That any thing therein contained might be irrelevant, it was, of course, competent in the American secretary to endeavour to show; "but as to the propriety of my allusion," said Mr Jackson, "you must allow me to acknowledge only the decision of my own Sovereign, whose commands I obey, and to whom alone I can consider myself responsible. Beyond this, it suffices that I do not deviate from the respect due to the government to which I am accredited. I have carefully avoided drawing conclusions that did not necessarily follow from the premises advanced, and least of all should I think of uttering an insinuation, when I was unable to substantiate a fact. To facts, such as I have become acquainted with them, I have scrupulously adhered, and in so doing I must continue, whenever the good faith of his Majesty's government is called in question, to vindicate its honour and dignity, in the manner that appears to me best calculated for that purpose." Mr Smith now broke off the correspondence in the same haughty spirit with which he had commenced it. "Finding," he said, "that Mr Jackson reiterated and even aggravated the same gross insinuation, it only remained, in order to preclude opportunities which were thus abused, to inform him, that no further communications would be received from him, and that the necessity of that determination would, without delay, be made known to his government: Meantime a ready attention would be given to any communications affecting the interests of the two countries, through any other channel."

In consequence of this notification,

Mr Jackson retired from the city of Washington to New York, *Nov.* 13. first expressing, through Mr Oakley, the secretary of legation, his regret that he should be compelled to do so. The charge, however, at which offence had been taken he again repeated and justified. "One of the facts alluded to," Mr Oakley said, "has been admitted by the secretary of state himself, namely, that the three conditions forming the substance of Mr Erskine's original instructions, were submitted to him by that gentleman. The other, namely, that that instruction is the only one in which the conditions were prescribed to Mr Erskine for the conclusion of an arrangement on the matter, is known to Mr Jackson by the instructions which he has himself received. In stating these facts, and in adhering to them as his duty imperiously enjoined him to do, he could not imagine that offence could be taken at it by the American government, as most certainly none could be intended on his part; but having now been informed that no farther communication will be received from him, he has no alternative, consistent with what is due to the King's dignity, but to withdraw from the seat of the American government, and wait the arrival of his Majesty's commands upon the unlooked-for turn which has been given to his affairs in this country."

At this time the insolence of the French faction, encouraged by the apparent probability of those direct hostilities between the two countries, which it was their object to provoke, displayed itself in open violence. Several of our officers, who had offered no provocation, were insulted in the town of Hampton, and violently assaulted, so as to be put in imminent danger: and Mr Jackson found it indispensable for his own safety, and that of his family and the gentlemen attached to the mission, to call upon the American government for special passports or safeguards; this, he said, was the more necessary, because some of the newspapers of the United States were daily using language, of which the only tendency could be to excite the people to commit violence upon his person. Fortunately for Mr Jackson, his personal safety was secured by the known power of Great Britain, for otherwise the conduct of the government was such as seemed to afford him little security.

The president, at the opening of Congress, brought *Nov.* 27. a direct charge against England of breach of faith in disavowing Mr Erskine's arrangement; and in referring to the affair of the Chesapeake, called it a murderous aggression,—a phrase which Mr Smith also used about the same time, in one of his published dispatches to the American minister at London. Resolutions were brought into the House of Representatives, that the executive government, in breaking off all communication with Mr Jackson, had manifested a just regard to its own dignity and honour, as well as to the character and interests of the American people, and the Congress solemnly pledged itself to stand by and support the executive government upon this point, and, if necessary, to call into action the whole force of the nation to repel such insults as had been offered by the British minister. An act was also brought in, expressly levelled at Mr Jackson, under the title of "A Bill to prevent the Abuse of the Privileges and Immunities enjoyed by Foreign Ministers while in the United States." It empower-

ed the president, upon any just occasion given, to issue a warrant for enforcing the departure of any ambassador, minister, or other person, taking due precautions to avoid improper or unnecessary violence in executing such warrant.

The difference of the president's feelings towards Buonaparte and England was strongly marked in the manner in which he mentioned France, in that same speech wherein he spoke of our murderous aggressions. "With France," he said, "the other belligerent, whose trespasses on their commercial rights had long been the subject of just remonstrance, the posture of their relations did not correspond with the measures taken on the part of the United States to effect a favourable change." The French Admiral Willaumez, indeed, had forcibly taken four French deserters out of an American ship,—the fact was related in the American newspapers, and yet it was not even complained of, nor once alluded to among the trespasses which were the subject of remonstrance. American subjects seized under the Berlin decree were starving in French prisons. General Armstrong, then ambassador at Paris, regretted that he could do nothing for them at present, and assured them that he would lose no opportunity of restoring them to their country. This was all the redress they could obtain from him, and their captivity and sufferings were never enumerated by their government among the trespasses which were the subject of remonstrance. The Americans at Paris were equally insensible to all outrages and acts of tyranny on the part of Buonaparte. At their anniversary of the independence of the United States, a standard was carried, bearing this inscription, "Liberty of Navigation for Neutrals, or War with England;" and in the hall where they dined, France and America were represented as reposing together in the Temple of Peace, with England at their feet: the American ambassador and legation being present, and sanctioning these insults to Great Britain. The French government did not fail to profit by the disavowal of Mr Erskine's arrangement; they renewed their negociations with General Armstrong, urging him to accede to the system by which France was aiming to recover the liberty of the seas. But however desirous the more infatuated, or more corrupt, partizans of Buonaparte in the United States might be of instigating their country to hostilities against Great Britain, this was a measure too obviously ruinous to be ventured upon at present, even by the existing government, and there was yet a numerous party in the Northern States who understood their real interest. Resolutions were past by the legislature of Massachusetts, condemning the conduct of the executive general government with respect to Mr Jackson, showing that the object of France was, by instigating a war between England and America, to recover possession of Canada, and declaring their own persuasion that no just cause existed for a rupture with Great Britain; but that they deemed it their duty to use all the means in their power for allaying the existing irritations, and preparing the way for the restoration of a friendly intercourse between two nations, whose interests were in so many points essenially united.

The immediate object of France, in exciting America to hostilities with England, was clearly seen by the

New-Englanders, and they saw also that it was the design of that insatiable government, after it had used the United States as a means of recovering Canada, then to add the country of their allies to their empire. The views by which the American government could be bribed to a conduct so inconsistent with its own real interest, were not so apparent; but they began to develope themselves. A minister was sent from Spain to America in the name of Ferdinand 7th., and the president refused to acknowledge him, saying, he could receive no minister from Spain while that country remained in its present unsettled state. He assured him at the same time, that no minister would be received from Joseph Buonaparte. Had there been nothing more in this than the avowal that America, regardless of all other rights, waited to acknowledge the right of the strongest, it would have been sufficiently disgraceful to her rulers. The events of the ensuing year discovered that there was a secret understanding between her and France upon this point, and that while the president thus affected impartiality, he was, in fact, making arrangements for securing a part of the colonial spoils of Spain.

CHAP. XVI.

Affairs of the Baltic. Revolution in Sweden. Peace between Sweden and Russia and Denmark. Proceedings of the English Squadron in the Baltic. Conduct of England towards Iceland and the Feroe Islands. The Prince of Augustenburg elected Crown Prince of Sweden.

THE north of Europe presented but a mournful prospect at the beginning of the year. The people of Denmark, however strongly and indignantly they must have resented the attack upon Copenhagen, felt far more fear and hatred of their tyrannical allies than of the English, their unwilling enemies. The contrast between the Spanish and French troops who had been quartered upon them produced a striking effect. The Spaniards cheerfully paid for whatever they desired to have beyond the ordinary allowance, and never behaved arrogantly towards the men nor improperly towards the women; while the French, carrying their system of free quarters into whatever country was cursed with their presence, rioted at the expence of their hosts, and insulted the wives and daughters of the Danes before their eyes with gross indecency. The people, therefore, dreaded nothing so much as these allies, and they looked on with melancholy forebodings to the consequences of the unnatural connection between Denmark and France. But the temper of the court was altogether different. Mortified that the plans which they had formed in concert with Buonaparte against this country had been frustrated, taking advantage too of the manner in which this had been done, to justify themselves, perhaps even to their own hearts, for the preposterous and ruinous policy in which they were involved, they pursued the war with a spirit of inveterate enmity that scrupled at no hostile act, however disgraceful. Hence Denmark was the first power to acknowledge the intruder Joseph as King of Spain, and even engaged in hostilities against Romana's army, and detained such of his troops in prison as could not effect their escape. Hence also the court entered eagerly into all the schemes of France for ruining our commerce. The king complained both to the French and Dutch governments, that vessels were in the practice of clearing from Russia, and passing the Sound under Dutch colours, though they were notoriously bound for England; and these governments, less scrupulous than the American ministry, because they were sincere in their intention

of cutting off the intercourse which they prohibited, required him to seize the ships so offending, and to imprison the crews. Our trade suffered a more serious annoyance from that kind of warfare which gun-boats and privateers carry on to such advantage in narrow seas. The Swedes wondered that we did not give some check to this, by taking possession of the islands of Bornholm and Ertholmen, nests from whence these enemies annoyed the Baltic more than from any other station, and which might have been made the rendezvous for all vessels bound to or from the ports in those seas. This would have been advisable; but the bolder and better policy would have been, to have once more attacked Copenhagen, and have added Zealand to the dominions of Great Britain.

The Danish ministry, extending its hostility to Sweden as well as England, affected to make preparations for invading that country. Surgeons were called upon to give in their names, and hold themselves in readiness to accompany the expedition; and it was rumoured that the king would take the command in person. In Denmark it was reported that the threatened invasion greatly alarmed the Swedes; so much so, that on the coast of Scania their troops spent the night in the open air, notwithstanding the severity of the season. It was said also, that measures were taken for the defence of Stockholm, the winter having set in so rigorously that the court of Sweden apprehended it might be practicable for their assailants to march across the Gulph of Bothnia. The Russians, in fact, did cross the ice from Abo, and take possession of the isles of Aland, where they fortified themselves, meaning to retain these islands as dependencies upon Swedish Finland, now, so Alexander foolishly supposed, irrevocably annexed to Russia. Buxhovden collected ice-boats, as if he designed to transport troops from thence to Sweden, the distance to the nearest coast being little more than thirty miles. These things, the Danes were assured, had so alarmed Gustavus, who had experienced the inutility of his alliance with England, that in his despair he was about to go to Petersburgh, either thinking it possible to produce some change in the mind of the czar by personal conference, or meaning to throw himself upon his generosity.

There was more truth in the reports circulated at Copenhagen, that the French party was becoming formidable in Sweden, and that Gustavus himself was in danger. The King of Denmark did not scruple to foment the treasonable spirit which was beginning to manifest itself; balloons with proclamations exciting the Swedes to revolt, and join the continental powers against Great Britain, were launched from the Danish shore; some of them fell near Helsingburg, and were carried by the peasantry who found them to the magistrates. The Swedish peasantry, indeed, were uncorrupted; but they were hopeless, and their sufferings at this time were such that any thing which promised change seemed to offer alleviation. The season was severer than any within remembrance; it set in early in November, and in the middle of March the whole surface of the country, land, lakes, rivers, and the sea itself, were still covered with içe and snow. The last crop had failed, and, to aggravate the evil, the herrings, which of late years had arrived in decreasing numbers, during the last entirely

forsook the coast. Diseases, the effect of hardships, excessive fatigue, and insufficient food, broke out in the army, and in the fleet: in such cases we have had lamentable proof how little can be effected by medical science, even in the most advanced state to which it has yet attained; but in Sweden both skill and medicines were wanting. A third of the soldiers and sailors, it is supposed, were carried off, and of the survivors half were lingering in the hospitals. Pestilence was not confined to the military part of the population; it appeared at Carlscrona and on the borders of Lapland. Poor diet, and that scantily supplied, was the cause: the deaths were fifty a-day, and thousands were thus swept off.

Dearth and pestilence were thus wasting the people. Finland had formerly been the granary of the northern provinces, and this province, the most fertile and the most prosperous of the whole kingdom, was lost. From thence and from Pomerania, which also was lost, Stockholm and most of the other sea-ports used to receive provisions and fuel; the capital, therefore, severely felt the effects of the war. The merchants remembered their gains while the kingdom remained neutral, and, forgetting that France had destroyed all neutral trade by her tyrannical decrees, imputed their losses to the war alone, and ascribed all the sufferings of Sweden to her alliance with England. Among the higher orders there prevailed that baneful attachment to the language and manners of France, which has contributed so greatly to the overthrow of the continent. The government, too, was ill compacted: the long struggle between the crown and the nobles left a rankling spirit in the aristocracy, which had produced the murder of Gustavus III., and was working evil against his son. In many respects the king resembled the best of his progenitors; his private life was unimpeachable; his high sense of honour was manifested in the resolution with which he alone, of all the continental sovereigns, rejected the offers and defied the power of the Corsican tyrant. No prince would ever have been more popular in ordinary times. His zeal for the improvement of the kingdom and of the people was unwearied: if any person, how humble soever in rank, distinguished himself above his neighbours, whether by making drains, embankments, or enclosures; by improving his agriculture or his breed of cattle; by being the foremost to have his children vaccinated, or to send them to school; even if a peasant set the example of building his house with stone, and roofing it with slate, the provincial magistrates were instructed to inform the king of such a man's deserts, and he was sure to be rewarded, as an incitement to others to pursue the same course. But there was in him that family disease which had manifested itself in Christina and in Charles XII.; and though the general tenor of his conduct was not only blameless, but even wise, every error which he committed, and every sally of anger to which he gave way, was attributed to this cause. That the disease existed is beyond a doubt; his conduct toward Sir John Moore proved it but too plainly; and another proof was displayed at the beginning of the year, when he laid an embargo upon British ships, and shortly after took it off again, for reasons which at the time could neither be conjectured in this country nor in Sweden. But his very virtues were turn-

ed against him, and, because he had sometimes acted insanely, the whole system of his policy was imputed to insanity.

The discontent of the nobles became apparent towards the close of the year 1808, and it was reported that some of them would be brought to trial; but if this was really the intention of Gustavus, he had no power to execute it. A conspiracy had been formed against him which was widely extended, and his own uncle, the Duke of Sudermania, was at the head of the conspirators. The man appointed to commence the rebellion was Colonel Addelsparre, who had formerly made himself conspicuous among the discontented party, but, notwithstanding this, had been trusted by the king with the command of two regiments stationed on the frontiers of Norway. It was easy for this traitor to excite a mutiny among troops who were ill paid, ill clothed, and ill fed, and whose spirits were broken, not so much by the hardships which they had endured, as by the hopelessness of the war in which they were engaged, conducted as that war had been. Having thus far succeeded, Addelsparre entered Carlstadt at their head on the night of the 6th of March, and demanded of the burgomaster quarters for his troops. The persons in authority here were not in the conspiracy; the burgomaster refused to obey the illegal requisition; the governor, Count Rosen, was then applied to, and Addelsparre accompanied this second demand with a threat, that if it was not complied with he would enforce it, and his troops should take quarters wherever they could find them. The count could not resist, but he did his duty in refusing to obey: he and the burgomaster were arrested by the rebel commander, and the troops quartered themselves in the town, giving out that they were on their march to Stockholm to obtain payment of their arrears, and demand of the king to call a diet of the states.

This latter object they held out especially to justify themselves, in a proclamation, wherein, after entreating their brethren in arms, and their fellow countrymen, not to mistake their views, or imagine them to be other than those which arose from public spirit and honour, they declared their sole purpose to be, that the states of the realm should be at liberty to assemble and deliberate uncontrouled on the means of restoring the prosperity of Sweden. "We have solemnly sworn," said they, "to lay at their feet the arms which we have taken up to procure their freedom, and around the hall where they hold their deliberations we will form a rampart, which no power upon earth shall be able to beat down. The German dominions of Sweden are delivered up to the enemy, and Finland, the native soil of a noble and gallant people, is lost. Our trade is ruined; our mines deserted; our youth taken from agricultural pursuits to be destroyed by sickness and the sword; the burthens laid on agriculture are such that they can be borne no longer; grinding taxes are exacted without mercy, and desolation and misery are spreading far and wide, and threatening universal ruin. We have seen with grief the most important concerns managed in a manner which began without any plan, as it ended without success; the remaining strength of the country, if no means be taken to prevent farther evil, may be wasted with the like folly. We have sworn that not

a single inch more of Swedish territory shall be given up to the enemy. We have sworn that the fathers of the country shall enjoy full liberty to restore our welfare and prosperity. Let then the higher and lower states of the commonweal join heart and hand to assert our freedom; and let the fathers of the country offer peace and amity to our neighbours, but with this assurance, that every Swedish soldier will rather be buried under the ruins of his country, than suffer a single inch of Swedish ground to be taken by the enemy, or ceded to them. Our ally, Great Britain, shall learn to appreciate and value a nation which knows how to break its chains; France shall learn to respect a people who are anxious to rival her military prowess; and the rulers of Russia and Denmark, who are incessantly engaged in pursuits tending to promote the prosperity of their subjects, will not disturb the tranquillity of a nation which only desires to live or die in independence. Such are our wishes for our country, and we are ready to sacrifice our lives for their fulfilment. It is of the utmost importance for Sweden that every Swede should at length be allowed to return to a peaceful home, as far as that can be done without disparagement to the honour and independence of the kingdom. The frontiers are for a short time left without defence on account of our departure; but should the enemy, contrary to his solemn promise, avail himself of our absence to attack them, we will speedily return, take a severe revenge, and convince him of the difference of a war carried on because of the personal hatred of the ruler, and one prosecuted by a nation which is determined to maintain its independence."

The proclamation concluded by expressing the confidence of the insurgents that the whole army would co-operate with them in effecting the restoration of public prosperity and the destruction of their foreign foes, and by requesting that the people in general would suspend their judgement upon these proceedings till the decision of the states should be known. This seems to imply that the public opinion was against them, and the studied ambiguity of all the expressions relating to the foreign foe lead to the same conclusion. It is apparent that they who drew up the proclamation regarded England as that foe, but that it was not thought prudent to tell the people so. Perhaps the troops themselves could not have been stirred up to rebellion, had they been regularly paid. At Gottenburgh this was supposed to be the sole cause of the insurrection when the tidings reached that city, and the magistrates, in order to satisfy the troops in their district, and prevent them from joining the insurgents, raised a loan of 20,000 rix-dollars to pay off the arrears. But the root of the evil lay deeper. It was the treachery of the nobles and of his own blood that overthrew Gustavus. That prince, little suspecting that he was surrounded by traitors, as soon as he heard of the insurrection sent orders to supersede Addelsparre, and the commander-in-chief of the western army, Baron Aderstrom. General Aldercreutz prevented the courier from proceeding: the king was informed that the mutineers were appeased and order restored; and this falsehood was so well circulated that it reached this country. Gustavus was two days before he discovered that he had been deceived; he then determined to march in person at the head of his guards against the insur-

gents. On the morning of the 13th (of March) he left his apartment to go down to the parade, which is in front of the palace, and there announce his determination to the guards, and call upon them to follow him. As he was descending the great staircase, a party of the conspirators, with Aldercreutz among them, advanced to meet him, as if in compliment. In this manner they contrived to surround him, and Aldercreutz then told him, that as all other means had proved ineffectual to make him adopt measures consistent with the exigencies of the times, it was now become necessary to have recourse to restraint. "What do you mean," said Gustavus, with perfect coolness; "am I arrested?" They all answered, yes. He then drew his sword, and attempted to run Aldercreutz through the body; but the conspirators were too numerous and too vigilant for this to be possible: one seized him from behind, others closed in, overpowered, and disarmed him, though not till one of them, Count Shoilsky, had been wounded in the hand. Having thus secured his person, they immediately sent him as a prisoner to Drotningholm, once the most splendid palace of the kings of Sweden, situated in the isle of Lozon, a Swedish mile to the west of Stockholm.

On the same day the Duke of Sudermania issued a proclamation, declaring that the king, under existing circumstances, was incapable of conducting the affairs of the nation, and that he therefore, being the nearest and only branch of the family who was of proper age, had been induced, as administrator of the kingdom, to take into his hands the reins of government, which, by God's help, he would so conduct that the nation might regain peace both at home and abroad, and trade and commerce might revive. Wherefore he invited and commanded all ranks and classes of people to obey him as his intentions deserved, and their own welfare required. He ordered Te Deum to be sung in the capital for the salvation of the country, and thanksgivings to be offered in all the churches throughout the kingdom.

Mar. 14. The following day he sent out letters patent, summoning a general diet for the 1st of May; and these were followed by a manifesto from the duke, who now assumed the title of regent. "He deemed it right," he said, "and conformable to the duties of his high station, to lay before the people the motives for the important change which had just been effected: there were abundant documents among the archives of the state which would prove the necessity of that change, both to the present age and to posterity. Public opinion had long condemned the ruinous system of warfare which had been pursued; for the geographical situation of Sweden might have secured to her that neutrality, which was all that her commercial interests required. But the king had thought proper to take an active part in the coalition against France; the first consequence was, the loss of her trade with almost all the states of Europe. He was invited to form one of the contracting parties at Tilsit, and upon terms which were by no means irreconcileable with the welfare of the country: he was not prevented from accepting those terms by England, yet he refused; and the immediate effect was, that Sweden was compelled singlehanded to fight France and her numerous allies upon the continent. The siege of Stralsund was then vi-

gorously carried on. A convention was concluded, which stipulated the evacuation of Pomerania and Rugen by the Swedes; even then the offer of peace was renewed by France: it was again rejected; and thus the German provinces of Sweden, the last remains of the conquests of the great Gustavus, were lost. These evils were followed by war with Russia and Denmark,—a danger that might have been prevented by acceding to the peace of Tilsit. Finland became the seat of war, and if the means of defence which the nature of that country permitted had been managed with skill, or if the plans of resistance, which were relinquished almost as soon as they were adopted, had been firmly and perseveringly carried into effect, the loss of that province, the most calamitous event which has for centuries past befallen Sweden, might have been averted. In this state of things, the means of waging war against such numerous enemies must soon have proved insufficient; the public necessities increased in the same proportion as the resources failed; and yet it was universally known that the king again repeated his unalterable resolution never to conclude a peace with the present government of France,—a resolution which rendered a reconciliation with Denmark and Russia impossible. Seeing the approaching ruin of the country, the western army resolved to march to the capital, and take measures for its salvation: similar movements took place among the troops in the north. The king would have assembled a force in the south to march against them: two distinct governments would thus have been formed, and a civil war have filled up the measure of calamity. The most respectful remonstrances against this desperate determination of his majesty were rejected, and no other means remained for securing even the safety of his own person, than forcibly to prevent him from carrying his purpose into effect. In these circumstances," the manifesto concluded, "all the officers of state, in concert with the states of the empire who were present in Stockholm, made known to the Duke of Sudermania their constitutional wish, that he would take the government into his own hands, which he, notwithstanding his advanced age, thought himself in duty bound to do, confiding that his conduct would be seen in its proper light by every honest and patriotic Swede."

It appears then, from the usurper's manifesto, and from the proclamation of the rebellious army, that the charges against the king were, his obstinacy in refusing to make peace with Buonaparte, and the misconduct with which he carried on the war. One of our English journalists well observed upon this occasion, that scarcely any thing was alleged as a reason for deposing Gustavus which might not have been said in the British House of Commons on a motion for a committee upon the state of the nation; so that that which in one country had overturned a throne, would in the other have only displaced a ministry! * A more striking example has never occurred of the advantage of a limited monarchy, like our own, to the monarch himself, as well as to the people. No stronger proof can be required of the excellent character of Gustavus, than that these were all the charges which could be brought against him. For they

* *Times*, April 6.

who imputed it to him as a crime, that he persisted in waging war against France, assumed it as a fact, that Sweden might have relied in perfect security upon peace with France; this, too, after the examples of Venice, and Tuscany, and Prussia, and Portugal, and Spain! Concerning the misconduct of the war, it is remarkable that the strongest instances were not noticed; nothing was said of the imprudence of attacking Norway, and nothing upon the most public proof of insanity which Gustavus had ever manifested, his behaviour toward Sir John Moore, by which Sweden was deprived of the co-operation of a British army. In Finland, where the struggle had been carried on, there seems to have been no error, either in the plan or conduct of the campaign: the Swedes had fought bravely, and whatever losses they had sustained, they suffered no disgrace in the field. There had indeed been treason of the foulest kind in the fortresses, and that treason had occasioned the loss of Finland; but even the impudence of faction could not impute any blame to Gustavus for this. How far the traitors who had conspired against him may have been concerned in this treason also, is not yet known; but they who betrayed their king may well be suspected of having betrayed their country, if by doing this they could further their prospects of self-aggrandizement.

The king was not suffered to remain long at Drotningholm; it was too near the capital, where the excellence of his private character was so well known that the people were still attached to him. He was removed to Gripsholm, a royal castle upon an island in the lake of Malar; a place which had once been the prison of the father of the great Gustavus, and where he afterwards imprisoned his dethroned brother, Eric XIV. The first act of the regent was to conclude an armistice with Russia and Denmark, the former power retaining Finland; a third, and that the happiest and most prosperous portion of the Swedish dominions, before the Russians, by their invasion, reduced it to the most deplorable wretchedness. The members of the diet in that province refused to take the oath of allegiance to their new master, and the peasants of one district offered to rise against the Russians with one accord; but the Duke of Sudermania wrote to the Finlanders to submit with patience, because resistance would be unavailing. Alopeus, the Russian ambassador, whom Gustavus had detected in planning treasons against him the preceding year, arrived at Stockholm soon after the seizure of the king, to witness the success of his plots. He had been with the Russian army. It was reported that he had a commission to be lord-lieutenant of Stockholm; so surely had the czar calculated upon becoming master of the Swedish capital. Such was the report; but it is more probable that Alexander depended more upon intrigue than upon arms. The traitorous faction had made the welfare of Sweden their pretext; but in their very manifestoes they proclaimed their willingness to leave both to France and Russia all which those powers had conquered as the price of peace, and the manner in which the Swedish nobles crowded to pay their court to Alopeus proves, that they looked to Russia as their ally against their king. The French general Du-

roc also arrived at Stockholm to negociate for France, and to be present at the diet.

But notwithstanding the total revolution which had been effected in the foreign relations, as well as in the government of Sweden, no hostile measures were taken against Great Britain. It was indeed scarcely possible that men who had deposed their sovereign because he had not acceded to the peace of Tilsit, should themselves engage in an unprovoked and unnecessary war. They did not invite Mr Merry, the British minister, to continue at Stockholm during the diet, but this might have been rather for the sake of avoiding any occasion of offence, than from disrespect. Notice was given that licences would be granted to British vessels till the last day of September, and the British consul was officially informed, that if war should take place between the two countries, the property of the merchants would be reciprocally respected by both. Our minister necessarily withdrew, and Sir Samuel Hood, who commanded our squadron in the Baltic, suffered no ships of war to enter the Swedish ports, and never landed himself. But it was not the interest of Sweden to provoke a new enemy; and even the party who were now in possession of the government themselves explicitly acquitted England of having urged the king to those measures which they represented as so unwise, and which had proved so unfortunate. They published a statement of the situation of the country, in which they said that the English subsidy of 100,000l. a month, was far from defraying the expences of the war, about three millions sterling (14,000,000 rix dollars) having been expended in the campaign of the preceding year. For the current year nearly double that sum had been required, 26,000,000 rix dollars. The committee of finance reported to the king, that this sum exceeded the whole circulating capital of the kingdom, and made at least three-and-twenty per cent. upon the aggregate property of the whole country, in money, goods, and estates of every description; but this representation obtained no other reply than an order to produce a plan within four-and-twenty hours for raising the sum required. Application was made to England for an increase of subsidy, this was refused; and the British government declared, that no objection would be made on its part if Sweden concluded a separate peace, provided it were made on terms which were not evidently directed against the interest of Great Britain. This, it now appeared, was the cause of that embargo which had excited so much surprise; for the king, in a fit of anger that his request should be refused, ordered all English shipping in his ports to be detained: such remonstrances, however, were made from all quarters against this frantic measure, that it was countermanded almost as soon as imposed.

This statement was probably true. Yet Gustavus had many friends among the people, and even in the army itself. His domestic virtues, the irreproachable tenor of his private life, the readiness with which he conferred rewards upon any person, how humble soever in rank, who was reported to him as deserving encouragement, made him deservedly esteemed. Whatever misconduct was imputed to him proceeded from an unhappy malady, and was therefore more worthy of pity than of condemnation; perhaps, too, the high

and unbending spirit which, amid the worst disasters, still proudly asserted the rights and dignity of Sweden, found favour for him among the best and most honourable of the Swedes. The Dalecarlians, it was said, were disposed to rise in his favour. A plan was formed in the army for delivering him and seizing Addelsparre. The provincial judge of Apland, by name Carlson, was at the head of this counter conspiracy, into which many soldiers entered; but it was betrayed, either inadvertently or designedly, by Lundgren, a non-commissioned officer. To counteract this spirit means were taken to vilify the king, and even the unworthy artifice was resorted to of staining his mother's fame, by spreading reports that he was not the son of Gustavus III. A certain general, it was said, was his father, and there was a bishop who, by the most indisputable testimony, could establish this important fact. So scandalous a fabrication may be admitted as proof of that feeling of loyalty in the people which it was intended to destroy.

The first act of the diet was to pass a vote of thanks to Addelsparre, Aldercreutz, and the other leaders of the insurrection. An *May* 10. act of abdication,* which had been obtained from the king, was produced as his own voluntary act and deed, and Baron Mannerheim, after a long speech, in which he attributed all the misfortunes of Sweden to the king's irresistible passion for war, renounced all allegiance to him, and declared him and his issue, now and for ever, deprived of the crown and government of Sweden; then asking if this his solemn resolution accorded with the wish of the members, they unanimously agreed to it, and a *conclusum*,† as it is termed, was accordingly issued in the name of the states. The accusations were the same which had been already assigned, with this addition only, that the king was charged with having made an arbitrary attempt against the Bank of the States, which was the sacred property of the whole nation. Considering these things, they said, and feeling it their duty to save their native land, assert their national independence, and guard both the public and private safety, they pronounced that the king had violated his oath, and therefore that the compact between him and his subjects was irrevocably dissolved. And taking it into consideration, that the public welfare ought to be the supreme law; that that welfare required the government of a king who was of mature age; and that the present calamities might easily be renewed by the children of Gustavus, under the influence of principles and sentiments inherited or impressed upon them, for those reasons, supported as they were by the voluntary act of abdication signed by his majesty, they declared that Gustavus Adolphus IV., hitherto their king and lord, had forfeited the crown, and that his issue, born and not born, were thereby for ever excluded from the throne and government of Sweden.

Any act executed by a man in duresse in favour of those by whom he is imprisoned, is by all law, as well as by natural reason, considered as compulsory. The successors of Gustavus, therefore, can derive no title from his abdication, though no direct force should have been employed to

* Appendix, No. III.

† Appendix. No. IV.

obtain it. Its language is evidently that of the king himself. It was dated from Gripsholm the 19th of March, in the year of the nativity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ 1809. The king's malady was partly religious, and this disposition was displayed in the form of the date and in the deed itself. On that day seven years, he said, with a bleeding heart he had ascended a throne stained with the blood of his beloved and revered father. He regretted that he could not promote the true welfare and honour of his ancient realm, inseparable as that honour must be from the happiness of a free people; and being convinced that he could no longer continue his royal functions, and preserve tranquillity and order in the kingdom, he considered it as a sacred duty to abdicate the crown; "which," continued he, "I do hereby, free and uncompelled, that we may pass our remaining days in the fear and worship of God, wishing that all our subjects and their descendants may enjoy more prosperity in future, through the mercy and blessing of God." This was manifestly his own language; the act itself was probably more voluntary than any which had ever before been executed under like circumstances, and it was consistent with the character of Gustavus thus to resign his own rights, rather than involve his country in a civil war, by attempting to vindicate them, if that had been in his power. But though he resigned his crown for himself, he neither did nor could resign it for his children. If the leaders of the successful party had been indeed actuated by pure motives of patriotism, the measures which they would have pursued were obvious. They would have rested their justification upon the only ground which could possibly justify them, the insanity of the king; they would have proclaimed his son, and appointed the Duke of Sudermania regent for him during his minority. Any measures which were deemed essential for the welfare of the country might have been effected under a legitimate authority, as well as under an usurpation; for the fear expressed in the sentence of deposition, that the children of Gustavus might pursue the same measures as their father, was absurd, as so long a time must have elapsed before the prince would have been of age to assume the government. If the Duke of Sudermania had had children of his own, his conduct, however villainous, would have been explicable; but the manner in which he afterwards acted discovered a submission to the pleasure of France, so servile and so infatuated, that no act which Gustavus had ever committed was half so insane.

The usurper was unexpectedly alarmed by a renewal of hostilities on the part of the Russians; they took possession of Tornea, making the garrison prisoners, and threatened a descent with their fleet. The cause assigned was, that Alexander had required that the Swedish ports should be shut against England, and that the queen should be appointed regent during the minority of her son. These propositions were inconsistent; the former was in unison with the present temper of the czar, the latter would have accorded with those humane and generous feelings which he manifested at the commencement of his reign. These rumours were terminated by the publication of an official note from Count Romanzoff to the Swedish government, in which it was asserted that Sweden was acting mere-

April 21.

ly with a view to protract matters, instead of desiring to conclude a speedy peace. The czar also, it was added, had strong reason, from all the intelligence which he received, to entertain a just disconfidence as to the situation of the actual government of Sweden. He therefore felt himself compelled to continue hostilities till a lawful government should assure him that it was ready to conclude a peace on the only terms which he could accept. The duke-regent, finding all negociations vain, was compelled to prepare for defence.

June 1. He published an edict, ordering all Swedes in the militia who were absent on leave to join their regiments, declaring that it was necessary to call out the whole military force of the country. The fairest and most equitable terms, he said, had been offered; yet both Russia and Denmark had refused them, and the former power had recommenced hostilities. He however trusted that the people of Sweden would, by their known valour, succeed in asserting their independence and obtaining peace. Thus the Duke of Sudermania, having deposed his nephew for the sake of making peace, was compelled to carry on the war himself.

One of the first measures of the diet was to elect the Duke of Sudermania king, by the name of Charles XIII. They then prepared a new constitution for Sweden. The government was declared to be monarchical and hereditary, with limitation to the issue male. The king, it provided, must be of the true evangelical religion, and must govern conformably to this constitution, with and by the advice of a state-council, the members of which were to be appointed by him, and responsible for their advice, he himself being exempt from all responsibility. The members must be natives of Sweden, and of the established religion; they were to consist of the two ministers of state for judicial and foreign affairs, the chancellor of the court, and six counsellors, three at least of whom must be civil officers; and the secretaries of state were to have a seat in the council whenever any case belonging to their respective departments should be under consideration. Neither a father and son, nor two brothers, could be members of the council at the same time. There were to be four secretaries of state, for the foreign, home, financial, and ecclesiastical departments; one for each. All the affairs of government, except the diplomatic or foreign relations, and the immediate command of the army and navy, were to be submitted to the consideration and decision of the king, assisted by at least three members, besides the acting secretary: that number was necessary to constitute a council of state for the transaction of business. Minutes were to be made of all their proceedings; every member present was bound to give his advice: but the privilege of deciding was vested in the king, who might determine, by virtue of his prerogative, in opposition to the votes or opinions of all the council. In the possible event that his decision might be repugnant to the constitution and the laws, the members were bound, by the most solemn obligation, to remonstrate; and if any member's opinion was not duly recorded, that member should be deemed guilty of counselling and abetting the king in his unconstitutional decision. The king might conclude treaties, after consulting the minister of state for foreign affairs

and the chancellor. He might declare war, or conclude peace; but before he did either he must state his reasons to the council, and the members were to give their opinions, and be responsible for them. The supreme command of the army and navy was vested in the king, and the ultimate decision in all matters relative thereto, assisted by the ministers of state for this service, who were responsible for their advice. Diplomatic, civil, and military employments were at the king's appointment, who was also to appoint the archbishops and bishops as formerly; but he could not remove a judge from his office, except for just cause, and on proof of criminality. Neither could he deprive, nor cause any subject to be deprived of his life, liberty, honour or property, without trial and judgement; neither was he to harass or persecute any person for his religious opinions, provided the promulgation of those opinions, or the exercise of that religion, were not injurious to the community.

The council of justice was to consist of six nobles and six commoners, who were to decide in judicial affairs; the king had a double voice, and might pardon criminals, and mitigate or commute punishments. The king was not to quit the kingdom without consulting the state-council, and that council should govern in his absence; if he continued absent more than twelve months the diet was to be assembled. The prince or king should be of age at 21; but from the age of 18 he was to attend the several courts of justice, though without taking any part in their decisions. When the successor was not of age, the diet should be assembled, and appoint a regency during the minority. When the king had no heirs-male, the diet should be assembled, and chuse a successor. The states were to be assembled every fifth year at Stockholm; the bank was under their immediate controul, and the king could impose no taxes without the consent of the diet. No diet was to continue longer than three months, unless business required it. No officer of the crown should influence the election of any of its members; no member could be accused or deprived of his liberty for his actions or expressions in his respective state, unless the particular state to which he belonged should demand it. At each diet a committee should be appointed for inquiring into the conduct of the ministers, council, and secretaries of state. The new constitution established a committee for superintending the liberty of the press.

Expectations had been raised concerning this new constitution which were by no means fulfilled. The sketches which had been privately circulated among the members of the diet promised the abolishment of some feudal grievances. Land belonging to the nobles, whether it was held by hereditary right or newly purchased, enjoyed an exemption from certain taxes, and this gross injustice, it was said, would now be done away. The nobles wanted virtue to defend their country; but when their own direct, gross self-interest came in question, they stubbornly maintained what they called their rights. They had brought about a revolution by treasonable means, had deposed one king, and were ready to sell themselves to another; but when any real reform which touched themselves was in question, then they became inflexible. All the sons of a nobleman assumed the title and enjoyed the

privileges of nobility; these it was now proposed to restrict to the eldest son. This reform was carried in part only; the new constitution giving the king the power of creating nobles, restricted the title to his eldest son and heir, but left the old nobility in possession of their unjust privileges. The other point they obstinately refused, though among the deputies for the peasants there were some who demanded it with a manly spirit. The hall where these deputies met displayed a singular scene. Men of the same class as those whom they represented were assembled there, in their own country dress, smoking their pipes, and discussing the business of the kingdom colloquially as if they were at a parish meeting. One, whose name was Nelsolson, spoke upon the exemption of the nobles with great force. "He did not mean to give offence," he said; "but however great the disparity of rank might be between the nobleman and the farmer, he knew of no distinction in that diet, constituted as it was, except the constitutional distinction of states. The class of which he was a member, furnished with the necessaries and comforts of life those very men, who had not patriotism enough to consent to bear their equal part of the public burthens. If the noblemen were better educated than the peasants, and filled the high offices of the state, and devoted their time and talents to its service, the peasantry cultivated the ground, supplied the community with food, and furnished the army and navy with recruits. The interests of both ranks were reciprocal, and in times like the present unanimity was necessary for the salvation of the country. He therefore conjured the nobles to concede the point in discussion; for," thus he concluded, "sure I am, the peasants will not submit to a grievance which has long been the cause of discontent, and which they confidently hoped the diet would remove: for there can be no reason why the most numerous and most industrious class should be subject to a grievous impost, from which the highest order in the state is totally exempt."

It was impossible to carry this point against the nobles; for though the new king himself must have wished to begin his reign with a measure which would at once have increased the revenue and gratified the great body of the people, it was to the nobles that he owed his throne; the revolution had originated in them, and from such revolutions the whole history of the north of Europe has shewn that no general good has ever resulted. In other respects the new constitution bore marks of French interference: the exclusion of females from the throne,—the farce of limiting the monarch by the laws, yet ultimately referring every thing to his pleasure,—the toleration of all religions and opinions, except such as were injurious to the community, that is, except such as the government should not chuse to tolerate, and the superintended liberty of the press, were so many stamps of the Corsican manufactory. There was a report at Stockholm, that the king wished to have assimilated the constitution in some points to that of England: it would be an additional proof of his folly and infatuation, if, having really such an intention, he could have expected to fulfil it by putting himself under the direction of France. This is the age of constitutions, and that of Sweden is not likely to be longer lived than the others which have proceeded from the same fabric.

It is indeed a mournful proof of human inconsistency, that men who, in violation of oaths and allegiance, have destroyed one system of government, should fancy that, by imposing new oaths, they can secure the permanence of another!

Charles XIII. was crowned on the 29th of June, and two days afterwards the oath of allegiance was taken by the states. The square where the statue of Gustavus III. had been erected was the place chosen for this ceremony; the throne was erected in front of the statue, with a gallery on the right for the queen and princess-royal, and another for foreign ambassadors on the left. The states of the nobility, clergy, burghers, and peasantry were called upon by the herald to come and take the oath, and having in their due order sworn allegiance, the lord-marshal led them to kiss the king's hand. The king went through this ceremony in a situation where, when he lifted up his eyes, his brother's statue was before him; that brother who, with his dying breath, had appointed him guardian for his son; that brother whose son he had deposed, and whose posterity he had excluded from the throne. The conduct of this usurper admits of no excuse; for if it were necessary that Gustavus should be deprived of the government, there could be no just cause for setting aside his son.

These ceremonies were succeeded by festivals and rejoicings, as if Sweden had any cause for joy! The leaders of the conspiracy received the reward of their treason. Mannerheim, who proposed to the diet the dethronement of Gustavus, was made knight-commander of the order of Wasa, with the great cross; and Addelsparre was created a baron, made commander of the order of the Sword, and appointed one of the state-council. Some measures worthy of commendation were adopted by the usurper. One of the acts which discovered a species of religious insanity in the deposed king, was a decree by which he forbade the entrance of any Jew into his kingdom; this prohibition was now revoked. Since the revolution of 1772 it had been the fashion for officers to wear a white scarf round the left arm, that having been the badge of the king's friends; this fashion was now forbidden: it afforded too conspicuous a mark in battle, and this reason was assigned for its disuse,—a secret feeling in the usurper may have been a co-operating, if not the principal motive. He who dethroned the son might wish to put out of sight a badge that reminded those who wore it of the father.

The conduct of Charles towards his nephew, Gustavus, implied that the deposed king was still respected for his virtues, and at the same time that he was not formidable, which can only have been because his insanity was notorious, and perhaps because, from the religious character of his mind, it was believed that he would feel his act of abdication binding upon himself. By the advice of his secret committee Charles sent a message to the diet, inquiring what pension the states would grant to their late king, his queen and children, and what country should be assigned for their place of abode, for it was necessary that he should absent himself from Sweden; and upon that point his own wishes agreed with what the public tranquillity and security demanded. "His majesty," (thus the message proceeded) "does not deem it superfluous to add some

observations, which should be borne in mind when this subject is discussed. The states cannot but be aware that their decision should be in a spirit of dignified generosity, becoming a noble-minded nation; that misfortune is entitled to respect; and that humanity requires forgiveness and oblivion of the past. His majesty is anxiously desirous that the states should meet his wishes, and thus convince Europe of the purity of the motives by which Sweden was induced to renew the structure of her government." Upon this the secret committee of the diet required an inventory of all the deposed king's effects; it was observed that much time would be required for this, and Gustavus was therefore called upon to declare what property he had, that the states might decide accordingly. Unlike his father, who was prodigal in his buildings and in the expences of his court, Gustavus had been an inexpensive sovereign. The new king also was desirous of obtaining popularity by appearing economical; with this view he relinquished, for himself and his successors, to the disposal of the states, the palaces, gardens, parks, and dependencies of Drottningholm, Swartsjo, Wantholm, Gripsholm, Stromsholm, Kangsor, Flyinge, and Dahlby, reserving to the royal family the right of inhabiting those palaces during the summer. Roserberg, which was his own place of abode before the usurpation; Ulricsdal, the summer residence of the queen-dowager; and Tullgam, where the princess lived, were to remain with their present proprietors during their lives, and afterwards become subject to the disposal of the states, like the other palaces. Upon the same plan of retrenchment, though for other obvious reasons, Charles dismissed the whole household of the deposed king, contenting himself with the same stablishment as when he was Duke of Sudermania.

The exclusion of the son of Gustavus, for which there could be no other reason than the fears of the conspirators lest he should one day exact vengeance for their treason against his father, rendered it necessary to settle the succession; and as the usurper was without children, and too far advanced in years to expect any, a new dynasty was to be seated on the throne of the great Gustavus. The person chosen was Prince Christian Augustus, of Sleswic, Holstein, Sondenborgh, Augustenburg. He was at that time governor in Norway, and when the news of his election as Crown Prince was communicated to him, he replied, that his duty to his native country would not permit him to accept the high trust now committed to him, till peace should have been restored to the north: when that was accomplished he would gladly join the brave Swedes who surrounded the throne. This election was said to be Addelsparre's work: the people regarded it with indifference or with melancholy.

The point upon which Russia insisted, as indispensable to any treaty with Sweden, was, that the ports of that kingdom should be shut against all English goods; but however disposed Charles XIII. might have been to have entered fully into the plans of France, it was impossible for him to accede to this demand. Sweden could not dispense with salt and colonial produce, and it was only from England that she received these articles, which habit had rendered necessaries of life. Alexander therefore ordered the war to be prosecuted

with vigour. Some actions, with various success, were fought in West Bothnia; the Russians had the advantage at last, but were unable to pursue it for want of provisions. This was owing to the English. Twelve ships, laden with ammunition and food for the Russian army, under convoy of eight gun-boats, were creeping along the shores of the Gulph of Finland, in hopes of eluding the British cruisers. Our ships had already taken nine sail, laden with timber and naval stores for the Russian dock-yards; and on the 7th of July Lieutenant Hawkey of the Implacable, who with the boats of the squadron was looking into every creek, discovered them under Persacola Point. He returned to Captain Martin, who commanded the squadron, with news of his discovery, and expressed his eager desire to attack them. The position which the enemy had taken seemed so much like a defiance, that Captain Martin said, he thought something was necessary to be done in order to impress these strangers with that sense of respect and fear which his majesty's other enemies are accustomed to shew to the British flag.

The Russians had taken a position of extraordinary strength within two rocks, which served as a cover to their wings. The boats of the Implacable, Bellerophon, Melpomene, and Prometheus, were manned and placed under Lieutenant Hawkey's command, and at nine in the evening they proceeded to the attack. The enemy were so stationed that they poured a destructive fire of grape-shot upon the boats as they approached. Each gun-boat carried a 32 and a 24-pounder, and 46 men, and, besides the 12 victuallers, there was a large armed ship in their company. Our boats advanced under the Russian fire with perfect coolness; they never fired a gun till they actually touched the enemy, then they boarded sword in hand. Hawkey having captured one of the gun-boats, proceeded to a second,—a grape-shot struck him as he was in the act of boarding her, and his last words were, "Huzza! push on! England for ever!" The victory was purchased by the loss of 17 killed, including this excellent young officer, and 37 wounded; but it was complete. Of the eight gun-boats, six were captured and one sunk; the armed ship was taken and burnt; the whole of the convoy brought out; 127 Russians were made prisoners, and two-thirds of their whole number were either killed, wounded, or had jumped overboard. Thus fully was Captain Martin's intention performed, of teaching the Russians to stand in awe of that enemy whom they had so wantonly defied.

The Czar Alexander at last became weary of a war in which he found it so difficult to victual his army; perhaps, too, he may have felt some scruples at continuing hostilities against a nation which professed itself ready to make any sacrifice that it was possible for them to make, as the price of peace. He gave up the proposed exclusion of salt and colonial produce from Great Britain, and *Sept. 5.* the negociations then were speedily concluded, when the one party had nothing to do but to demand, and the other to yield. The treaty * began by declaring, that from henceforth there should be

* Appendix, No. V.

peace, friendship, and good understanding between the King of Sweden and the Emperor of all the Russias, and that it should be their chief study to maintain perfect harmony between themselves, their states, and subjects, and carefully to avoid whatever might tend to disturb the union so happily re established. For the Czar Alexander, and the usurper Charles XIII., this might be perfectly reasonable, being, as they both were, the miserable instruments of Buonaparte, and acting blindly in furtherance of his designs upon their respective kingdoms; but friendship between Russia and Sweden was not likely to be established by a peace which, after a war commenced by the former, without provocation or excuse, and carried on without mercy, ceded to the unjust and cruel invader the richest provinces belonging to the Swedish crown. The governments of Kymmenegard, Nyland, and Tawastland, Abo, and Biorneborg, with the isles of Aland, Savolax, Carelia, Wasa, and Uleaborg, with part of West Bothnia extending to the river Tornea, with all the inhabitants, towns, ports, fortresses, villages, and islands, dependencies, prerogatives, rights, and emoluments, were ceded in full property and sovereignty to Russia, to be incorporated with the Russian empire, Charles XIII. renouncing all right to them for himself, his successors, and the kingdom of Sweden, and engaging in the most solemn manner, for himself and them, never to make any claim hereafter, direct or indirect, upon the territories thus ceded. But because these territories, which were now incorporated with Russia, were connected with Sweden by commercial relations, which, (so it was confessed in the words of the treaty) long intercourse, neighbourhood, and reciprocal wants, rendered almost indispensable, the Swedes and Finlanders were to be permitted to trade as usual, with the reservation of such restrictions as the political relations of the two states might render necessary. The King of Sweden was also allowed to purchase annually, from the Russian ports in the Baltic, 50,000 *tschetwerts* of corn, free from the export duty, proof being shewn that the purchase was made on his account, or by virtue of his authority. Years of scarcity were excepted, but the quantity which, in consequence of such an exception, might be in arrear, should be made up when the prohibition was no longer necessary.

The Emperor of all the Russias, it was farther said, having manifested an invariable resolution not to separate his interests from those of his allies, his Swedish Majesty, wishing on his part, in favour of his subjects, to extend as far as possible the advantages of peace, engaged to neglect nothing which might bring to a happy conclusion the negociations already commenced with France and Denmark; and, that he might give an undoubted proof of his desire to renew the most intimate relations with the august allies of Russia, he promised to adhere to the continental system, and engaged to close the ports of Sweden both to the ships of war and merchantmen of Great Britain, reserving, nevertheless, the importation of salt and colonial produce, which habit had made necessary to the Swedes.—The losses which Sweden had sustained in the war were computed at a fourth of her whole territory, and a sixth of her whole population; but the wisdom of entering into this war is not to be judged of according to the event: had

the continental powers, who took arms against France, displayed the spirit and the constancy of Gustavus, Buonaparte would long ere this have closed his career, and France have been reduced to that state of weakness which alone is compatible with the safety and tranquillity of Europe. Upon his own constancy Gustavus could calculate, and upon the firmness of England,—and with England for her ally, Sweden was secure against France, if Russia had not interfered. The conduct of Alexander could not have been foreseen,—foresight may be as effectually baffled by the capriciousness of folly, as by the deepest schemes of political wisdom. This besotted prince announced to his subjects, that, after a war which had covered the Russian arms with immortal glory, he had concluded a treaty of eternal peace with Sweden. Te Deum was performed upon this occasion in all the churches of the Russian dominions, and Romanzoff, who had negociated the peace, was made field-marshal-general, and chancellor of the empire, which is the first civil dignity of the state.

The negociations between Sweden and Denmark were soon terminated. *Dec.* 10. Neither party was in a situation to annoy the other; and things being precisely as they were before the war, nothing more was required than to draw up articles in form, declaring that they were to continue so, and decreeing perpetual peace between the Kings of Denmark and Sweden.—Thus terminated a war by which Denmark had neither lost nor gained; but which, by the mispolicy of Gustavus, had proved most injurious to Sweden; for by alluring him to attempt the conquest of Norway, it served to divide his force, and operating thus as a diversion in favour of Russia, it occasioned the loss of Finland. While it lasted it occasioned great privations in Norway. The industrious and unoffending people of that country, whom it might have been thought their climate, their mountains, and their distance from the scenes of revolution, would have preserved in peace even amidst this universal convulsion, were cut off from all commerce, though it was upon commerce that they in great measure depended both for food and cloathing. No British articles were permitted to enter the country; the consequence was, that not a new coat was to be procured for the men in any part of the kingdom, and that the women were actually in want of pins and needles. Tobacco became scarce, and the failure of this luxury was more loudly complained of than any other privation. Corn was sold on the coast at an extravagant price; in the interior it was not to be purchased. When our government understood the distress of the Norwegians, with a humanity which might put the enemies of Great Britain to shame, it permitted vessels laden with provisions to pass, and after Sweden and Denmark had concluded peace, granted licences for Swedish ships trading to Norway. This was not the only instance in which England mitigated as far as possible the evils of a state of warfare. An English privateer commanded by Baron Hompesch, (a man who had more than once furnished matter for a court of justice by his actions) landed upon one of the Feroe Islands, and committed some depredations upon the poor inhabitants. The crew of another privateer took possession of Iceland, de-

claring the governor and garrison prisoners. The governor came to England, and the English ministry, as soon as they received authentic intelligence of what had been done, issued a proclamation, in which, notwithstanding the war with Denmark, they declared that the Feroe Islands, Iceland, and the Danish settlements in Greenland, were to be considered as holding the same relations to this country as before the war. Their intercourse with the mother country was not to be molested, and they were only required to distinguish their vessels by a red lion in the Danish flag.

Before our ships retired, upon the approach of winter, from the Baltic, they had in the course of the year captured 90 Russian vessels, and 340 Danes. Thus did Denmark experience the power as well as the generosity of Great Britain. In the capital itself, the ordinary supply for the shambles fell so short, that horses were regularly slaughtered, and their flesh sold in the market at four-pence and five-pence per pound. The Danish court, meantime, received a pregnant hint of the ultimate designs of their ally; they were called upon to supply trigonometrical surveys of Sleiswick and Holstein to the war depot at Paris; the requisition was complied with, and that unfortunate court furnished information to be one day used by France against themselves. They discovered also in the royal family itself a melancholy example of the effect of those French manners, which, wherever they have prevailed, have poisoned the very sources of private and public virtue. The wife of the hereditary prince (a daughter of the Duke of Mecklenburgh,) was detected in an adulterous intercourse with a Frenchman, by name Dupuis, ballet-master at Copenhagen, who gave her lessons in singing. The intrigue was suspected, and spies were set, who watched him into her apartment at a late hour of the night, and out of it at four in the morning. An express was immediately dispatched to the hereditary prince, who was absent at the time; the guilt was manifest, and the princess did not attempt to deny it; it is said that, for the sake of saving her paramour, she declared that she had been the seducer. More mercy was shown than had been displayed at the same court upon a former occasion, when justice might boldly have been challenged by the victims of a foul conspiracy. The Frenchman was merely banished from Denmark, and ordered never to return on pain of death. With this sentence he was escorted to Lubec, and then left at liberty to teach music wherever he pleased, and boast of his adventures at Copenhagen. The princess was sent under a guard to Nyborgh; her family were informed of her guilt, and measures taken for divorcing her.

The negociations between France and Sweden were protracted till the ensuing year; but this excited no uneasiness, for the latter power had already conceded every thing in her treaty with Russia which Buonaparte could require. Switzerland was chosen for the abode of Gustavus, now called Count Gottorp, and towards the end of December he and his family were liberated from their confinement at Gripsholm. The arrangements for their departure were made with such secresy, that nothing was known concerning it an hour before it took place. Relays of sixteen horses had been ordered at every stage as far as Carlscrona, in the name of General Skoldebrand, and the

coach which carried the King, Queen, and their son, travelled night and day: the princesses were not hurried in this manner, no danger being apprehended from them. Gustavus, it was said, had lately appeared impatient of confinement, and shown marks of much dejection. He was landed at Stralsund, and from thence proceeded toward Switzerland. During his imprisonment a letter of consolation was addressed to him by the head of the Bourbon family. "I never," said that prince, "felt the weight of my own misfortunes press so sorely upon me as on this occasion, when, in the absence of all power, I find myself reduced to express my sentiments in ardent but ineffectual wishes. Still I have not lost the hope that that Providence to whom your Majesty addressed yourself from the beginning, will display itself in the relief of you and your family, and at that moment I know the power to pardon will be the first of the attributes of the crown which you will think of exercising. Awaiting that happy day, I protest, as a King, against the violence offered to the sacred person of Gustavus IV., not only on account of my own individual feelings of friendship towards him, but also because this outrage is a fresh application of principles destructive of all authority, and subversive of all social order."

The Prince of Augustenburg, whom the conspirators had chosen to be the founder of a new dynasty, arrived in Sweden soon after the departure of the deposed King. He was welcomed at Gottenburg with illuminations, and as much external rejoicing as if the revolution which had been effected had given any real cause of joy to the Swedes. But the prospect of affairs was gloomy. Charles XIII. was seized towards the end of November with what was said to be a cramp and giddiness in the head, but believed to be apoplexy: he recovered; still his health was precarious, and in case of his death the new crown prince had but a poor security for the succession. The better part of the Swedes desired to see the son of Gustavus restored to his rights: and the unthinking multitude, not having experienced the immediate benefit from change which they expected, began to be dissatisfied with a revolution that had disappointed their impossible hopes.

CHAP. XVII.

War between Russia and Turkey. Retrospective View of the Revolutions at Constantinople since the Expedition to the Dardanelles. State of Servia. Rise of Czerni George. Views of Russia and of France upon the Provinces of European Turkey. Events at Cataro. Mispolicy of this Country towards Greece. Fall of Mustapha Bairacter. Campaign on the Drena and the Danube.

THE Czar Alexander boasted of his gains in the war with Sweden; he had gained also by the peace of Tilsit, which made over to him part of the spoils of Prussia as his reward for deserting the King of Prussia, to whom he had sworn eternal friendship upon the tomb of Frederick. Duped as he was by French flattery and French intrigue, it never occurred to him that all his acquisitions, whether in Finland or Poland, were only held by him as tenant at will under Buonaparte; his weak understanding was dazzled by the apparent success of his new system of policy, and that success consoled him for the breach of faith which he had committed, the good name which he had irreparably forfeited, and the injury which not only his subjects but his own revenue also sustained from the interdiction of commerce with England. In 1807, the custom-house dues at Petersburg and Cronstadt amounted to 4,982,460 roubles; in 1808, only 918,055. The ships trading to Russian ports exceeded 5000 in 1805; after the war with England, they fell short of one; and the exchange on Hamburgh, which had fluctuated from 23 to 24, fell in 1808 to 15 and 16. There was, in fact, no part of Europe where the preposterous measures of the Corsican for destroying the trade of Great Britain produced greater evil. The exports of Russia consisted in great part of perishable commodities, and when England was not allowed to purchase them, they lay rotting in the warehouses. It was a common saying among the populace at Petersburg, that their tallow would find its way to England in spite of the government, because it turned into maggots, and they were thrown into the sea.

Alexander, however, acted in subservience to the Corsican as zealously as if, instead of ruining the mercantile part of his subjects, he had been encouraging industry and promoting the civilization of his empire. The custom-house officers at the various ports were removed on suspicion of favouring the trade with England, and their places filled by men whom the agents of France recommended as

trust-worthy. The discontent excited by these measures was general, and, in spite of all the restraints of a despotic government and a tyrannical police, it was notorious also. Rumours of disturbance, insurrection, and even of revolution, frequently reached us from the continent: these reports were often false and always exaggerated, but they indicated the state of public feeling in the commercial parts of Russia. One of these rumours which came with better marks of authority than the rest was, that an attempt had been made to assassinate the grand duke Constantine in the streets. Our newspapers imputed this to popular resentment, supposing that Constantine was a decided favourer of the alliance with Buonaparte, but in this they erred; the campaign of 1807 had cured him of his predilection for France. Whatever other defects there might be in his character, he was not deficient in national spirit and a regard for the honour of his country. That honour, he felt, had been injured by the manner in which his brother had apparently been beaten into the peace of Tilsit; and the present system of the court of Petersburgh, governed as it was by French influence, was as little agreeable to him as to the people.

Part of Buonaparte's plan was to waste the force of Russia in continual wars. A double purpose had been answered by the war with Sweden, in which Alexander weakened himself by fighting the battles of France; and when it no longer suited the purposes of the Corsican to employ his infatuated ally in this quarter, he found a new enemy for him on the side of Turkey. The relations between these two semi-barbarous empires are such that this could at any time be effected. France had pursued the same policy at a more important crisis, when, during the campaign in Poland, Buonaparte was twice baffled in battle by the Russians. Notwithstanding the unprovoked attack of the French upon Egypt, and the signal service which Great Britain had rendered to the Porte by conquering and expelling an enemy whom all the means of the Ottoman empire would have been insufficient to subdue, France, by the superior skill of her diplomatists, had at that time acquired a preponderating influence at Constantinople. War was declared against Russia, her armies were thus diverted from the proper scene of action, and England, endeavouring to procure a peace for her ally the Czar, after an attempt equally miserable in plan and execution, found herself involved in a war with Turkey, for a quarrel in which she had no concern.

General Sebastiani was the minister at the Porte, who, by his address, baffled both our negociations and our arms, and persuaded the Turkish government to renounce an old and faithful ally for the treacherous friendship of France. He wished to introduce a new system of tactics into the Turkish army. In this too his influence with Sultan Selim was successful, but the attempt was fatal to that prince. The Janizaries, a body of men who, from the beginning of the last century, have been as formidable to their own government as they formerly were to Christendom, were disgusted at any innovation which diminished their importance. A Russian fleet was at this time blockading Constantinople, and the distress which this occasioned made the people mutinous; they joined with the Janizaries; an insurrection broke out, and the Ulema, with the Mufti at their head, took

part with the insurgents, and compelled Selim to sign a deed renouncing the throne of which he was declared unworthy. Mustapha IV. was proclaimed sultan in his stead. This revolution produced no other immediate effect than that of putting an end to all the improvements which Selim had introduced; the foreign politics of the Porte remained the same. Sebastiani himself, though the chief adviser of all those measures of reform for which the sultan had been deposed, received neither injury nor insult during the tumult. Yet the French represented it as the work of England, and the foreign journals which are under French influence adduced a curious argument in proof of the accusation. Moore's Almanack, among its usual predictions for the year, happened to say, "Let the Grand Seignior look to his head; I give him fair warning." Upon this it was said, that a professor of astronomy in London, in a view of the constellations, had observed an insurrection among the Janizaries, and the death of the sultan; and the sagacious inference was drawn, that what was preconcerted might be easily foreseen, and therefore Francis Moore was in the secret of the English government's conspiracy against Selim III.

But notwithstanding the disgraceful failure of the English squadron at the Dardanelles, the Turkish empire had never before been exposed to such imminent danger. The people of Constantinople saw themselves, once more, as in the days of the latter empire, blockaded in their capital, and their ships taken in sight of their own harbour. Servia had declared itself independent. Bosnia also had revolted, and the Russians having acquired possession of Moldavia and Wallachia, were about to prosecute their successes with fresh vigour. France, who had instigated the Turks to this needless war, procured them a necessary peace as soon as it suited her purposes. When Alexander, from the sworn enemy of Buonaparte had become his sworn friend, he was easily persuaded to come to any accommodation with Turkey which his new ally should advise; accordingly an armistice was concluded, by which Russia agreed to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia, and even to restore all the ships of war and merchantmen which she had captured during the war. These terms were dictated by the Corsican in that wise spirit of policy which, by ostentatiously regarding the interests of an ally, most effectually promotes its own. They were intended also as an earnest of the restitution which he had undertaken to procure for Denmark.

These purposes were answered by publishing the stipulations of the armistice: that they should be executed was by no means the intention of the arch-deceiver. The ships indeed were restored, and at this cheap price he obtained the reputation of a generous and efficient friend at Constantinople; but the Russians made no preparations for evacuating their conquests, and things remained in that state, that France could at any moment rekindle with a breath the flames which she had only smothered. The state of Servia furnished additional facilities for this end.

Of all the races by whom Europe is at present inhabited, the Slavonic has been the most unfortunate; for though the Finns are almost equally opprest, they have no remembered ages of freedom and prosperity to embitter their present condition. Poland, which was once the bulwark of Christen-

dom, by the vice of its government and the villainy of the neighbouring powers, has ceased in our own days to exist as a kingdom. Bohemia,* from the hour when it was subdued to the tyranny of the house of Austria, and of the Romish religion, lost all by which it was once distinguished. The degradation was immediate and complete. The Bohemians are still a fine people, still cherishing the love of freedom, and worthy of being free; but their literature is extinct, their national pride is gone; no Bohemian, whatever be his talents or his fortune, can now reflect honour upon his country,—he has no longer a country, it is only his native soil; his country it cannot be called since it has been blended with the other dominions of Austria. The Hungarians, though less degraded, are kept in a state of feudal barbarism by the same vile government. But of all the Slavonic nations, the most unfortunate are those whose countries, lying between the dominions of Austria and Turkey, and of Poland formerly, but now of Russia, have for four centuries been the debateable ground for which those powerful neighbours have contended, sometimes subject to one, sometimes to the other; sometimes attempting to maintain a precarious independence, but equally misgoverned whether under the yoke of Turk or of Christian, or under a tyrant of their own: Despot, Vaivod, Hospodar or Pasha having uniformly the same object, that of fleecing the people to enrich themselves and their creatures, while an utter anarchy prevailed as to all beneficial purposes of government.

These countries have never enjoyed a single age of tranquillity since the times of Trajan, when they first became known to history. The Slavonic tongue predominates in their dialects, but the various races whom various revolutions or migrations have collected there form a motley and unamalgamated population, connected by no other tie than that of their common birth-place and their common misery. The nobles and gentry are of Slavonic origin, the only conquerors (except the English in India) who have ever acted upon the wretched system of keeping themselves distinct from the people whom they have subdued; the peasantry are the descendants of Roman colonists intermixed with the old Dacians, and called at this day Roman or Rumun, after their forefathers,—that name, which was once the terror of the world, having become for them an appellation of reproach. The slaves and servants and low artificers are gipsies, who, having found their way from Hindostan to the remotest parts of Europe, seem to have submitted to the habits of settled life only in these countries, where the wild and wretched state of wandering in which they persevere elsewhere, would be comparative comfort to the insults and cruelties which they endure. Besides these permanent races, there are adventurers from all the surrounding countries, Turks, Greeks, and other slaves of the Turks, who come, like harpies, to prey about these barbarous courts. The only industrious people are mechanics from the Russian and Austrian dominions, who rely upon their own governments to protect the fruits of their industry.

* See an extract from the Bohemian historian Pelzel, in Mr Coxe's History of the House of Austria, (chap. 51, p. 315.) describing the degradation of Bohemia in a manner truly admirable.

The dress of these nations is the same which was worn when Trajan triumphed over them. The inhabitants were among the bravest people that ever opposed the ambition of the Romans, and they were the first who made the Romans recede; they are now miserable and vicious, made so by ignorance, oppression, want, and hopelessness.

Such countries are always ready for revolutions; but in all barbarous states revolutions end where they begin; the people suffer from the convulsion, and derive no benefit from the change. Those who hoped that a new and happier order of things was about to rise in Europe, when the French legislature held the language of liberty and benevolence, fancied that the beneficial principles which were then professed were about to manifest themselves in these degraded provinces, under the protection of Passowan Oglow, the Pasha of Widdin. That personage had now disappeared from the stage, but he was succeeded by one who was in many respects better able to promote the views of France. This person was George Petrowitz, a Servian by birth, better known by the appellation of Czerni George, or the Black. He began his career in consequence of the depredations committed by Passowan Oglow's troops. A party of these marauders entered the village of Ramenika, where he dwelt, meaning to plunder his house, and probably to murder him, for he was one of the richest men of the place. Aware of their design, he sallied out, armed with a firelock, a brace of pistols, and a sabre. At the first shot, he was fortunate enough to bring two Janizaries down, and he then laid about him so manfully with his sabre, that he succeeded in making way to a neighbouring forest. Here he met with Stanoch Slavach, a fugitive like himself, and, like himself, of extraordinary intrepidity. They had their means of subsistence to seek, and, like brave men, they determined to seek it in a manner which should afford them vengeance at the same time. A few fellow-sufferers were soon collected, and made themselves notorious as a band of free-booters; four hundred of the Pasha's troops were sent against them, and Czerni George, with only eighty followers, defeated and put them to flight. This success roused the spirit of the Servians; they rose against Passowan Oglow, chusing Czerni George as their general; and some of the Turkish governors, who continued faithful to the Porte, secretly supplied them with artillery to be employed against the rebellious Pasha.

But after the fall of Passowan Oglow the Servians were not disposed to return to their former state of passive submission. They had arms in their hands, and they felt their own strength; they had also the expectation to excite them, which the French knew so well how to foment and flatter, that France would afford them her protection if they were resolved to emancipate themselves. During the war between Russia and the Porte, they profited by the distress of the Turks; the neighbouring mountaineers, a hardy race, whose songs are of the days of Scanderbeg, and of that age of heroism, were encouraged, by the example of the Servians, to attempt their own deliverance: and when, by Buonaparte's means, an armistice was made between the czar and the Ottoman empire, the whole country, from Belgrade to the Morea, and the parallel coast down to the Mediter-

ranean, forming a fourth part of European Turkey, was in the possession of Czerni George, and other insurgent chieftains.

Something, however, beyond the ordinary aims of barbarian revolutionists appeared in the proceedings of the Servians. From a handful of oppressed and desperate men meeting in the woods, and reduced to plunder for their subsistence, they were now become masters of a large tract of country, with all its fortresses and towns; they had regular armies on foot, and were governed by a synod till the constitution which their chiefs were framing could be put in effect. Czerni George, the commander-in-chief, and the man of most authority, as having been the prime mover of the insurrection, was not supposed to be the principal director of this new organization. He is represented as altogether illiterate, so much so as not to be able to write, and it is even said that he has no military talents, being only distinguished for intrepidity and patriotism; but had he not possessed commanding talents of some kind, he could not have attained the rank and influence which he held. Petrowitz, who had been a captain in the Austrian service, was said to conduct the military concerns of the state; the man who was looked up to for his political knowledge was Jacob Stephanowitz. Rodofinikin, a Russian counsellor of state, resided as minister from his court at Semender, the seat of government. Under his direction the constitution was framed. The synod of Servians was new-named a senate, and this national assembly was to consist of nine members, nine secretaries, two presidents, and a few inferior officers. The whole country was divided into districts, with a supreme tribunal under a civil magistrate in every town, and a justice of peace in every village. These posts were to be filled exclusively by men who had served in the field as officers or subalterns, and who could read and write. Means were to be taken for civilizing the country, by introducing arts and science; and it was declared to be the especial duty of all persons employed in the government to promote the establishment of schools, and other institutions for education. Every man was to be registered as a soldier; but those only who were in actual service were to carry arms. For the purpose of introducing law as well as letters into the country, the sale of houses and lands was ordered to be made in future by formal instruments; but no foreigner was to possess this species of property.

These institutions in their general character and tendency were admirably adapted to the state of the people for whom they were designed, and if England had been acting upon an enlarged and enlightened system, she would have desired no better allies than were to be found in the European provinces of the Turkish empire. But the strength of England has been withered by the wretched policy of looking always to governments, and never to the people, and we sent ambassadors to make our peace with the Porte, when we ought to have treated with Czerni George, to have taken the Greek Islands under our protection, and to have assisted all the revolted provinces in establishing their independence and forming themselves into civilized societies. The most generous and disinterested conduct towards them, would have been most for our own true interest; but by some strange fatality in all our Me-

diterranean politics, with the best and most disinterested motives, we have acted like the most unfeeling and selfish nation on earth, while the French have acquired a character of generosity, yet acted solely for their ownaggrandizement. Czerni George and his brave compatriots looked to the French as their allies and their protectors; the agents of France persuaded them of her magnanimity and beneficence, and in that persuasion, they regarded the progressive usurpations of Buonaparte with hope instead of fear. Those usurpations were such, that the revolution in Servia, which, at any other time, would have filled every generous heart with joy, occasioned the melancholy thought that these brave men, who were acting so nobly and so wisely for the good of their country, were soon to become subjects of a tyranny little less destructive than that from which they had emancipated themselves,—a tyranny to which the most virtuous of their leaders would infallibly be the first victims. If the schemes of Buonaparte succeeded, Servia would be formed into a dukedom or principality for one of his ruffian generals, and while Czerni George followed Toussaint to a prison and to the grave, the soldiers who had fought under him so bravely in defence of their own liberty, would be forced into the tyrant's armies, and sent to perish in fighting against the liberty of others. The peace of Presburgh had made those schemes sufficiently apparent; by that peace Austria ceded to France the possessions in Dalmatia and Albania, which she had so infamously accepted as her share in the partition of the Venetian states. A Russian diplomatist, with a sagacity and boldness that have never been surpassed in diplomacy, baffled for a time the projects of France, and would effectually have frustrated them, if Alexander had been true to his own honour and to the cause of Europe.

The little state of Cataro was part of the track which this treaty ceded to France. Its population does not exceed 15,000 persons, and its extent is not greater than that of an English hundred; but it was of great importance for its harbour, which is the most remarkable in those seas, and perhaps the most secure in Europe. The Gulf of Cataro lies on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, bounded on one side by the northern extremity of Albania, on the other by the territory of Ragusa. Two little rocks divide the entrance into three channels, and these channels have obtained the inappropriate name of the Mouths of Cataro, as if a river there emptied itself by different branches into the sea. Within these is a bason lying S. S. E. and N. N. W., about 15 miles in length, and from three to five in breadth; it communicates, by a narrow passage, with an inner harbour, which lies nearly in a parallel direction, and is about 11 miles long, and in its greatest breadth not more than two. Ships of any size may anchor in any part of either harbour in perfect security, and within a few yards of the shore. Opposite the entrance of the outer harbour, is the town of Castel Nuovo, with its ruined fortress,—a place which, in the days of Solyman the Magnificent, was the scene of some desperate contests between the Turks and Christians. In a like situation, fronting the entrance of the inner harbour, the little town of Peraste stands, which is inhabited by catholics; they have two convents, each beautifully situated on an

islet near the town. Cataro, the capital of the state, is built at the end of the inner bason, upon the foot of Montenegro, the loftiest mountain of the whole chain which binds in this singular little state. It is so surrounded with rocks that it cannot be seen till the person approaching is close upon it, and so overhung by them as for several hours to seem buried in their shade. In summer the reflection of the sun from these rocks makes the town uncommonly hot; but the snow continues throughout the year in the hollow of the mountain; thus affording the inhabitants at all times a plentiful supply of what their situation renders not merely a luxury, but almost a necessary of life. The town was well fortified by the Venetians, with regular works towards the water, flanked by strong bastions: the works on the land side somewhat resemble those at Gibraltar. A conical rock, rising perpendicularly five or six hundred feet from the base of Montenegro, is detached from the mountain about half way its height. This rock is inclosed within the fortification, and lines *en echellon* are carried along the side to the very summit. These are defended by galleries, with loop-holes for musketry, and cannon placed on the most commanding angles; and on the summit is a regular platform.

The town of Cataro, when it was ceded to France, contained about 800 inhabitants: like every part of the Venetian states, it had fallen to decay after the infamous treaty which consigned it to Austria, and the number of deserted houses showed that, in the course of those few years, it had lost half its population. Small as the population of the whole territory is, it is nevertheless more than that territory supports; the Catarini, as they are called, make more wine and oil than they consume; but of every other article of food they produce barely enough for a three months consumption in the year. Part of their supply they obtain by trading with their fierce neighbours the Montenegrins; far the greater from Trieste and the Levant. In this trade they employ between two and three hundred vessels, many of them above three hundred tons burthen; and thus depending for their subsistence upon maritime commerce, a large proportion of the people are bred up from their childhood to the sea, and they are esteemed the most expert mariners in the Adriatic. On this account, as well as for the excellence of its harbour, the French considered the possession of Cataro as an important step towards the accomplishment of their plans of ambition upon the side of Greece.

The treaty of Presburgh gave them all the right to it, which Austria, holding it herself by a flagrant and most unprincipled usurpation, could give. But there happened at that time to be a Russian envoy with the Montenegrins, a hardy and ferocious race, who were attached to the Russians by their hatred of the Turks, their language, and their religion, and who were useful allies to them against their common enemy. These mountaineers were easily convinced of what, indeed, was certain, that as soon as France was in possession of Cataro, the next object of that restless power would be to bring all the surrounding people into subjection; and the politic Russian had persuaded them that the loss of their religion would follow that of their independence. Their bishop, who is also their prince, a dignified and venerable old man, was completely in the Rus-

sian interest,—he had borne arms in his time, and neither his age nor profession had deadened in him his military ardour; it was his delight to boast that he had cut off the head of a Pasha with his own hand, and he now hated the French as mortally as the Turks. The Montenegrins were soon taught to believe, that it would be for their security if Cataro belonged to their friend and ally the Czar; and the Russian envoy having secured their co-operation, had to prevail upon the Catarini to put themselves under the protection of Russia, and to devise means by which this might be done without giving cause of complaint to Austria, with whom his court was in alliance. Both points were accomplished with great ingenuity. The letter of the convention between the French and Austrians was, that France should occupy Cataro in forty days after the ratification of the treaty; the Russian argued that, during those forty days, the Austrian garrison were bound to defend the post entrusted to their charge; but that as soon as that term elapsed their duty was at an end, the place became French property, they were not bound to serve as a garrison for the French, and any power which was at war with France might take possession of it without any breach of respect to Austria. The Austrians consisted of 1500 men under General Brady, and though the logic of the Russian might have puzzled them, it would probably have failed if he had not been prepared to enforce it with more efficacious means. The Catarini became clamorous as soon as the forty days expired, and summoned Brady to deliver the forts into their hands. Austria, they said, had no longer any shadow of right to the possession, and they were at their own disposal to chuse what protector they pleased. A host of Montenegrins poured down from the mountains to support their friends of Cataro, and while the Austrians were panic-stricken at the appearance of these formidable barbarians, a Russian line-of-battle ship, commanded by Captain Bailey, an Englishman, entered the harbour, and anchored before the fort at Castel Nuovo. Brady, whose situation was becoming momently more alarming, offered to capitulate with him; but this officer protested that he came under a neutral flag, and of course could not receive the capitulation. There was no alternative; the Austrian commander delivered up the forts to the Catarini, and they, being thus free and independent, immediately submitted themselves to the dominion of Russia; Bailey's marines were landed to occupy the forts, and the French troops, who were on their march from Dalmatia, were stopt by intelligence that they had tarried too long upon the way.

This transaction was the cause of many angry remonstrances on the part of Buonaparte to the court of Vienna,—the court of Vienna had no means of remedying what it had not intended and could not foresee; and the Russians, supported as they were by the people and aided by the Montenegrins, defied France to dispossess them, and might have continued to defy her, if Alexander had not become the dupe and instrument of his artful enemy. That weak prince suffered Buonaparte to employ him in war against the Swedes, and leaving the French to pursue without impediment their designs upon the Levant, surrendered, by the treaty of Tilsit, this important possession

into their hands. One of the first acts of Buonaparte after he had obtained it, was to seize Ragusa, without plea or provocation, and, destroying the independence of that free and flourishing republic, insolently to annex it to the dominions of France.

These transactions excited no other attention in England than a few idle hopes that the dispute between Austria and France, respecting Cataro, might end in renewed hostilities. Great Britain seemed to have abandoned the Levant to her enemy as contentedly as she had then resigned the continent; and even when that administration, which had so grievously disappointed the hopes and expectations of the country, gave place to men of manlier spirit, the same erroneous system was pursued toward these parts. Nothing was thought of beyond a renewal of our alliance with Turkey, with a government whose stability was never to be depended upon for a single week, to whom we could afford no assistance, and from whom we could receive none. One ambassador was sent after another to make peace with the Porte, while the Greeks, both of the islands and of the continent, were looking to us for deliverance, and vainly beseeching us to take them under our protection. A body of Macedonians, who were at this time in arms, occupying the isles of Skiathus and Chilidronia, and infesting the neigbourhood of Salonika, on the continent, applied to our squadron, declaring that if we would give them an island fit for their establishment they would join us, collect ten thousand men under our auspices, and take the whole Archipelago. It is beyond a doubt that this could have been done; had we but given the word, the whole of the Greek islands and of the Morea would have been in arms, leagued with us against Turkey and against France. It is humiliating to record the answer which they received. They were told in reply, that they had better return to their allegiance, and remain quiet under the government of Turkey. We could not interfere! if they trusted to Russia, Russia would deceive them as she had done before; and if they trusted to France, they had as little reason for their confidence; Russia and France were jealous of each other, and neither would ever permit the other to obtain an ascendancy in Greece; therefore they had better remain faithful to the Porte!

The islanders of Idra, instigated by the Russians, had revolted, and fitted out privateers against their oppressors. Even after the armistice the Russians persuaded them not to admit the primate whom the Porte had appointed, because our fleet at that time prevented the French from coming out of the Dardanelles. The nearest Pasha threatened them with vengeance for this, and they prepared for the utmost. They armed ships to cruise between their island and the Morea, and fight their battles upon the sea; and many of them, like the Athenians of old, embarked their families and all their property, that in case of departure they might go seek their fortunes any where where they could be free. Russia had deceived them, from England they had no hope, France had promised deliverance to all who would put themselves under her protection, so they offered their island and themselves to the French. But England could not permit her enemy to take possession of Idra; and it is asserted (for the honour of England we hope the assertion is ill-founded, but it has

been positively advanced,) that the only consideration which prevented our squadron from commencing hostilities against these brave people was a fear lest they should retire with their hundred and fifty ships, and their three thousand practised seamen, to Cerigo, where the French had established themselves, and which such a reinforcement of resolute men would have rendered a most formidable place. They were written to by the British commander, who assured them that the British government commiserated their situation, and the more so, as they had been deluded into it by the Russians, who were now finally expelled from those seas. If they joined the French, the destruction of their ships must ensue, and that would be their total ruin. As their only remedy, he offered them passports to go to Malta, and lay the whole state of their affairs before Sir Alexander Ball. The conclusion was, that the Idriotes agreed to lay up their armed vessels, and to confine themselves to trade with Malta, it being understood that we were to make their peace as well as our own with the Porte.

The opportunities which were lost by the British government during the anti-jacobin war are not subjects of regret, because the principles upon which that war was undertaken and conducted were such, that more evil might probably have resulted from our success than from our failure; but in the present contest, when our cause is so undeniably good, and the liberty of Europe and the hopes of the whole human race depend upon the issue, it is indeed painful and humiliating to call to mind the fair occasions which have been let pass. Never was a fairer than what Greece offered during our war with Turkey. The deliverance of the Greeks would have been justified by the law of nations, and it was enjoined by every noble, and just, and generous feeling, and by every motive of sound and virtuous policy. Here might that spirit of liberty have been kindled, which from the Morea would have spread to the Danube and the Vistula, to the Rhine and the Elbe, which would have called forth against the tyrant, not indeed regular armies, who when beaten would conclude their career by formal capitulations, nor governments as oppressive and as faithless as his own, ready to fight against him or for him, just as the one part or the other suited best with their own immediate, short-sighted, and self-centering purposes; but nations, which are more to be confided in than governments, and principles that are more powerful than armies,—the remembrance of old glory, and the sense of present degradation; resentment of intolerable wrong,—hatred, and anguish, and indignation; heroic pride and religious self-devotement, and joy, and hope, which is the strength of man. There is one part of Europe, blessed be God for it! where these elements are in array against the tyrant, and sure ultimately to prevail over tyranny, however long the struggle; but they would have appeared on all sides, and have surrounded and consumed him, had England put forth her mighty power, and given freedom and equitable laws to those countries which were groaning in bondage, and which needed nothing but her protection to emancipate themselves. Sir Arthur Paget was sent to Constantinople, and Mr Adair after him, when instructions should have been sent instead to Sir Alexander Ball, empowering him to deliver and to regenerate Greece. He was a man of

the most enlarged and liberal views, and by his admirable conduct had deserved and obtained the confidence and affection of all over whom his influence extended.

The deposition of Sultan Selim had produced a change at Constantinople in favour of the English, though its effects were not immediately perceptible, and its causes not the most honourable for England. The reform which that prince attempted to introduce being attributed to French influence, they who were inimical to any reformation were disposed to renew the alliance with Great Britain. They proposed to make a secret peace with us, which was to be made public whenever circumstances would permit, and they sent an aga to our blockading fleet, soliciting a suspension of hostilities, that they might collect their revenues in the Archipelago. This no person had authority to grant, and before there was time to profit by the favourable disposition of the new divan, another revolution took place in that miserable city, which, from the hour of its foundation, has witnessed nothing but an uninterrupted series of crimes and horrors.

Mustapha IV. had now reigned fifteen months. The war with Russia had indeed been concluded by an armistice, of which every article was in favour of the Porte, had they been executed as readily as they were made. But the Russians had not yet evacuated Moldavia and Wallachia, and whatever protestations they might make of their intentions to fulfil the treaty, the presence of their armies in those provinces served not only to encourage, but to support the Servians. A fourth part of European Turkey was actually in possession of revolted chiefs, or nations who had taken arms to deliver themselves from the brutal and oppressive government of the Turks. No part of the provinces was tranquil. A body of insurgents, called Tabrates, were strong enough and insolent enough to lay siege to one of the castles of the Dardanelles. These things, however, are so ordinary in this ill-compacted empire, and the Ottoman court is so habituated to the common error of taking only governments into consideration, and reckoning nothing of the people, that the Turks imagined themselves at peace with every power except England; and the Sanjac Sherif, or holy standard, which had been the curtain of the chamber-door of Ayesha, the favourite wife of the impostor Mahommed, and was now regarded as the palladium of the Ottoman empire, was brought back to Constantinople. In time of peace this standard is preserved, with the other relics of the prophet, in a shrine or chapel within the seraglio, where it is religiously guarded, and it is only brought out when the sultan in person, or the grand vizir, is about to take the field. Then, after many prayers, it is carried with great ceremony to a splendid tent, and placed under the especial care of four regiments, who derive their name from this honourable service. The mussulmen affirm that no unbeliever can look upon it with impunity; and, by their intolerance, they find an easy way of verifying the superstition.† They who have accompanied it to battle have had proof sufficient of the fallacy of their faith in its miraculous virtue: it is, however, fully believed at Constantino-

† Baron de Tott relates a shocking instance. Vol. II. p. 34.

ple, and there are Turks who affirm, probably with perfect sincerity, that when they have lifted up their eyes to behold it, a tremor has come upon them which has dazzled their sight, and made them incapable of gazing steadily upon this venerable relic.

The sultan went out to meet it, alighted from his horse as soon as it was in sight, prostrated himself upon the ground, and then pressed the standard reverently against his forehead. A body of 15,000 men, under the aga of the Janizaries, had encamped the preceding day, and Mustapha Bairacter, the Pacha of Rudshuck, who had a subordinate command in the army, was introduced by the grand vizir on this occasion to the sultan. The standard was deposited in its shrine, and Bairacter was ordered to reduce the Tabrates to obedience. They submitted to him immediately, part entering the fleet, the others enrolling themselves among his troops. His troops were men on whom he could depend: 8000 more, under one of his confidants, were encamped at Scutari; and Bairacter, who was one of those daring and remorseless men who are always to be found in Mahommedan states, proceeded to execute the design which he had formed of restoring Selim to the throne. He seized the aga of the Janizaries, and had him strangled; put to death Kavagky Oglou, commandant of the Dardanelles, who had been the main actor in the last revolution; deposed the mufti, and appointed one of his own adherents to succeed him. The new mufti was then sent to inform Mustapha that his uncle Selim was the true sultan, and he must resign the throne to its lawful possessor. Hitherto Bairacter had considered the grand vizir as acting in concert with him; but that minister, seeing danger in whatever course he might pursue, revealed his designs to the sultana mother; the gates of the seraglio were shut against Bairacter, and when his soldiers forced an entrance, and hastened to deliver Selim and re-establish him on the throne, they found him dead, and lying in his blood. This murder seems to have been considered as the work of the sultana mother; and women, though they have often been the movers of revolution in Turkey, have never been the victims of it. Had it been Mustapha's own act, he would perhaps have been sacrificed to the just vengeance of the loyal friends of Selim. They contented themselves with consigning him in his turn to a prison, and proclaiming his brother, Mahommed, sultan in his stead. Mahommed, the only other remaining branch of the Ottoman house, was a boy of 15, who, during his brother's reign, had been imprisoned with his uncle. It was said that Selim had beguiled his confinement by instructing him in the art of government: his own situation, and the example before his eyes, gave him a mournful lesson of the vicissitudes to which he was born.

July 28, 1808.

The new reign began, as usual, in blood. Eleven of Mustapha's chief partizans were strangled on the same day, and the kislar aga, who had assisted in the murder of Selim, was deservedly put to death. These things are so common in the seraglio, that an apartment in the passage leading from the first to the second court is known by the name of the Executioner's Chamber. On the following day Selim was buried by the side of his father, Bairacter, with his whole army, and all the most respectable inhabitants of the capital, at-

tending the funeral ceremony. This was the only part of all these transactions in which the people appeared: in their unhappy state of society they are as much accustomed to revolutions of this kind as to the plague, and they regard both with the same patient indifference. Bairacter, who was appointed vizir, began immediately the work of reform: he deposed the Greek patriarch, as being notoriously the tool of Russia, and sent him to the monastery of Mount Athos; and he made a clearance of public officers, by strangling about threescore for real or alledged malversations in office. The Turkish reformer who proceeds in this way finds neither difficulty nor danger; but Bairacter's other measures were less to the taste of his countrymen. Like all who have ever wished to prevent the downfal of the Ottoman empire, his chief object was to new-model the army: for this purpose he formed corps on the European system; Seymens was the denomination of these troops: there were to be 100 *buluks* or regiments of 1600 men each, distinguished by red, green, and white uniforms; and, with unwise contempt of the prejudices and pride of the mussulmen, he, for the first time that any such union had ever been attempted under the Turkish government, enacted that Turks, Greeks, and Armenians should serve indiscriminately in these corps. This innovation was equally perilous and preposterous, and it is extraordinary that a man, who in many of his views displayed a reach of policy far beyond the measure of oriental statesmen, should have supposed it possible thus to mix together men of religions, not merely different, but utterly and irreconcileably hostile in their fundamental tenets, and whole spirit and ordinances, even to the daily habits of life.

But the most important, and apparently the most practicable of Bairacter's measures, was the commutation of personal service for money. The military system of the Turks is feudal; but Turkish tyranny and suspicion, by rendering all the higher feuds lifehold, perpetuated and aggravated the evils of that system, and took from it all that in Christendom mitigated its evils, and prepared the way for a better state of society. The highest feuds are called *Zaims*, those of the second order *Timars*; of the former there are something less than one thousand in the European provinces, of the latter something more than eight: in Asiatic Turkey there are about the same number, and the Zaimots and Timariots bring together into the field more than 60,000 men, who are the best troops of the empire. But such troops, from the manner in which they are raised, can never be long kept together. Bairacter had learned, from the example of the Christian powers, the superiority of standing armies, and in a state like Turkey he knew that men were always to be found, if funds were provided for their maintenance: he therefore commuted the service of these landholders for a yearly tax, which was to be appropriated for the support of a regular army. No change, at once so important and so beneficial, had ever before been attempted in the Ottoman empire. Bairacter obtained a decree from the grand seignior, giving him unlimited power for augmenting the forces both by sea and land; he established a chamber of finance, as a pay office for the troops, and, as an earnest of the regularity which they were in future to expect under the

new administration, paid the whole of them before the commencement of Ramadan. His chief danger was from the Janizaries, whom he had deprived of their exclusive privileges, and whom indeed his system obviously tended to destroy. The only means by which any military reform can ever be effected against that body, would be by a well-concerted plan at once to disarm them, break them up, and disperse them in different regiments in different parts of the empire. Unfortunately for himself, Bairacter stopped short of this: he appointed an aga in whom he could confide to command them, and tempted many of their body to enlist among the Seymens, thinking to secure their fidelity by imposing an oath at their enlistment, that they would lay aside all private animosities, and apply themselves solely to the service of the state. Bairacter seems to have relied much upon the efficacy of oaths: before he dispatched his beys and other great officers to their different posts, he made them swear in the most solemn manner, that they would sacrifice all personal resentments, and hasten at the first signal to defend the cause of Islam and the Ottoman empire.

It was doubtful what part the new government would take between the great contending powers of Europe: if Bairacter followed in all its parts the system of Selim, in whose name he had come forward, the French interest would predominate. But France was at this time closely allied with Russia; the armistice had not yet been matured into a definitive treaty; and Moldavia and Wallachia were still held by the Russians, who were at any time ready to attempt the passage of the Danube. A statesman like Bairacter might well dread the friendship of such neighbours. The war with England had continued long enough to shew that England would content herself with an ostentatious blockade of the Dardanelles, utterly neglectful of the circumstances which invited her to strengthen herself, and put a final barrier on this side to the aggrandizement of her mortal enemy, by the deliverance of Greece. But if the enmity of England might be regarded by the Porte with indifference or contempt, it was easy to turn her friendship to account: The tears and supplications of Greece, her own interest, and her own renown, which is of all interests the dearest, were not motives of sufficient strength to induce her to take the Greeks under her protection, and restore the blessings of freedom and knowledge to those countries, from whence whatever is most valuable and most ennobling has been derived. But if the British government would not break the chains of Greece, she would not, and for her own interest could not, permit it to pass under the dominion of France; neither, while she was at war with Russia, could Russia effect her long meditated plans of aggrandizement in those countries. The friendship of Great Britain would therefore be useful to Turkey, because, as far as the power of Great Britain availed, it served to guarantee the subjection of Greece. This indeed was the only way in which our friendship could be useful to the Porte; against the aggressions of Russia on the side of the Danube we could afford it no assistance; and if Buonaparte should think to complete his conquest of Europe by seating himself upon the throne of the Eastern as well as of the Western Empire, so inefficient would our alliance be to the Turks, that he would hardly in such an ex-

pedition take us into the account of his enemies. But we could prevent the Greeks from recovering their freedom. This advantage the Turks might derive from us; what we could possibly expect to derive from them, it was not their business to inquire, and would not have been in their power to divine.

Bairacter, therefore, though he was probably accustomed to consider an alliance with France as most beneficial to Turkey, because France had always appeared zealous to promote any plans of reform in the Turkish government, did not reject the offers of accommodation from England, when Mr Adair, on the Michaelmas of 1808, arrived in an English frigate with a flag of truce at the Dardanelles. Cautious, however, of giving offence to France, he observed the utmost secresy in the conferences which were carried on. Wahed Effendi was sent to the Dardanelles under the pretext of inspecting the fortifications, and from thence he communicated with the British envoy. The benefit was immediately felt, for the blockading squadron no longer detained the Turkish ships, and having obtained this, Bairacter might probably have protracted the negociation; but the end of his career was at hand. Notwithstanding all his precautions, the Janizaries were still a formidable body. Two men of eminence among them had excited his suspicion in the month of October, and he ordered them to death: the one, actuated by a bold despair, and knowing probably how ripe the designs of his party were for execution, called out for help to the corps to which he belonged; but Bairacter avoided that danger by killing him instantly with his own hand. His head, with that of his comrade, was then cut off by the executioner, and exposed to the people. This act of vigour a little while delayed the vizir's fate; but the malecontents, who had been for the time intimidated, soon found other leaders, and Bairacter fell, as Sultan Selim had fallen before him, a victim to the pride and bigotry of this worthless body.

The insurrection began on the 14th of November. The 1808. aga of the Janizaries, faithful to his patron, refused to join the insurgents; they set fire to his house, and slew him. For the first time in any of these revolutions the victory was resolutely contested: the Seymens stood their ground. But Bairacter had not been careful to maintain a preponderating force in the capital; the Janizaries, collecting from all quarters of the city, and pouring in from all the neighbourhood, outnumbered them; and, at the very commencement of the struggle, many of the Seymens, those probably who had been Janizaries themselves and had enlisted in this new corps for this very purpose, deserted to the rebels. Still there was a desperate struggle, which extended to every street of Constantinople; nor was the victory decided till 8000 persons had fallen. The victorious insurgents proceeded to storm the seraglio, and wreak their vengeance upon Bairacter: he, as soon as he perceived that all was lost, ordered the deposed Mustapha to be strangled, and threw his body out to the insurgents. This was in the accustomed course of such things; but Bairacter himself disappeared. There were various reports concerning his fate: one account stated, that he had blown himself up in his own palace, having previously provided a store of powder, that he might thus at any

time disappoint the rage of his enemies. In one of the vaults of the palace the body of a man was found, so disfigured as not to be recognized, but evidently that of a man of rank; this was directly supposed to be the vizir, and the Janizaries, believing readily what they wished, tied a rope to it, and dragged it through the streets, a crier going before, and proclaiming, that this was Mustapha Bairacter. It was then hung up by the legs before the seraglio, and there suffered to remain for three days. Nevertheless, it was rumoured, and believed by many, that the vizir had effected his escape to the seat of his former government. Had this been the case, he was not a man to have remained in concealment; and as he has not since been heard of, it cannot be doubted that he perished.

By the fall of Bairacter the victory of the Janizaries was complete, but their vengeance was not yet satiated. They separated the bodies of their comrades from those of the Seymens, which then lay heaped promiscuously in the streets, and threw the latter into the sea. All the officers of these obnoxious corps whom they had made prisoners were put to death. The fire which they had kindled in their fury spread over the city, and about a third of the whole capital, including the Hippodrome, was consumed. The finest part of the seraglio was destroyed, and the archives of the empire shared the common destruction. In the midst of these horrors, one of the wives of the unfortunate Mustapha was delivered of a son in the seraglio; and this infant, born in the midst of flame and slaughter, was the only remains of the Ottoman house, except the reigning sultan, whose existence hung at this moment upon so perilous a chance as the humour of those ruffians who were now masters of Constantinople. Had Mustapha lived, the happiest fate which Mohammed could have hoped for, would have been to change situations with his brother, and return to his dungeon, without the comfort which he had formerly enjoyed, of a companion and teacher in his misfortune. But the Turks, though they are accustomed to see their princes deposed or butchered, whenever the Janizaries are seized with a fit of insubordination, have still a religious reverence for the Ottoman house; and this reverence, though it has never procured mercy for an individual, has preserved the race. Mahommed escaped them during the first heat of their fury: it is said that he got on ship-board. After six days of pillage and massacre, he sent a deputation to them promising to accede to all their demands; the offer was readily accepted, and this poor boy, who had so lately been trembling for his life, returned to his palace, again to be addressed as the Shadow of God and the Refuge of the World, and again to enjoy, by virtue of the holiness imputed to his rank, the privilege of killing, if he pleased, fourteen persons every day, without assigning a cause, or incurring an imputation of tyranny or injustice.

As soon as the insurrection was over, a temporary police was established, lest any incendiary should again throw the city into confusion. The householders in the various quarters were ordered to patrole the streets by night, and each to keep a lamp burning before his door. Several of the former ministers retained their places; Ghaleb Effendi among others, the minister for foreign affairs, who was a friend to England. A provisional grand vizir was ap-

pointed; but in the course of a few weeks the Janizaries took offence at him, because they had not punctually been paid, and they demanded his dismissal. Luckily for him their demand extended no farther. The person chosen to succeed him was Yusef Pasha, who had commanded the army in Egypt against the French and made the peace of El Arish. At this time he was governor of High Armenia, where his attention was chiefly directed to working the gold-mines of Maaden, and it was doubted whether he would accept the perilous appointment.

During this as well as the preceding revolutions, the foreign ministers were respected by both parties; and when the tumult was over, the negociations resumed their course. There had been a war in the streets of the capital; a sultan had been strangled; a third part of the city burnt,—all this had ended in a change of ministry and the repeal of some obnoxious military innovations, and then things went on as before. The French *charge d'affaires*, and the envoys of those states which were subservient to France, exerted all their influence with the new divan to frustrate the object of Mr Adair's mission. They endeavoured to provoke the Ottoman pride, by representing how insolently our fleet had appeared under the very walls of the seraglio, how valiantly they had then defied our menaces, and how triumphantly put us to shame; they alarmed them with representations of the Emperor Napoleon's irresistible power: his benevolence had given them peace with Russia, had procured the restitution of their ships and of their conquered provinces; from him, who was thus powerful to protect them, what might they not dread if they provoked his anger? And they spoke of England as an insular and insulated power, feeble and selfish, always ready, for her own interests, to tempt other states into alliance with her, and always unable to shelter them from the vengeance of her powerful rival. The Turks knew now, by their own experience, that there was nothing to be feared from the enmity of England; they might learn, from the experience of others, that there was nothing so ruinous as her friendship. These representations failed of success. The Turks remembered Buonaparte in Egypt and in Syria; they remembered that England had by force of arms expelled him from those countries, and then evacuated them herself,—whereas the restitution of the provinces upon the Pruth and the Danube had been promised, but 18 months had elapsed, and not a foot of territory was yet restored. They knew also, that a single proclamation on the part of England would be sufficient to arm all Greece against them, and deliver the countries which they had so long degraded and oppressed; but that by accepting a peace for which they had no sacrifices to pay, not even a mutual service to perform,—the whole which was required on their part being merely to receive our envoy, and admit us again to a trade as beneficial to them as to ourselves,—they should make us their securities against France and Russia upon their weakest side. The Austrian internuncio, M. Von Sturmer, powerfully supported the opinion which the divan were inclined to follow. He assured the Porte, that though his government was apparently at that time hostile to England, their interests were in fact the same. He, too, like Mr Adair, informed the Turks, that though they had a mock ambas-

sador residing there from the intruder of Spain, Spain was actually in arms against France, resolutely and successfully resisting a usurpation so infamous for the treachery, the falsehoods and perjuries by which it was effected, and the atrocities by which it was followed, that the history of Europe could furnish no parallel for the foul transaction. Spain and England were leagued with each other; and Austria, with armies more numerous and formidable than she had ever yet brought into the field, was about to join the alliance. Under such circumstances, no fear of Buonaparte ought to divert the Porte from following its true interests. These representations prevailed, and on the 5th of January a treaty was signed with Mr Adair, stipulating mutual restitution, provided there were any thing to be restored, and re-establishing our relations with Turkey upon the same footing as before the war.

The French were incensed at the success of our negociator, more perhaps because they were so little accustomed to be defeated by us in diplomacy, than for any advantage which had accrued to England. They attributed it first to the artifice of the Austrian internuncio, then to the fear of the divan, who, they said, were terrified at the appearance of an English fleet; and they amused the people of Paris with a story that the women of Pera, who were great grandchildren of the French, and therefore not under French protection, were yet so mindful of their origin, and so attached to the interest of their original country, that they had indignantly refused to partake of a festival given by the Austrian minister in honour of this event. France, however, was at this time too much employed to give any cause of immediate fear to the Turkish government; their nearest danger was at home; another insurrection was apprehended; and the sultan, expecting to be again attacked in the seraglio, watched during one whole night surrounded by his officers. Either the alarm was vain, or the precautions which had been taken averted the peril. Bairacter's policy, indeed, tended to preserve those who had supplanted him. Confident in his own power, he seems to have considered the capital safe while he was present there, and therefore dispatched his best and ablest partizans to the provinces. Had his authority been sufficiently established, this conduct would have been equally wise and patriotic; but being premature, it ended in his own destruction, and added to the divisions and distraction of the empire. He had made the beys and pashas whom he appointed swear to sacrifice all private feelings, and hasten wherever their services were needful to defend the Ottoman empire; but every one of these men felt his own life in danger when Bairacter had fallen, and that was a sacrifice beyond their oath. Those who were strong enough resolved to maintain their ground against any force that might venture to attack them; the communication between Adrianople and the Danube was cut off by one of these chiefs, and the war between the Seymens and the Janizaries, which had begun in the streets of Constantinople, seemed likely to extend over the whole Ottoman empire.

Other of Bairacter's adherents, among whom were the pasha of Rudshuck, who had succeeded him in the government of Bulgaria, and the vice-admiral, emigrated in consequence of the revolution, and took refuge at

Bukarast, the capital of Wallachia, where they were joyfully received, the Russians and their party hoping to profit by these fugitives in their designs upon the adjoining provinces. Had Russia been wisely pursuing her plans of ambition against Turkey, she would now have remained quiet, and left the Turks to exhaust themselves by that civil war, which, according to all appearance, nothing but the attack of a foreign enemy could have prevented. But the Russian cabinet received its orders at this time from France, and the policy of Buonaparte was to waste in fruitless war the resources of his infatuated ally. Alexander, therefore, for whose quarrel England had engaged in war with Turkey, now made it a cause of war against Turkey himself, that she had consented to a peace with England. Negociations between the mussulman plenipotentiaries at Widdin with General Prince Prosorowsky had been carrying on at Widdin for a definitive peace, though there was reason to believe that it was never the intention of Russia to conclude one. The congress which was assembled at Yassy to conclude it was now suspended; and the Russian general dispatched an express to Constantinople, to announce, that, unless the English envoy were dismissed within four-and-twenty hours, hostilities should be recommenced. Turkey was not yet so fallen as to submit to this insolence, and on the very day that the messenger returned, the Russians again began the war. It was evident that the pretext assigned for the war was not the cause. The armistice had provided, that as soon as that act was signed, the Russian troops should begin to evacuate Wallachia and Moldavia, and return within their ancient frontiers, and that the evacuation should be completed in five-and-thirty days from the date of the armistice. But when the congress opened, the Russian commissioners represented that there never could be a permanent peace between the two countries till the frontiers were defined in the manner which nature pointed out. The provinces on the left bank of the Danube would form a continual cause of discord, unless they were all ceded to Russia; for three years she had been in possession of them, she had constructed fortresses there, and would not be expelled except by a superior force; in fact, the cession of those provinces must be the first preliminary article of the negociation; and unless that were agreed to, it was useless to continue the conferences. With more honour, the court of Russia instructed them, as one preliminary, to insist that the independence of Servia should be acknowledged.

The Russians had made good use of their long armistice, and expected to bear down every thing before them. They had supplied themselves with ammunition in abundance, and with numerous artillery; they had raised corps of Wallachians; Czerni George at the head of the Servian army was ready to co-operate with them; they calculated upon Bairacter's surviving friends, and even expected that the Seymans, in hatred to the Janizaries, would unite with them. But though, of all revolutions, that which should wrest Greece from Turkey would be the most easy, the Turks themselves are precisely in that state which would render their conquest the most difficult, if, indeed, it be not impossible. In every civilized country, a numerous class of inhabitants will always be in favour of peace, at whatever price it is to be purchased, and that class will consist of

those whose property gives them the greatest influence, abundant proof having shown, that what is called a stake in the land, which in time of security certainly attaches the possessor to the government, becomes in too many instances, when it is actually endangered, the bribe for which he betrays his country. No man in Turkey is influenced by these motives; despotism has kept them barbarous; and in the barbarous state of society every man is ready for war. If there were a Christian conqueror at Constantinople, there might be no Turkish army to meet him in the field, but the whole country would be in arms. The Porte neglected no means of resistance on this occasion. The holy standard was again brought out, and a great army was collected, chiefly from the Asiatic provinces. They made head against the Russians, and that part of Servia which lies on the right bank of the Morava suffered dreadfully from their ravages. Their posts were frequently taken; frequent skirmishes were fought; and the Russians boasted of frequent victories, but their victories produced no important results. The Turks on their part laid claim to success, and three-and-twenty bags of Russian ears were laid before the gates of the seraglio as trophies of their valour. The countries which were the seat of war between two nations almost equally barbarous suffered all the evils inseparable from such a state; and it is said, that the fishermen upon the Danube oftentimes drew up dead bodies in their nets. Late in July the Russians effected the passage of that river at Galaz, the unusual height of the water having till then confined them to the left bank. At the entrance of the Seret into the Danube, they planted a redoubt on a hill, and stationed a floating battery below it. A bridge was thrown over to an island which lies opposite Galaz, and a *têtê de pont* constructed upon the island; above the bridge a boom of floating logs was stretched across the stream. These preparations having been made, *July* 27. the army past without other resistance than that of a few skirmishes. Isakbochia was abandoned at their approach; and Babad and Tultscha became theirs as easily. The latter was an important post: It gave them the command of the river; and their flotillas, one of which was at Galaz, the other at the mouth of the river, formed a junction, previous to their intended attack upon Ismael, to which no obstacle was now foreseen. The troops also occupied the island of Techatal.

While the head-quarters of the Russian general were thus removed into Bulgaria, the Servians, who had better cause of war, were equally successful. The Turks, from the side of Bosnia, advanced towards the Drina, and the Servians being threatened in that quarter and from Bulgaria, at the same time, held a great council at Belgrade, where it was decreed that every man who could bear arms should be called into service. Notwithstanding these preparations, a suspension of arms (upon what pretext has not appeared) was agreed upon, and continued from the first of June till the 24th of the following month. As soon as it was terminated, the Turks having crossed the Drina, pushed an advanced party of 2000 Janizaries over the Kolubarra; but the Servian general, Jacob Nenadowitsch, drove them back, threw two bridges over the river, forced the passage, *July* 29. and carried successively

the entrenchments which the enemy had thrown up at four positions, driving them back upon the Jeser. The next day they were again attacked, and driven under the guns of Everabaca on the Drina; that fortress enabled them to make a stand, and they were thus enabled to retire into Bosnia without farther molestation. Collecting fresh forces there, they re-entered Servia, and at their first inroad were successful. Nenadowitsch followed, and again put them to the rout, after a battle in which both sides suffered considerable loss. The Pasha of Zwowick was made prisoner. The Turkish artillery in all these actions was well served, under the direction of French officers, who, it is highly probable, acted with the secret permission of their own government. It is perfectly consistent with the policy of Buonaparte to provide the Turks with engineers, while he was in strict alliance with Russia. On the other side, the Servians were less successful; the enemy obtained possession of all that part upon the Morava which extends from Passarowitz to Takis and Nagodin, and part of the army from the Drina was detached to make head against them on the left bank of the river. After the victories which Nenadowitsch had gained, they could be spared from that quarter; and Czerni George expected at this time to have found sufficient employment for the Turks in Bosnia, by an insurrection which had been concerted with the Greeks in that country. Unfortunately,—for every failure of a christian people to throw off the mussulman yoke must be considered unfortunate,—the plan was discovered, and the Turks punished it with those devilish cruelties which from the earliest ages have rendered their history hateful.

Meantime the most vigorous means were used by the Porte to strengthen its armies. In Russia, also, a ukase was issued for recruiting the army and navy, with one male out of every hundred throughout the whole empire. Prince Bagrathion, who had now the command upon the Danube, prosecuted the advantages which had already been obtained. 20,000 Turks, under the Seraskier Gorrew Pasha, were defeated with a loss which, if it be not greatly exaggerated, proves how resolutely they defended themselves. A fourth part of their whole number is said to have fallen in the field. 15 cannon were taken and 30 standards, among which were the banners of the Seraskier. They who escaped fled in disorder to Kutsgun and Silistria; the former fortress speedily surrendered to the conquerors, and they soon possessed themselves of Kesterdschi and Magolia on the Black Sea. Shortly afterwards Ismael surrendered. *Sept. 14.* The massacre which that strange barbarian Suvarrof suffered his soldiers to commit there on its former capture, has made this place remarkable. Its fall was now scarcely heard of; in fact, the whole war excited no interest in the civilized parts of Europe; a few brief notices, almost as dry and uncircumstantial as the sentences of a monkish chronicler, when he comprized the events from Adam to his own days in the blank leaf of a missal, are all the materials for the annalist in this portion of his task. For a war equally unimportant in its cause and its consequences they are sufficient; but concerning Servia, it is to be wished that the documents were more ample. That country offers something for our admiration and our hope.

The Russians proceeded against

Silistria and Mangata: the loss of the latter place would distress Constantinople, which draws from thence a supply of salt, and of many other articles of necessity; and the court gazette of Petersburgh announced, that both fortresses were to be evacuated as soon as the troops appeared before them. The success of Prince Bagrathion, who defeated a body of 5000 cavalry attempting to pass from Rudschuck to Silistria, and who in another action pursued the Turks to the walls of that place, seemed to justify this confidence. He encamped before it, and sent a detachment, which took possession of Mangata without resistance. But the Porte at this time displayed more vigour than Alexander expected. The greater part of the troops which were acting against the Servians were diverted to meet the more pressing danger, thus affording an opportunity to Czerni George and his brave countrymen to strengthen themselves and repair their losses; and all the reinforcements which the severest measures could assemble were expedited towards Silistria, under the grand vizir. The second in command was a native of Lithuania, by name Gleyzsor, who had fought under Kosciusco, and like him fallen into the hands of the Russians. It is grievous to think of the fate of those men, who adventured so generously and so heroically in that righteous cause: when so many have been made the victims, and, still more unhappily, the instruments of Buonaparte's accursed ambition, the Pole must be considered as comparatively fortunate who, while he is employed in no worse service than that of the Turks, had an opportunity afforded him of gratifying at least his individual vengeance against the cruel usurpers of his country. On the 22d of October they attacked the besieging army, and a desperate action ensued; both armies came to the sword, and the battle continued till night, when the arrival of a body of Albanian cavalry decided the victory for the Turks. The Russians effected a retreat to their entrenched camp: a second action took place, in which they were again defeated, and the loss which they sustained was such that they found it necessary to recross the Danube. Both parties were now too much exhausted for any operations of importance during the winter. The Servians obtained another armistice, and carried on negociations which it was not possible could terminate in peace; but the interval was to their advantage, because they acted wholly upon the defensive, and the time thus gained was employed in new preparations for defence.

Caulincourt, (the man who arrested the Duc d'Enghien,) at this time minister at Constantinople, persuaded Alexander that English agents, in Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia, were plotting in favour of the Turks, and that dispatches of the greatest importance had been intercepted on their way to England by means of Dutch smugglers and fishing boats. The fact, that Alexander should have believed this, is worthy of notice for the absurdity of the supposition. He might as reasonably have imputed to us a revolt of the Circassians, which broke out during the summer of this year. These barbarians, among whom it is the pride of the higher classes when they are not employed in war, or in hunting, or in drinking, to sit still, say little, and do nothing,* cross-

* Tavernier.

ed the river Cuban in great numbers, and, pouring into the plains, began to plunder the country. The government of New Russia, where the Duc de Richelieu held the command, was threatened by this invasion. Fortunately for the Russians they had a squadron, under the Marquis de Traverse, then in the Black Sea, and he determined immediately to attack the town of Anapa. For this purpose he disembarked a body of troops to approach it on the land side, and attacked it with the ships from the sea. They won the town, and, pursuing their success, dispersed such bodies of the Circassians as ventured to make head against them, and sent out two detachments, which ventured as far as they durst into the country, and burned the villages. The marquis then issued a proclamation, requiring the inhabitants to submit, and denouncing the most dreadful vengeance if they continued in rebellion. No farther proceedings were heard of: the Circassians probably did not chuse to expose themselves again against regular troops, and Russia was too much employed to think of punishing them for what had past.

This movement in Circassia was ascribed to the influence of the Turks, and it operated as a diversion in their favour. On the side of Syria also the Porte received favourable intelligence. The Pasha of Damascus reduced Tripoli to obedience, which for many years had thrown off its allegiance.

CHAP. XVIII.

Spain. Retreat of the Central Army. Castanos deprived of the Command, which devolves on Lapena. The Duke del Infantado appointed Commander. Retreat of the Count de Alache's Division, which rejoins the Remains of the Army at Cuenca. State of the Central Provinces. Proceedings in Estremadura. The French pass the Tagus. Cuesta appointed to command the Army of Estremadura.

THE events which have already been recorded in this volume would in former times have been thought to make the year remarkable in history; but its most important transactions are yet to be related. These minor revolutions and ordinary wars may lead hereafter to consequences of more moment than can now be foreseen; and, be that as it may, it is the duty of an annalist diligently to perform his office in all its parts. We come now to matters of higher import: the war of the peninsula, like the great contest between Greece and Persia, involves the dearest interests of humanity, and its story must therefore for ever continue to affect and to influence mankind.

The defeat of all the Spanish armies, the betrayal of Madrid, the flight of Sir John Moore, and the embarkation of the British army, were the melancholy events with which the annals of the preceding year concluded. It is necessary to go back a few weeks, and trace the movements of the army under Castanos after its defeat. When the fate of the day at Tudela was manifestly hopeless, the greater part of the right wing, which consisted of Aragoneze and Valencians, and some of the central division also, dispersed, and escaping how they could from the field, assembled again at Zaragoza, where they were destined to close their career most disastrously, yet most gloriously. The first and third divisions were at Tarazona when the battle was fought. *Nov. 23. 1808.* The fourth, which was the reserve, repelled repeated attacks of the enemy at Cascante till after the darkness had closed; then it retreated and joined the others at Tarazona: the second also arrived there. This division had been ordered to support the fourth; but though it received these orders at noon, and the distance which it had to march was only two leagues, either from incapacity or treason in some of its leaders, it did not arrive till night, when its assistance was no longer useful. As soon as these four divisions were collected, Castanos ordered them immediately to begin their march by way of Borja to Calatayud. It was now midnight, and at the mo-

ment when they were setting forward, a chapel, which had served as a magazine for ammunition, blew up: Many shells went off after the explosion. This occasioned an opinion that an enemy's battery might be playing upon them; and the royal carabineers, undismayed in the midst of the confusion, presented themselves sword in hand to charge the chapel, fancying it was occupied by the French. Presently a cry of treason was set up, and it spread rapidly through the ranks, because the troops, being ignorant of the calamitous result of the battle, were surprised at the order to retreat; for in the morning what they had seen of the action on the left of the line from the heights, had been in favour of the patriots, the action in fact having commenced on that side to their advantage; the men, therefore, could not understand why they were ordered to retreat, and at so inauspicious an hour;—a general distrust prevailed, some corps dispersed, and they who remained together were in a state of perilous insubordination. However, they retreated as they were ordered, through Borja and Riela, without stopping in either place, and on the night of the 25th reached Calatayud.

On that same day the French general Mathieu entered Borja in pursuit, too late, however, to make any prisoners.* Ney arrived on the day following. He had been ordered to reach Agreda with his division on the 23d, that he might cut off the retreat of this army, whose total destruction Buonaparte considered as certain as its defeat. Ney's rapacity frustrated the expectations of his tyrant master. The people of Soria, forgetful of the memorable example which the Numantines had set them upon that very ground, opened their gates to the enemy. This however did not save them from being plundered. Their church and their rich wool factors afforded a rich booty to the French; and it was for the sake of this pillage, and of extorting all he could from the inhabitants, that Ney remained there three days; not because he had overmarched his men, and they were unable to proceed, as he reported to Buonaparte, and as was repeated in the bulletins.† This delay enabled Castanos with the wreck of his army to reach Calatayud. They had thus escaped the danger of the immediate pursuit, but there were no magazines or stores here; the system of supplying the troops, incompletely organized as it had always been, was at an end, and the military chest, which contained two millions of reales, had been conveyed to Zaragoza. Desperate with sufferings and hunger, the men broke through all restraint, and the inhabitants fled from their houses, equally terrified at the outrages of their own soldiers and at the vicinity of the French. The muleteers attached to the baggage and artillery, who could neither obtain payment for the use of their beasts, nor food either for the animals or themselves, cursed their unhappy fortune; such as could find an opportunity threw away the baggage, mounted their beasts, and rode away;

* The account in the 10th bulletin, that he took 37 pieces of cannon and 5000 prisoners there, all troops of the line, (for they boasted that they gave no quarter to the armed peasantry,) was totally false.

† In the preceding volume (p. 424,) the falsehood of the bulletin was followed: Fuller and more authentic accounts have enabled me now to correct it.

others abandoned them altogether, contented to escape with their lives. The soldiers, having nothing else to allay their hunger, devoured cabbage-leaves, or whatever crude vegetables they could find; others literally dropt for want, in the midst of a country which nature has rendered so abundant.

Had there been any foresight on the part of the central junta to apprehend the defeat of this army, and to provide against its consequences, one of the first and most important objects would have been to secure this very point to which Castanos had retreated. Here the Zaragozans expected that he would have rallied, have made a stand, and, acting on the offensive as circumstances permitted, have delivered their city from a second siege, or at least have delayed its evil day. But the military measures of the government were now directed by Morla, and that traitor had no other object than to deliver up his country to the intruder. At the very time, therefore, that he was preparing to betray Madrid, he sent to Castanos, ordering him to hasten with his army to the defence of that city, hoping and expecting, no doubt, to put both at once in the power of Buonaparte. Castanos consulted with the chiefs of division, and they resolved to march by way of Siguenza, from which city they could either repair to Somosierra, if that position should still be retained, or to Madrid, if the public service rendered such a movement more advisable. On the 27th they recommenced their retreat in this direction; the van, which now however was made the rear-guard, consisting of 5000 men, being under the command of Don Francisco Venegas.

About ten miles to the west of Calatayud, and near the village of Buvierca, the high-road to Madrid passes through a narrow gorge, where the river Xalon has forced or found its way between two great mountain ridges. When Venegas reached this place he found instructions from the commander-in-chief, requesting him to suspend his march, and take measures for defending the pass, on which, he said, the safety of the other divisions depended; and he desired him to place the troops whom he selected for this purpose under such officers as would volunteer their services, promising to reward them in proportion to the importance and danger of the duty. Venegas was too well aware of its importance to trust the command to any but himself, and he replied, that he would halt there till the rest of the army was beyond the reach of pursuit. Early on the 29th the French came up, 8000 in number, under Mathieu. They commenced an attack at eight o'clock, which continued for eight hours: the Spaniards suffered severely; but they maintained the pass, and they effectually disabled this part of the French army from pursuing. On the evening of the following day the army reached Siguenza with all the artillery which they took with them from Tarazona, notwithstanding the bad state of the roads and the fatigue of the men, who had been allowed no rest upon this last march. Here Castanos received a summons from the central junta, and resigned the command to Don Manuel de Lapena.

The situation to which this general succeeded was deplorable. The artillery had indeed been saved, and the pass of Buvierca most gallantly defended and maintained; nevertheless the army had suffered during its retreat from all the accumulated evils

of disorder, insubordination, incapacity on the part of the officers, nakedness, and cold, and hunger, and fatigue. Sometimes when the rear-guard was on the point of taking food, the enemy had come in sight, and the ready meal had been abandoned to the pursuers; this, though it was the effect as much of the panic which suspicion and insubordination produced in the soldier, as of any want of conduct in their commanders, gave new cause for dissatisfaction and distrust. The men themselves were ready to fly at sight of the French, because they suspected their leaders, yet they accused their leaders of treachery for not always turning and making head against the enemy,—not reflecting that they in like manner, though from a different motive, could place no confidence in their men. Many dropt on the way, overmarched, or foundered for want of shoes; others turned aside because they considered the army as entirely broken up, not from any failure of patriotism or of courage: they were ready to die for their country, but it was folly they thought to squander their lives, and, under the present circumstances, their duty was to preserve themselves, and recover strength for future service. The loss at Buvierca, too, had been considerable. Before they reached Siguenza the four divisions had thus been wasted down to 8000 men.

It was on the evening of the last day of November that they reached this point. Here message after message arrived, requiring them to hasten with all possible speed to Somosierra. They set forward again the following day, the infantry by Atienza and Jadraque, the horse and artillery by Guadalaxara, in order to avoid the bad roads, leaving the river Henares on their right. This plan was soon changed; advices reached them in the middle of the night at Jadraque, that the pass of Somosierra had been lost. It was now determined that the whole army should march for Guadalaxara, for the defence of Madrid; information of this movement was dispatched to the Marquis of Castelar, in that city, and persons were sent, some to ascertain the position of the enemy, others to learn where Sanjuan had retreated with the remains of his corps after his defeat, in order that some operations might be concerted with him. The next day, *Dec. 2.* when the foremost troops entered Guadalaxara, they found some detached parties of the enemy in the town, whom they drove out: the first and fourth divisions, the horse and the artillery, arrived there that night; here the news was, that Madrid was attacked, and the continual firing which was heard confirmed it. Poor as the numbers were which they could carry to the capital, they were eager to be there; and had Madrid been protected as it would have been had Sir John Moore been more enterprising, or defended as the inhabitants, had it not been for Morla's treachery, would have defended it, 8000 men, who stood by their colours under so many hopeless circumstances, would have brought an important succour. The inhabitants relied with great confidence upon this reinforcement,—they expected hourly that these brave men would appear, and take post beside them at their gates and in their streets; and one of the most successful artifices by which the traitors who made the capitulation depressed their zeal, was by reporting that a second battle had been fought, in

which the army of the centre had been entirely defeated by Marshal Ney, so that no possible succour was to be expected from them.

At the very time when this falsehood was reported, a part of this brave army was only nine leagues from Madrid, impatient to proceed to its assistance. They were, however, compelled to remain inactive the whole of the next day, waiting for the second and third divisions and the van, which did not come up till the day following. The distant firing had now ceased, and the event which this cessation announced was confirmed by authentic intelligence of the capitulation. Meantime the French were collecting in their neighbourhood; they occupied Alcalade, Henares, and the adjoining villages, and in Meco some skirmishes took place with them. It was now necessary to think of preserving the army, weak as it was, for other services. The first measure was to disencumber themselves of their disproportionate artillery; for they had brought with them no less than sixty pieces of cannon; at the same time it was of importance to save them from falling into the hands of the enemy. Forty of their guns were sent across the Tagus at Sacedon, and such measures were taken for conveying them forward, that they arrived safely at Carthagena. The other twenty they kept with them. The Duke del Infantado joined them at Guadalaxara. Buonaparte affirmed in his bulletin, that this distinguished grandee had fled from Madrid with the English minister Mr Frere; the fact was, that Mr Frere followed the supreme junta, while the duke departed for the purpose of joining this army, and concerting measures for assisting in the defence of the capital. The Spaniards had no time to lose in securing themselves. On the 2d Lubienski had informed Buonaparte of their approach, and as soon as Madrid had been betrayed, Bessieres was dispatched to Guadalaxara with a considerable force of horse, and Victor followed with infantry. The van, under Venegas, which had saved the army at Buvierca, by so bravely defending the pass, entered that city on the night of the 4th. Its losses had been replaced by draughts from the other divisions; the post of honour and of danger had been assigned it during the whole of this retreat, and it continued to cover the movements of the other divisions. Two of them were leaving Guadalaxara at the same time when it arrived, the second and third followed the next noon, in two columns, proceeding by two roads to Santorcaz: this division began to follow them, but before it was out of one gate, the advanced guard of the enemy entered at another.

Venegas immediately perceived the importance of a strong position to the south of the city, lying directly between the two roads to Santorcaz, and he occupied it with the utmost celerity. The battalions (*tercios*) of Ledesma and Salamanca, which formed the rear of the third division, perceived his intention, and turned back and joined him; their commanding officers, D. Luis de Lacy and D. Alexandre de Hore, being ambitious of bearing part in the action which they expected. The French were in great force opposite on the right bank of the Henares; some of their detachments forded both on the right and left of the patriots' position; but light troops had been stationed on both the flanks, who skirmished with them, and repelled them till night.

The position was judged too formidable in front to be attacked, and the main body of the French halted during the whole evening, not chusing to cross the river. Having thus obtained time for the army to perform its march, which was all he hoped or wanted, Venegas broke up three hours after the darkness had closed, and continued his retreat in good order without the loss of a single man. The commander now took up a position at Santorcaz, a little village about two leagues east of Alcala, between the rivers Henares and Tajuna. The French upon this evacuated Alcala, and extended themselves along the heights at the back of Meco, and along the banks of the Jarama, pushing their advanced parties to Arganda, Morata, and other places in that neighbourhood. The plan of Lapena and his officers under these circumstances was, to cross the Tagus at Aranjuez, and take shelter, if necessary, among the mountains of Toledo. With this intent they marched to Villarejo de Salvanes. A few poor soldiers, who dropt behind at Nuevo-Bastan, were sabred by the French, according to that cruelty which, since they have been under the tyranny of the Corsican, has characterised and disgraced their armies.*

On the 6th, when they were about to proceed to Aranjuez, tidings came that the French were in possession of that place, and this was confirmed by an express from General Llamas, who had vainly attempted to resist the enemy with a few armed peasantry, and a few soldiers who had escaped from Madrid. New difficulties and new dangers now presented themselves to the remnant of this harassed army. To look towards Toledo was become hopeless; it was equally hopeless to make for Andalusia, for the French general, Ruffin, as soon as he had obtained possession of Aranjuez, crost the Tagus, and, pushing on as far as Ocana, cut off their retreat in that direction. Nothing remained but to cross the Tagus by boats at Villamanrique, Fuenteduenas, Estramera, and other places where there were ferries, and to make for the Sierras of Cuenca. There it was hoped they might be able to rest, rally the stragglers, and again unite in numbers sufficient to take vengeance for all their sufferings. Hazardous as it was to cross the river in this manner, with an enemy so near at hand, it was effected with rare good fortune; the French had not foreseen the attempt, and not a man nor a gun were lost. Having gained the left bank of the river, they hastened on their retreat, and head quarters were established on the 7th at Velinchon. The second division under General Grimanest, which crost at Villamanrique, was the only one which was endangered. This having effected the passage took up a position at Santa Cruz, between Aranjuez and Ucles, where it was attacked on the night of the 8th by a corps of Bessieres' division, under General Montbrun. Finding themselves unable to maintain the position against a force which was superior to their own, they abandoned it before they sustained any loss.

At Velinchon, Lapena had the

* In the 17th bulletin this disgraceful circumstance was magnified into the defeat of a battalion of 500 men by the French cavalry! It was equally false, that Bessieres defeated the rear-guard at Guadalaxara and took 500 prisoners,—he did not take one.

sorrow to learn that the first and fourth divisions, who were quartered two leagues in advance at Tarancon, were in a state of such disorder and mutinous enmity, that it was apprehended some corps would attack each other. This was suspected to have been produced, partly by the intrigues of some agents of the intruder, partly by the mischievous ambition of a few officers, desirous, in these times of difficulty and insubordination, to raise themselves by flattering the soldiers and infusing suspicions of the commanders, instead of making way to command by patient services and the active discharge of their duty. In consequence of this circumstance, of the difficulty which daily increased of subsisting the troops, of their increasing wants, and of the rapid desertions which were naturally occasioned by their privations, their want of hope, and the total relaxation of discipline, Lapena assembled all his general officers at Alcazar de Huete. The Duke del Infantado, and Llamas, who had joined them at Villarejo, were present at this council, and it was determined on Lapena's proposal, that the duke should take the command.

Dec. 9. One reason for appointing him was, that he was president of the council of Castille, and in that character had a legal power to require provisions and all things necessary from the people, such being the respect paid to the old authorities and established forms, even in times like these when necessity might have superseded all laws, as paramount to all. This nomination was announced to the army in a short proclamation; the central junta ratified it afterwards, approving the resignation of Lapena, and dispensing with an informality which the difficult and dangerous state of things rendered prudent.

One good consequence resulting from this measure was, that whatever suspicions seditious or treacherous agitators had raised against their leaders were at once rendered harmless, for the Duke del Infantado was a man in whose patriotism the whole nation had the most entire confidence. The van was now stationed in Javaga and the neighbouring towns; the rest of the army, proceeding by Carrascosa and Horcajada, entered Cuenca on the 11th. Here they concluded a retreat of nearly 450 miles, in which, amid the accumulating disasters of their country, the Spaniards signally displayed that patience under all privations, and that resolute and enduring courage, which formerly rendered them the best soldiers in Europe. Here they rested, protected by the strength of the country, here they were clothed, and while the new commander provided for their wants, he took measures for the restoration of discipline. One officer, who had been at the head of the mutiny, was brought to trial, condemned, and executed. The bulletins asserted, that the remains of this army, finding their retreat into Andalusia cut off, had been obliged to disperse among the mountains of Cuenca. The truth was, that at Cuenca the army began to be reorganized. The stragglers and fugitives having recovered that strength, for want of which they had fallen behind or fled, rejoined their corps; new levies were raised; and it was manifest that, notwithstanding all their disasters, notwithstanding the mighty power of the enemy, the treachery of those leaders in whom they had confided most, and the misconduct of others, which was hardly less injuri-

ous to the common cause, the spirit of patriotism was still unimpaired, and the people, by whom alone a country is to be saved, had not abated one jot of heart or hope.

Five days after their arrival they were joined by a corps which it was supposed had been cut off among the mountains of Rioja. The history of its escape is equally honourable to the men and to the Count de Alache D. Miguel Lili, who conducted them. They formed originally a part of the army of Old Castille, which had been broken up after the position of Logrono was lost. The Count de Cartaojal commanded, with the Duke de Albuquerque under him. At the end of October Castanos stationed them along the skirts of the Sierra de Cameros, extending from in front of Logrono to Lodoso; the last division of this corps, which formed the left flank of the army, was posted at Nalda under Lili. During the first three weeks of November, this division sustained repeated and almost daily attacks; varying its position as circumstances required to Bigueras, Lumbreras, Nalda, and Alvelda, and having, like Blake's army, to endure the severest privations from scarcity of food; nevertheless it carried off 14 pieces of artillery, which Castanos had considered it impossible to save, from Nalda to Ausejo and Calahorra, in the sight of the French, and by roads which had been thought impracticable. On the night of the 21st, Lili received intelligence that a considerable force of the enemy had moved from Logrono towards Ausejo; the next day he learnt that the Spaniards, who were stationed there and at Tudelilla, had fallen back upon their right, and that 5000 French infantry and 1000 horse had moved from Najara, giving out that they were going for Calahorra. He was thus in imminent danger of being cut off and surrounded. Immediately he left the banks of the Iregua, and fell back to Venta de Codes, four leagues in the rear of Nalda, where, in the course of the night, a messenger from Cartaojal reached him with instructions written at Tudelilla, on the 21st, saying, that the French were in great force at Ausejo, and that Castanos ordered him to retreat by the Sierra to Agreda, whither Cartaojal himself was going with all his troops to oppose the French on the side of Almazan.

Nov. 23, 1808.

For Agreda, therefore, Lili began his march at day-break. By two in the afternoon he had reached Villar del Rio, five leagues from the place which he had left, eight from that to which he was bound; but here he met intelligence of fresh disasters and new dangers. Agreda, it was said, had already been abandoned by the Spaniards, 1200 French cavalry, with a small body of foot, were on their way to that town from Soria, which had opened its gates to the enemy; other columns from Soria and from Almazan were to follow in the same direction. Fugitives now arrived every hour from the villages between this place and Soria, with tidings that the enemy were sacking one place, or approaching another, all their parties tending to the one point of Agreda. Lili perceived, that if Cartaojal had not already retired from that town, he inevitably must, when forces so very superior were advancing against him, and that for himself, if he continued his march, it would be to run into the midst of his enemies. He did not hesitate, therefore, to disobey orders which would have involved him in

certain destruction; and, acting upon his own judgement, he marched the next morning in a contrary direction, to Lumbreras, and the day afterwards to Montenegro, thinking that a more defensible point, and for the sake of receiving certain intelligence from the side of Agreda. The report that that town had been evacuated on the 23d was premature; and Lili received a letter from Cartaojal written from thence on the 24th, and regretting that he had fallen back to Lumbreras, upon erroneous information; to have joined him at Agreda, he said, was the proper movement, and almost the only means of safety; but it was no time to consider what might have been done, and, as things were, he must now follow his own discretion, with that zeal which it was not doubted he possessed. Whatever regret Lili might have felt at receiving this reproof, was effectually counteracted by the report of the messenger who brought it; for at the very moment when Cartaojal dispatched him, news arrived that the enemy were beginning to attack the town. In fact, he was compelled speedily to abandon it, and, marching by way of Borja to Calatayud, joined the wreck of the army of the centre, and accompanied them in that retreat which has already been related.

Hopeless as Lili's situation now was, he had yet to receive intelligence of events which rendered it more utterly desperate. On the 27th he learned at Salas de los Infantes, from some stragglers who had escaped from the action at Burgos, that that capital was now in the hands of the French. His spies brought him information, that the intruder was with a great force at Aranda; that the enemy occupied all the bridges and fords of the Duero; and that Somosierra was threatened by him: Finally, to crown the distressing news of the day, a full and authentic account reached him of the battle of Tudela. On every side he was surrounded; to move in any direction seemed equally perilous, and he was utterly ignorant what course had been taken by the relics of the army which he wished to join. In these difficulties his first measure was to march to Canales, four leagues from Salas, where, in the very centre of the mountains, he might hope to remain concealed from the enemy, or to resist them to the best advantage if he were discovered and attacked. There, amid those difficult and inclement heights, from whence the Arlanza flows toward Lerma, the Duero toward the plains of Castille, the Tiron, the Najerilla, and the Iregua toward Rioja, he remained from the 29th of November to the 4th of the following month, six days. During this time he obtained sufficient intelligence of the movements of the French to direct his own, and then proceeded towards New Castille, in search of Castanos's broken army. On the 5th he reached Quintanar de la Sierra, on the 6th San Leonardo. His men travelled the whole of the following day and night, and crossed the Duero at Berlanja. On the 9th they entered Atienza, and here the information which they found served only to occasion new perplexity; for here Lili learned that the central army had passed through and been pursued by the French; that they had afterwards abandoned Guadalaxara and the heights of Santorcaz, where they had subsequently taken up a position: of their further movements nothing was known. Lili, however, considering all circumstances, was convinced that they must have

retreated upon Cuenca, and upon that conviction he directed his march towards the same point. On the 11th, at day-break, he crossed the great road from Zaragoza to Madrid, at an opportune and happy hour, passing between the last division of the French and their rear-guard, then on the way from Calatayud; and on the day that the Duke del Infantado reached Cuenca, he arrived at Villar de Domingo Garcia, from whence, on the 16th, he passed to the head-quarters of the commander. During this whole retreat, which was over a track nearly 400 miles, through the most difficult and untravelled ways, this corps had constantly been surrounded by the enemy, who were seldom more than ten or twelve miles distant from them. Food they had none, but what they could procure upon the way; most of the men were barefoot, many of them nearly naked, but their spirits never failed.

While this army was to be re-formed and re-equipped among the mountains of Cuenca, the whole of those extensive plains, which form the centre or table-land of Spain, lay at the mercy of the invaders. On the 11th of December Victor had his detachments in Aranjuez and in Ocana; on the 19th he occupied Toledo. The surrender of this ancient and famous city, after its professions of determined patriotism, was one of those circumstances which concurred to confirm Sir John Moore in the unjust and self-paralysing prejudices which he had formed against the Spanish people. Yet if the Toledans did not signalize themselves by heroic sacrifices, like the Zaragozans, and the people of Gerona and of Ciudad Rodrigo, it is to be imputed to the government rather than to them; there was no want of a right spirit, nor had they been deficient in any exertions for the common cause. In the spring of the preceding year, when, by the weakness of the old government and his own unparalleled treachery, Buonaparte was marching his armies through the country, and on the point, as it appeared to common observers, of obtaining military possession of it, Dupont and Wedel entered that city with their divisions, and raised a most oppressive contribution upon the inhabitants. But no sooner had they proceeded on their way to Andalusia, than a junta was immediately formed, consisting of the most respectable citizens: they could not raise forces themselves, being surrounded by the enemy, and having no military means; but they ordered as many of the districts in that kingdom as could exert themselves to act under the instructions of the junta of Badajoz; they contributed large sums of money; and they refused obedience to four successive orders which enjoined them to proclaim the intruder, though it was announced, that, if they continued in their disobedience, 5000 French would come, and perform the ceremony sword in hand. The evacuation of Madrid relieved them from this danger. And when the victorious army of Castanos was on its way to the capital, Toledo supported 10,000 men of that army for three weeks, made a donation of 300,000 reales to them on their departure, equipped many of their officers, and clothed a great proportion of the men. This was not all. In two months it raised and equipped two regiments of infantry, and a corps of 700 horse; for which funds were raised by a subscription, all persons of all ranks, from the archbishop to the poorest peasant, contributing liberally and joyfully, ac-

cording to their means. The university also raised a corps of students; and after the siege of Zaragoza the pectoral of the archbishop, which was valued at 150,000 reales, was converted into money to relieve the inhabitants of that heroic city. After the defeat of the Estremaduran army at Burgos, the Toledans applied to government for arms to defend their walls. This was the mode of warfare to which the junta, if they had rightly understood the nature of their own strength, should have resorted, instead of opposing the French with armies newly levied, undisciplined, ill equipped, and worse provided; and this system of defence was advised by Mr Frere, than whom no man judged more generously, nor more wisely, of the Spanish character and the Spanish cause. But this essential precaution had been neglected by the government; and when the Toledans applied for artillery and ammunition, disaster followed so close upon disaster, that there was no leisure for attending to their request, urgent and important as it was. What then could be done? To stand a siege without artillery was exposing themselves to useless destruction. They sent off all their moveable property to Seville; 12,000 swords also were dispatched to the same place, from that fabric which for so many centuries has been famous, and which probably owes its original celebrity to workmen from Damascus. The junta, all the legitimate authorities, and all the most distinguished inhabitants, left the city; neither the threats nor the promises of the intruder could induce them to return: they retired to the free part of the peninsula, submitting to poverty with that dignified composure which resulted from the consciousness that they had discharged their duty. This was the fate of the parents, while their sons, in the corps of students, fought and bled for the independence of Spain. It is plain, therefore, that though the gates of Toledo were opened to the enemy, that same spirit still existed within its walls which, during the war of the Commons of Castille, rendered it the last hold of liberty.

From Toledo, from Aranjuez, and from Ocana, parties of French cavalry overrun the open and defenceless plains of Lower La Mancha, foraging and plundering the towns and villages with impunity as far as Manzanares. The La Manchans, relying, like the government, too confidently upon the resistance which regular armies and the modes of regular warfare could oppose to such a military power as that of France, had made no preparations for defending themselves: some places were deserted by the inhabitants; all left open to the enemy, who scoured the country at their pleasure. The little townlet of Villacannas afforded, however, a single and honourable exception. A party of 60 horse entered it on the night of the 20th of December, being a detachment from a much larger force which had quartered itself in Tembleque. The people, though they had taken no previous measures for defence, caught up such arms as they could find, and drove the invaders out; they began immediately to dig trenches and throw up barricadoes,—the adjoining peasantry came to their assistance,—a few persons of high quality played the coward and fled; but, with these few exceptions, the utmost zeal and alacrity were displayed by all ranks, and ready obedience was paid to some old soldiers, who took upon themselves the command. During five successive

days the French renewed their attacks, and were constantly repulsed; their plundering parties had no artillery with them, and the means of defence, therefore, as long as the Spaniards took care not to expose themselves to a charge of horse in the open country, were equal to those of attack. Weary at length of these repeated failures, and unwilling to incur farther loss in an object of no other value than what the plunder of the place might be worth, the French desisted from any further attempts, and Villacannas remained safe and uninjured, while all the country round was ransacked. The example was deservedly thought of such importance, that the whole details of this little siege were published by the government in an extraordinary gazette. Whatever contributions were due to the state by the inhabitants of this townlet were remitted to them for their signal exertions, and those persons who had taken the lead, and organized the defence, were rewarded by other privileges. "This," said the government in their official account, "is the kind of war which our perfidious enemy feareth most, and which is the most advantageous for ourselves. Let the people of every village arm themselves, entrench themselves in their very houses, break up the roads, lay ambushes upon every height and pass, intercept his provisions, cut off his communications, and make him perceive that at every step he will find the most obstinate resistance. Thus we shall waste his forces; thus we shall shew to the world that a great and generous nation is not to be insulted with impunity, not to be conquered when it fights for its king, for its liberty, and for its religion."

Meantime the juntas of Ciudad Real, (the capital of Upper La Mancha,) and of the four kingdoms of Jaen, Granada, Cordova, and Seville, which compose the province of Andalusia, formed a central assembly in La Carolina, where two deputies from each province met to consult upon speedy measures for fortifying the gorge of Despenaperros, this pass of the Sierra Morena being considered as the Thermopylæ, where the progress of this new barbarian might be withstood. Here an army was necessary, and there was none: the Marquis de Palacios was sent by the supreme junta to form one under his command. The juntas of Andalusia and La Mancha raised new levies for this service: officers and men who had deserted from the central army, many of them scattering alarm and sedition where they fled, re-entered in this new establishment. The marine battalions and brigades of artillery were ordered hither from Cadiz, leaving only 300 men in that city, besides the volunteers. Fourteen pieces of cannon had been fortunately stopped at Manzanares, on their way to Madrid. These were now mounted upon the works which were thrown up to defend this important position. The Plata road also, by which the enemy might have passed the Sierra, was occupied by a detachment of 500 men. Before the middle of December, 6000 foot and 300 horse had assembled at La Carolina, and their number increased daily. But it was not towards the Sierra Morena that Buonaparte was looking; his attention was chiefly fixed upon the English army, and the road by which he thought to reach Andalusia was through Estremadura, hoping to overtake the supreme junta in their flight; having reached them at Truxillo, his armies might divide, one marching to take possession of Lisbon, the other

to take vengeance for Dupont at Seville and Cadiz.

There was no force in Estremadura which could oppose any obstacle to this plan. When the pass of Somosierra was lost, Sanjuan, who commanded there, cut his way sword in hand through a squadron of Poles, and by by-roads reached Segovia, where he found the troops who had retired from Sepulveda. From thence he marched to Guadarrama, united with the Estremaduran troops under General Heredia, and descended to the Escurial, because he was without provisions in the pass. There they received orders to hasten to Madrid, and enter that city by the gate of Segovia. On the way exaggerated reports were spread of the strength of the enemy; traitors and cowards exciting alarm, suspicion increased the insubordination of the soldiers; the artillery and baggage-men forsook their charge and fled, and several corps broke up and dispersed. The whole of Heredia's vanguard dispersed in this manner, in spite of all Sanjuan's efforts to detain them; they would rally, they said, at Talavera: this word went through the army, and served as a pretext for every one who chose to fly. The two generals had only a handful of men with them when they approached Madrid, and then they discovered that the city had been betrayed. No other course remained for them than to repair themselves to Talavera, in the hope of rallying what would still form a considerable force. The rabble of the army, sufficiently faithful to their appointment, bent their way to that city, plundering as they went along; and there Sanjuan met them, unhappily for himself. The wretches who had been most conspicuous in subverting all discipline, and instigating the troops to break up, began to apprehend punishment if the army should again assume a regular form; and this was likely to be the case immediately, for above 20,000 men (many having escaped from Madrid) were now collected there, and the government had already begun to take measures for re-equipping them. It was easy for these villains to raise a cry of treachery against Sanjuan: all men knew the importance of the position at Somosierra, and how much the traitors who betrayed Madrid had affected to rely upon it, making the people feel that reliance which they themselves only feigned. But there were few who knew with what insufficient means the general had been supplied: he had scarcely more than 7000 men, and only eight pieces of cannon. Measures for strengthening the post had been improvidently or wilfully delayed. For this, however, Sanjuan was not responsible; and whatever fault had been committed by his cavalry, he, it was well known, had distinguished himself by his personal exertions. But mobs never reason, least of all when they are under the influence of fear, and the Spanish troops had suffered so much from incapacity and treason, that when any person was denounced as a traitor, it seemed like a relief to themselves and an act of justice to their country to vent their vengeance upon him. The cry against Sanjuan became general: a friar went at the head of a party to the convent of the Augustines, where he had taken up his quarters, and they cried out that they were come to put Benito Sanjuan to death. Sanjuan attempted to expostulate with them, but in vain. He drew his sword to defend himself, and immediately he was pierced with their bul-

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lets. The rabble dragged the body to a gibbet, and hung it there; next they sought for Heredia, that they might kill him also; but he was fortunate enough to elude their search. As soon as their fury was allayed, the instigators of these excesses secured themselves by flight; and the troops, who had been misled by them, perceived the consequences of their lawless conduct. If Sanjuan had indeed been a traitor, they felt that they ought to have delivered him up to the proper tribunal;—by taking vengeance into their own hands they had made themselves obnoxious to the laws. Whom too could they trust, whom were they to obey? Instead, therefore, of forming a new army, as they had designed, at Talavera, they dispersed again, not having now any rallying place appointed, but each man going whither he thought best. Some took the road to Andalusia, some to Avila: the Estremadurans, who were the most numerous, went to their homes.

No punishment was ever inflicted upon the assassins of Sanjuan: it would perhaps have been difficult to identify, still more to apprehend them; but the friar must have been known, and if only a proclamation had been issued for bringing him to justice, it would have been better than passing over such excesses in total silence. The dispersion of the soldiers called forth a severe edict. It began by stating, that the martial laws of Spain had affixed no punishment for officers who deserted their colours or stations, it never having been supposed that men of such rank could possibly be guilty of such a crime. But now it had unhappily been seen that many officers, forgetful of all honour and duty, had fled, to the scandal even of those who knew nothing of the laws of arms, scattering disorder and terror wherever they went, and pretending treason in their generals as an excuse for their own detestable conduct; whereas they themselves had been the worst enemies of their country, by abandoning their generals in the most critical moments. The junta, therefore, pronounced sentence of death against every officer who absented himself from his colours without permission, and confiscation of his property for the relief of the widows and orphans of soldiers in his parish. Soldiers were made liable to the same penalty; any person who harboured a deserter was to be punished by confiscation of his property, and the same penalty was denounced against all magistrates who suffered deserters to remain within their jurisdiction. But all who, within fifteen days, presented themselves to the nearest authority in order to rejoin the army, were exempted from the pains in this decree.

Four days after the murder of Sanjuan, and the dispersion of his army, two divisions of French cavalry, under Milhaud and Lasalle, entered Talavera. They found the body of the Spanish general still on the gibbet, and this murder furnished Buonaparte with a new subject of invective against the Spaniards; though this, and the thousand deaths, and all the untold crimes, and all the unutterable miseries with which the peninsula was filled, were the consequences of his own single conduct, the fruits of his individual wickedness, —for which God will exact vengeance in his own time, and mankind to the latest generations execrate his name wherever it shall reach. Lasalle fell in with sixteen Englishmen upon the road, stragglers from General Hope's

detachment, and it was related in the bulletins † of Buonaparte, as an exploit worthy of remembrance and of commendation, that a division of French cavalry, falling in with sixteen Englishmen who had lost their way, put them to the sword. This was but a small part of the force which was destined to proceed in this direction. As soon as Morla had performed the whole of his iniquitous bargain with the tyrant, Lefebvre (Duke of Dantzic) was ordered to advance with his division from Valladolid towards Lisbon. First he advanced to Segovia, which he entered unresisted. The people were dispirited by the panic and flight of their armies; but it should not be forgotten for their exculpation, that the more generous and heroic spirits, having flocked to their country's standard among the foremost levies, had already received their crown of martyrdom, or were clinging to the wreck of the two great armies of the north and the centre, or were consummating the sacrifice of duty in Zaragoza. In one place only between Valladolid and the capital did this part of the French army experience any opposition. The pass of Guadarrama was open to them: General Hope had been stationed there, but was recalled by Sir John Moore, and there were no native troops to supply his place. But when the enemy descended upon the Escurial, and proceeded to take possession of that palace, the magnificent monument of a victory which Spain had atchieved over France in open, honourable war, and in a fair field, they found the peasantry assembled to defend the seat and sepulchres of their kings. Undisciplined as they were, ill-armed, and with none to direct their efforts, they stood their ground till they were overpowered by practised troops, superior in numbers as well as in arms; and the French, after the slaughter of these brave peasants before the gates, took up their quarters in the palace of the Philips. He who founded that stately pile, could he then have beheld from his grave what was passing around him, would have seen the inevitable consequences of that despotic system which he and his father had established upon the ruins of the old free constitution of Spain.

† This part of the bulletin was officially transmitted by Lord Castlereagh to Sir John Moore, with the following highly proper instructions:—"His Majesty cannot overlook this account, descriptive, according to the obvious sense of it, of the murder of some unresisting stragglers of his army, although his Majesty is disposed to disbelieve a transaction, however sufficiently recorded, which is so utterly repugnant to the usual laws of war, and to every principle of humanity. His Majesty therefore desires that you will take the earliest means of ascertaining the truth of the fact so recorded, and the circumstances under which it was perpetrated, if perpetrated at all. If it shall upon investigation appear to be founded, I am to desire you will cause a protest to be made by you to the nearest head-quarters of the French army, and that you will take such measures as shall appear to you most expedient for the protection of the troops under your orders against conduct so barbarous and so disgraceful."—No such measures were taken, in consequence of Sir John Moore's miserable retreat. This instruction, however, exculpates our government from any charge of indifference upon the subject. Lasalle was killed at the battle of Wagram; had he been taken prisoner by the English, it is to be hoped any British general would have hanged him for a murderer, with the bulletin round his neck.

It was a noble feeling which led these brave peasants to sacrifice themselves in defence of the Escurial, and the action did not pass unnoticed by those able and enlightened Spaniards whose patriotic writings did honour to themselves and to their country. "Nothing," said Don Isidoro de Antillon, "is more worthy of public interest, and nothing will more excite the admiration of posterity, than a deed like this. If indeed we had only armies to oppose to Buonaparte, infallibly we should become his slaves; the victory would be the usurper's beyond all resource. But it is the collective strength of all our inhabited places, the defence of our walls, the obstinate and repeated resistance of the people in the streets and gateways, along the roads and upon the heights, wherever they can cut off or annoy the detachments of the enemy,—the universal spirit of holy insurrection, now become as it were the very element of our existence; this it is which disconcerts his plans, which renders his victories useless, and after a thousand vicissitudes, and even disasters, will finally establish the independence and the glory of Spain."

Lefebvre entered Madrid on the 8th of December. Buonaparte reviewed his division in the Prado, and dispatched it to Toledo, while Sebastiani with another division marched for Talavera. In that city, by the 19th, about 25,000 French were assembled, including 35,000 cavalry. The wiser inhabitants fled before their arrival, preferring all the miseries of emigration to the insults and atrocities which these barbarians perpetrated wherever they went: For the exaction of heavy contributions, which reduced half the people to beggary, was the least evil which those towns endured that fell under the yoke of the French. Every where the soldiers were permitted to plunder; every where the women were left to their mercy; no asylum could secure them; the churches and convents were profaned with as little compunction as the dwelling houses were broke open; and in many instances, the victims of their brutality were exposed naked in the streets. The Spanish government exclaimed loudly against these enormities. "In other times," they said, "war was carried on between army and army, soldier and soldier; their fury spent itself upon the field of battle, and when courage, combined with fortune, had decided the victory, the conquerors behaved to the conquered like men of honour, and the defenceless people were respected. The progress of civilization had tempered the evils of hostility, till a nation which so lately boasted that it was the most polished in the world, renewed, in the 19th century, the cruelty of the worst savages, and all the horrors which make us tremble in perusing the history of the irruptions of the barbarians of old. Like tygers, these enemies make no distinction in their carnage,—the aged, the infants, the women,—all are alike to them, wherever they can find blood to shed."

This appeal could be of no avail against a tyrant who, in the very origin of the war, had shown himself dead to all sense of justice, humanity, and even of honour, which sometimes supplies their place, or against generals and officers who could serve him in such a cause. Such men could be taught humanity only by the severest retaliation, and unhappily this was not yet in the Spaniards' power. The language which the government addressed to their own subjects might

be more effectual. "What recourse have you," said they, "in submission and in cowardice? If by this abasement you could purchase a miserable existence, that perhaps with base minds might exculpate you. But you fly to your houses to perish in them, or to be idle spectators of the horrors which these ruffian soldiers are preparing for you! Yes! wait for them there, and they will not tarry long ere they come and shed before your eyes the blood of the innocent victims whom you will not defend. Old fathers, wretched mothers, prepare to receive your daughters released from the arms of a hundred barbarians only when they are in the act of death! Or if they recover life, to curse it in the bitterness of unextinguishable shame; tell them to reproach those cowardly husbands, those base lovers, who are content to live, and see them plunged in this abominable infamy. But they will not be suffered to live: hand-cuffed and haltered they will be dragged out of their country; they will be made soldiers by force, though they would not become so from honour and a sense of duty; there they will be exposed in the foremost ranks to the fire of the enemy; there they will not be able to fly,—the toil, the danger, and death will be theirs; the glory and the spoil will be their conquerors', and the crowns which they win will be for the tyrant, the cause of all this misery."

It had been happy for Spain if the government had acted as wisely and energetically as it wrote; but it should be remembered in justice to the Spaniards, that the dispersion of the troops was in many instances an act of self-preservation, so utterly were they left without supplies of food or clothing, by the inexperience or inattention of every military department. Even against the testimony and the reproaches of their own government, the Spanish nation stands acquitted. Never did men suffer more patiently, never did men fight more bravely, than Blake's army. There was no want of courage at Tudela; and of the remains of the army which fought there, a large proportion was at this very time defending Zaragoza with a heroism unexampled in modern times, upon any other soil. Wherever, indeed, a new army was to be collected, soldiers were not wanted. After Sanjuan's death, Don Josef Galluzo was appointed to the command; *Jan. 10.* he took his post at the bridge of Almaraz to defend the left bank of the Tagus;—and in a few days had collected about 8000 soldiers,—many of them were without arms,—most of them barefooted, and now unhappily accustomed to flight and desertion. Nevertheless they assembled; for every man felt individually brave, and it was only the want of discipline, which, by preventing them from feeling confidence collectively, made panic contagious in the moment of danger. The province of Estremadura immediately provided money for these troops; this province, though the least populous in the peninsula, had particularly distinguished itself by its exertions; it had raised and equipped, wholly at its own expence, 24,000 men, and had supplied ammunition and arms of every kind from Badajoz to the other provinces.

There are four bridges between Talavera and the confluence of the Tietar with the Tagus, the Puente del Arzobispo, or the Archbishops, the Puente del Conde, or the Counts, the bridge of Almaraz, and the Pu-

ente del Cardinal, or the Cardinals. With his present feeble and inefficient force Galluzo had no other means of protecting Estremadura than by breaking down, or defending these bridges; if he could effect this the province would be secure from an attack on the side of Talavera. Almaraz was the most important of these points; here he planted ten pieces of cannon and two mortars, and stationed 5000 men. The more surely to prevent the enemy from winning the passage he mined the bridge; but so firmly had this noble pile been built, that when the mine was fired, the explosion only served to injure it without rendering it impassable. Don Francisco Trias was sent with 850 men to the Puente del Arzobispo; on his way he met the engineer, who had previously been dispatched to break it down, but who had been prevented from attempting it by the enemy, so that this bridge was already in their power. Trias, therefore, took his position with the view of curbing the incursions of the French on this side, and ordered Don Antonio Puig, with such assistants as he could procure from the magistrates of Talavera la Vieja, to destroy the Puente del Conde, and provide for the defence of that point, and of three fords upon the same part of the river. When this officer arrived he had neither a single soldier under his command, nor arms for the peasantry; this latter want was soon supplied; the peasantry were zealous, and some of the stragglers joined him.

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The bridge of the Cardinal was assigned to the keeping of a battalion of Walloon Guards and a squadron of the volunteers of Estremadura, under Brigadier Don Francisco Durasmiel. Galluzo also stationed his reserve at Jaraicejo, under Brigadier Don Josef Vlazquez Somosa, and sent another field officer to Truxillo to collect and organize all the stragglers who might either voluntarily join him, or be detained by the patroles. While the general made these dispositions for the defence of the province, the junta of Badajoz made the greatest exertions to supply the wants of this new army, and its efforts were well seconded by the Estremaduran people. Half a million of reales was raised in loans and free gifts within a week; all the cloth of Torremocha and of other clothing towns was applied to the use of the army,—no other work was carried on in the monastery of Guadaloupe than that of making earthen vessels for their cookery, and commissaries were sent to the sixteen villages nearest the bridge of Almaraz to see that rations of bread for 5000 men were daily delivered there. These measures were so effectual, that the troops were soon comfortably clothed, and after the first day they had no want of any thing.

It was, however, scarcely to be hoped that so small and ill-compacted a force could maintain its ground, in a country which offered them no advantages for defence against such an army as the French had assembled in Talavera. After some skirmishes with the advanced guard at Almaraz, and some slight attacks upon the Puente del Conde, which were designed chiefly to keep the Spaniards on the alarm, and divert their attention from the side where the real attack was intended, Sebastiani crost the Puente del Arzobispo on the 24th of December, and attacked Trias in front and on his right flank with very superior numbers. The

patriots did not yield to this superiority till after a vigorous resistance; being overpowered, they retreated, taking the road by the Sierra to Castanar de Ibor. On the same day, about two hours afternoon, the Puente del Conde was attacked, and the fords. The bridge was bravely defended by Don Pablo Murillo, who now made those talents known by which he afterwards signalized himself so conspicuously in Galicia. Puig guarded the fords, and they repelled the enemy every where till night, when, being informed of the defeat of Trias, and that Sebastiani had proceeded by Peralera de Garbin and Bohonal towards Almaraz, Puig perceived that he must inevitably be taken in the rear if he continued in his present position; he retreated to Peralera de Garbin behind the French, and from thence to Castanar de Ibor.

The news of these disasters reached Galluzo about ten at night. Immediately he apprehended that the object of the enemy, who were marching by Valdecasa, Valdecanas, and other points, to Romangordo and Miravete, was to cut off the retreat of his whole division. To prevent this he ordered all the artillery, except four pieces, which formed a battery on the left of the bridge, to retire with the main force to Jaraicejo, for which place he himself set off at midnight with his aid-de-camps and the cavalry, leaving three companies in charge of the remaining battery under Captain Don Xavier de Hore. This officer was attacked on the following morning by the French; the battery was ill-placed, and Hore perceived that the ammunition carts were within reach of the enemy's fire. He ordered them to be removed behind a bank which would shelter them;—the muleteers were no sooner out of his sight, than they cut the traces, and fled with their beasts, imitating the conduct of some infantry who now took to flight. The enemy soon made themselves masters of the bridge and the battery, and secured some prisoners,—though but few, for before the French could lay planks over the broken bridge and pass in sufficient number, most of the Spaniards effected their escape, and afterwards rejoined the general at Miajadas.

Galluzo's first thought was to make a stand at Jaraicejo, and with this intent he dispatched orders to General Henestrosa to join him from Truxillo with all the troops which he had collected, and requested the junta to supply him with as large a force of armed peasantry as possible. But no sooner did he learn that the bridge of Almaraz was forced, than he gave up this purpose, and resolved to fall back upon Truxillo, apprehending that the enemy might intercept his retreat. His apprehension degenerated into panic, when false intelligence was brought him that the French had entered Deleitosa, a village something less than eight miles to the south-east. This intelligence was followed by other reports equally false and more alarming, which the knavish and the traitorous invented, and the fearful and the suspicious easily believed. The retreat had been begun in perfect order, but before the army reached Truxillo it was in a state of total disorganization. Galluzo, confounded at the first approach of danger, (for if he had deliberately resolved to attempt resistance, the pass of Mirevete would have been the place which he would have chosen, after the bridge was forced,) called a council of war, and it was agreed that the defence of

Estremadura was no longer possible, and that he should retreat into Andalusia. A chapel, which had been converted into a powder magazine, was now blown up, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. This explosion, and the preparations which were made for further flight, excited the utmost terror in the inhabitants of Truxillo, and their lamentations increased the confusion and alarm of the soldiers. It now became a rout;—most of the troops deserted, plundering the towns and villages through which they passed. Those who still followed the general were now under no restraint; they went through Miajadas, Medellin, and Quintania, and in four days reached Zalamea, above 100 miles from Jaraicejo. Here it had been appointed to halt, and here Galluzo found himself with not more than 1000 men. Nothing could be worse than the conduct of the men during their flight,—some sold their musquets,—some threw them away,—houses were broken open, and upon one individual a piece of church plate was found,—a species of robbery which excites peculiar horror in Spain. The officers, instead of endeavouring to restrain these excesses, were some of them active themselves in pillage; it is probable, indeed, that had they done their duty, the men would have discharged theirs, for those officers to whom the more difficult task of bringing off the artillery had been entrusted, and who were therefore picked men, effected their object: though without an escort they lost only two pieces of cannon, and carried 17 to Miajadas,—from whence part were sent to Badajoz, the rest followed Galluzo to Zalamea. Trias also effected a far more dangerous retreat than his commander in good order. He set forward from Castanar for Fresnedoso, and when within a mile of the place, learnt that the French were there, having won the bridge of Almaraz. He had now to tread back his steps, and endeavour to reach Jaraicejo. After a day's march he found that the French were there also, and making for Truxillo, again discovered the enemy in possession of the place to which he was bound. Nevertheless he preserved discipline in his little troop, and that preserved confidence; instead of losing his men by desertion, he collected stragglers as he went, and arrived at Zalamea with a larger force than Galluzo himself had brought there.

Before the incapacity of Galluzo was thus decidedly manifested, it had been in agitation to remove him from the command, and appoint Cuesta in his place. This general had been put under arrest for his violent conduct toward Valdes, the deputy for Leon, and, as an arrested person, followed the junta on their flight from Aranjuez. It so happened, that while he was at Merida, some soldiers belonging to the scattered army of Estremadura gathered together in that city, and the owner of the house in which Cuesta lodged persuaded them to demand him for their leader, as it were by acclamation. The junta of Merida upon this sent up a representation to the central junta requesting that Cuesta might be appointed to the command. It was replied, that this ought not to be done without the approbation of the junta of Badajoz, which had made such signal exertions in the patriotic cause, and that junta was not willing to supersede Galluzo whom they had appointed. But now, after this disorderly flight, he was immediately de-

prived of the command, and put under arrest, and Cuesta was then nominated to succeed him. This was an imprudent choice after the battle of Rio Seco, and the subsequent conduct of this general; but at a time when the cry of treachery once raised against a commander was sufficient to break up an army, it was an object of considerable importance to find a leader in whom the men would have confidence; and as they called for Cuesta, that circumstance in some degree justifies the government for giving him the command. At this moment the whole of Estremadura to the very walls of Badajoz was open to the enemy, and the central junta trembled for Seville. Brigadier Don Josef Serrano Valdenebro was sent with as many men as he could collect to guard Santa Olaya and El Ronquillo, in the western passes of the Sierra Morena, and cooperate with Cuesta in covering Andalusia on that side. These means of defence would have been as ineffectual as they were feeble, if Buonaparte had not thought it of more importance at this time to drive the English out of Spain, than to pursue his victories in the south. He recalled a large proportion of the troops from that quarter, to bring them against Sir John Moore, and the diversion which was thus occasioned enabled the Spaniards to form another army, and recover Estremadura. Calamitous as the retreat of the English was, it produced this good. Fortunately, too, for the character of Great Britain, the British government entertained more generous hopes and acted upon wiser views than its general; and at the very time when it might have appeared by his movement that Spain was to be abandoned to its fate, a treaty of alliance was concluded with the Spanish nation.

CHAP. XIX.

Treaty with Spain. Affairs in that Country after the Embarkation of the English. Coruna and Ferrol surrendered to the French. Alarm at Lisbon. Excellent Conduct of Sir Robert Wilson. Morla's Intrigues at Cadiz. Firmness of the Supreme Junta. They send Deputies into the Provinces. Siege and Capture of Rosas by the Enemy.

HAPPILY for the interests of England, and for its honour, which of all interests is the most momentous, the ministry entertained wiser opinions, and better feelings, with regard to Spain, than either Sir John Moore or the opposition. At the very time when the Spaniards had sustained the heaviest losses, and our own army was known to be in full retreat, a treaty was signed at London between Great Britain and the Spanish nation acting in the name of Ferdinand. It proclaimed, in the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity, a Christian, stable, and inviolable peace between the two countries, a perpetual and sincere amity, and a strict alliance during the war with France; and it pronounced an entire and lasting oblivion * of all acts of hostility done on either side in the course of the late wars in which they had been engaged against each other. His Britannic Majesty engaged to continue to assist the Spanish nation in their struggle to the utmost of his power, and promised not to acknowledge any other King of Spain, and of the Indies thereunto appertaining, than Ferdinand VII., his heirs, or such lawful successor as the Spanish nation should acknowledge; and the Spanish government engaged, on the behalf of Ferdinand, never, in any case, to cede to France any portion of the territories or possessions of the Spanish monarchy in any part of the world. The contracting parties bound themselves to make common cause against France, and not to make peace except by common consent. It was agreed by an additional article, that as the existing circumstances

* "This," said Mr Canning, (dispatch to Marquis Wellesley of June 27, 1809,) "though an ordinary stipulation in treaties of peace, was peculiarly desirable in this, from the remembrance and resentment which were understood to be cherished by some of the leading statesmen in Spain with respect to the manner in which the last war was begun;—a transaction entirely justifiable under its circumstances, but of which, in the actual relation of the two countries, it was undoubtedly more advisable to avoid the discusssion, than to establish the propriety."—In quoting this extract, the writer of these annals must not be understood as in any degree assenting to Mr Canning's opinion of the transaction alluded to.

did not admit of the regular negociation of a treaty of commerce with all the care and consideration due to so important a subject, such a negociation should be effected as soon as it was practicable; and meantime mutual facilities should be afforded to the commerce of the subjects of both countries, by temporary regulations, founded on principles of reciprocal utility. Another separate article provided that the Spanish government should take the most effectual measures for preventing the Spanish squadrons, in all their ports, from falling into the power of France.*

April 20. It was asked by Mr Ponsonby, in what sense the words legal successor were to be understood in this treaty? Mr Canning replied, that it was understood, that in the event of the removal of Ferdinand VII. and the immediate successors to the throne, who were then in the power of France, by demise, it would become a matter of grave question among the Spanish jurists, upon whom the superior right of succession would devolve; and therefore it was but prudent to word that part of the treaty so as it might bear a prospective relation to such an event; for, in a question of that nature, this country would have no right to interfere with the exclusive privilege of the Spanish people. The treaty was never formally discussed in Parliament; enough, however, was incidentally said upon the subject to shew, that if government had been in other hands Spain would have been left to its fate. Mr Tierney said, that his Majesty's name ought not to have been so rashly and formally committed, and that it was imprudent to enter into such a treaty with a junta, some of whom had turned out traitors. Cobbett also, whose heart has never been in the right through all his changes of opinion, and who addresses himself to the malignant passions even when he argues in a good cause, poured out his usual strain of gratuitous assertion and coarse invective upon this occasion. Ministers, he said, had now concluded a treaty of alliance with a man "whom Buonaparte had living upon a pension, or at board wages in France. They might make new treaties, they might make new ambassadors, and they might fasten those new ambassadors on us for life, but they could do nothing for the restoration of the Bourbons in Spain." But his arguments were levelled against the Spaniards as well as the Bourbons; having predicted ill of the Spaniards, he now hated them: "They had no scruple," he said, "to cringe to the devil, and why should they scruple to cringe to Joseph Napoleon?" According to him the contest was over, and its fatal termination was to be ascribed to the reluctance of our ministers to see a free government established in Spain.

While the Spaniards were thus calumniated by this demagogue, and by all the adherents of the opposition, and while they were for a time abandoned by their allies, in consequence of Sir John Moore's retreat, they never, amid all their disasters, lost heart. There were Englishmen at Coruna who, when the troops were preparing for their escape, doubted whether the inhabitants would protect their embarkation. In the bitterness of grief and indignation, they said, "should the Galicians tell us that we came into a mountainous province,

* Appendix, No. VI.

and by the proud display of our well-dressed army prevented them from defending their native hills; that their passes were entrusted to us, and we basely delivered them to the enemy; that we might have guarded the approach of the city, but we scorned a service which seemed immaterial to our own safety, and therefore left that approach to be seized by the French; should the volunteers of Coruna tell us this, said they, and throw down their arms when they see us flying to our ships, we should have little right to complain of desertion or abandonment."† But the Spaniards are a better and a wiser people than this doubt implied: however much they regretted the misconduct of their allies, and however much they suffered in consequence of it, their sufferings never betrayed them into one unworthy act, or expression, of resentment. The governor of Coruna, Don Antonio de Alcedo, had made vigorous preparations as soon as it appeared likely that the enemy might enter Galicia. On the 30th of December he called upon the inhabitants to supply stakes, beams, fascines, and butts, for additional works of defence, and ordered the women to employ themselves in making sacks to be filled with earth. "If the French do come," thus he concluded his proclamation, "I will take such measures that Coruna, in the history of the present war, shall be not less gloriously distinguished than Gerona, Valencia, and Zaragoza; but if fortune should prove adverse to us, as a chastisement from God for our sins, I will bury myself in the ruins of this fortress rather than surrender it to the French; thus finishing my days with glory, and trusting that all will follow my example." Any place may be defended like Zaragoza, if men of a like mould are its defenders; but if an English army, with the sea open to them for succours, did not think Coruna could be maintained, it is not surprising that the inhabitants should have despaired of making a successful resistance. No capitulation, however, was proposed till the last transport was beyond the enemy's power. The terms were, that a general amnesty should be granted; that all persons in office should continue in their appointments on taking the oath to the intruder; and that the military who took that oath might either continue in the service, or receive their dismissal, at their own option: such as refused the oath remained prisoners of war. Alcedo set the example of swearing allegiance to Joseph Buonaparte: he had promised to play the hero, the traitor's part suited him better, and yet even in this he failed; for though the French at first affected to believe that he had taken part with the patriots only from constraint, and gave him credit in their bulletins for the enthusiasm with which he took the oath, they soon dismissed him from his government, and sent him into France.

The French had been defeated in the action of the 16th; but the sole use which had been made of this success, was to embark our army with the utmost expedition, and the enemy therefore claimed the victory, secure that, wherever the veracity of an English official account was not known, the evacuation of Galicia

† These are the sentiments, and almost the words, of an admirable letter in the *Times* of January 26, written on the night of the 13th, the last of a most able and interesting series.

would necessarily be supposed to prove the truth of their story. "Three regiments," they said, "the 42d, 50th, and 52d, were entirely destroyed in the battle, Sir John Moore was killed in attempting to charge at their head, with the vain hope of restoring the fortune of the day, and the bodies of three other general officers were found in the field." They ventured to name one,—and no such person had existed. Some of their other vaunts were unhappily better founded. "The English," they said, "had lost every thing which constitutes an army, artillery, horses, baggage, ammunition, magazines, and military chests. They landed 80 pieces of cannon, they re-embarked only twelve; a powder magazine containing 200,000 weight, 16,000 muskets, and two millions of treasure (about 83,000l.) had fallen into the hands of their pursuers. Treasure yet more considerable had been thrown down the precipices along the road between Astorga and Coruna, and there the peasantry and the soldiers were collecting it; 5000 horses had been counted which they killed along the road, 500 were taken alive at Coruna, the carcases of 1200 were infecting the streets when the conquerors entered the town. Thus had terminated the English expedition into Spain! thus, after having fomented the war in that unhappy country, had they abandoned it to its fate! In another season of the year not a man of them would have escaped; now the facility of breaking up the bridges, the rapidity of the winter torrents, the shortness of the days, and the length of the nights, had greatly favoured their retreat. But they were driven out of the peninsula, harassed, routed, and disheartened. The kingdom of Leon, the province of Zamora, and all Galicia, which they had been so desirous to cover, were conquered and subdued; and Romana, whom they had brought from the Baltic, was, with the wreck of his army, reduced to less than 2500 men, wandering between Vigo and Santiago, and closely pursued."—This was the most stinging of all the French reproaches. Wounded to the heart as we were that an English army should so have retreated, still we knew that wherever our men had been allowed to meet the enemy they had beaten them, and that, however the real history of the battle of Coruna might be concealed from the French people, the French army had received a lesson there, which they would be made to remember whenever it was our fortune to encounter them again. But that we should have drawn such a force in pursuit of Romana, who, if he were taken prisoner, would be put to death with the mock forms of justice, by a tyrant who makes mockery of all justice, was of all the mournful reflections which this disastrous expedition excited, the most painful and the most exasperating.

On the opposite side of the bay, in the harbour of Ferrol, there were three ships of 112 guns, two of 88, one 74, two 64's, three frigates and a considerable number of smaller vessels. The English would have occupied Ferrol, said the bulletins, and seized this fine squadron, had it not been for the precipitance of their retreat, and the battle of the 16th. The French might well express their astonishment that this place should have been suffered to fall into their hands. From Betanzos to Ferrol was but a march of fourteen miles farther than from Betanzos to Coru-

na; the latter not a defensible post without an equal army to that of the assailants, whereas Ferrol is represented by the French themselves as impregnable. To lay regular siege to it would be almost impossible, the nature of the soil being such, that trenches cannot be opened there. It is yet fresh in remembrance, that when Sir James Pulteney landed to attack the town, he deemed it wiser to embark his troops without attempting any thing, than to hazard an attack upon a place so strongly fortified. The Spanish government, for the last half century, had spared neither labour nor expence to render this the most complete naval establishment in the world; to force a passage into the harbour by sea is impossible, ships having, for the distance of a league, to file one by one along a shore defended by forts, and on the land side the advantages which the situation offered had been improved with equal care.

The population of Ferrol is estimated at 8000, double the number of the inhabitants of Coruna; but the people of the adjoining country had flocked there, and there were 8000 men within its walls, burning with hatred and indignation against the French, and requiring only a leader in whom they could confide. They suspected, and with good reason, the men in authority. One of these, Admiral Obregon, they seized and threw into prison;—it was only removing one traitor to make room for another. Melgarejo, who was left in command of the squadron, opened a treasonable correspondence by water with the French; and the military commanders, equally ready to betray their country, sent a messenger round by land at the same time. This was without the knowledge of the people; they would eagerly have performed their duty, but they knew not whom to trust. It is by destroying all confidence between the people and those in authority,—even between man and man,—that Buonaparte has obtained most of his successes in Spain;—a hideous policy, giving a character to war more hateful than all its ordinary horrors, because it tends to the dissolution of all bonds of society, and of morality itself. This policy will recoil with fearful vengeance upon France whenever the hour of retribution shall arrive; meantime it too frequently does its work. A division under General Mermet invested Ferrol. The patriotism of the people was of no avail against the baseness of their chiefs, civil and military; the town was delivered up, and Obregon was released from prison, and placed by the French at the head of the arsenal; and while he and his brother traitors took the oath to the intruder, and received the reward of their perfidy, those persons who had been most active in arresting him were seized and reserved for punishment. As soon as this important capture was known at Madrid, Massaredo, whose services in delivering over his country to a foreign yoke had been repaid with the post of minister of the marine, was sent with a special commission to Ferrol and Coruna. A decree had just been issued by the intruder, for the formation of a special military tribunal in every town where there was a garrison, for the purpose of trying all who entered the enemy's service, (such was the phrase of this Corsican upstart) or who recruited for it. Those who had pre-

Jan. 24.

Jan. 27.

Jan. 24.

viously been soldiers were to be shot; those who had newly enrolled themselves, to be hanged! this was the difference. Massaredo was instructed to take proper measures for the perfect security of the province, and the establishment of this tribunal was one of those "proper measures."

The French expressed their satisfaction at finding, that neither the ships nor the arsenal at Ferrol had sustained the slightest injury. To have injured them, indeed, was not what the English should have done; but it was their business to have entered the town, to have defended it, and to have sent the ships round to Cadiz. No delicacy towards the central junta, or, to speak more truly, no feeling of resentment towards them, ought to have prevented the British commanders from rendering this essential service to Spain. Such traitors as Melgarejo and Obregon might have remonstrated against our interference, and Buonaparte would have proclaimed in his bulletins, that we had seized the Spanish ships for ourselves; but the junta, and still more the people of Spain, would have applauded us for our decision and promptitude, and the blessings of the brave and patriotic men whom we should thus have rescued from the "proper measures" of Massaredo, and from the military tribunal of their remorseless invaders, would have amply repaid Great Britain for any momentary injury which could have been produced by a calumny so soon and so effectually contradicted by facts. But all thought,—almost, it may be said, all wish of serving their allies, had been abandoned by the British generals; their sole desire was to get out of the country as fast as possible; nor is it to be wondered at that they disregarded the interests of Spain, when they were so regardless of the honour of England, as to think of purchasing a retreat by a second Helder capitulation.

General Franceschi, meantime, entered Santiago, and pushed on towards Vigo in pursuit of Romana. He was soon followed by Soult, who, leaving Marshal Ney to complete what was called the organization of the province, prepared to enter Portugal. It was even announced in the bulletins that he would cross the Minho from Tuy on the 11th of February, reach Porto by the 20th, and Lisbon by the 28th. "The rage of the Portugueze," they said, "against the English was at its utmost height; every day bloody conflicts took place between them, and the garrison of Lisbon had embarked in order to abandon a people who were as indignant at the perfidy of their allies, as they were disgusted by the difference of manners and religion, by the continual and brutal intemperance of the English troops, and by that arrogance and ill founded pride which rendered those islanders odious to the continent." The falsehood of such assertions was gross enough to be ridiculous; but the French were well informed of the alarm in Portugal, which was, indeed, such as might have justified their vaunts, and enabled them to accomplish their purpose. Preparations were made for evacuating Lisbon, transports were collected in the Tagus, and a formal notice was given to the British merchants to hold themselves in readiness for immediate embarkation, in case the enemy should advance toward the capital. These measures were taken early in January, before it was known that Sir John Moore was retreating.

As soon as intelligence of his retreat was received, the Portugueze government communicated it to the people in a state paper remarkable for truth as well as spirit. "Portugueze," it said, "the governors of the kingdom do not mean to deceive you. They themselves tell you that the armies of Moore and Romana have retired to the interior of Galicia, leaving our frontiers uncovered; that those frontiers, from their great extent, are exposed to invasion; that the Emperor of the French is accustomed to employ his whole force when he attacks a nation; that his rapid marches do not usually give time for the reunion of the troops that are to act against him on the defensive; and that he rushes on to the capital, endeavouring to surprise the government, and to spread anarchy and confusion. This mode of warfare exposes some cities and towns to the ravages of an invasion; but these partial ravages are not the same as the ruin of a whole state. It was in the centre of Portugal that our ancestors sealed our independence with their blood. Knowing this, the governors of the kingdom have directed their measures accordingly; strong passes formed by nature to be the bulwarks of our liberty, and deep rivers, which cannot without danger be crossed, will be defended in a military manner; and if, in spite of this, the enemy of Europe should proceed to Lisbon, he will find around it a determined people, who will cause the glorious deeds of those times to be remembered, when its walls were the scene of their heroism and their triumph."

This was wise language, and though it proceeded from a regency which they disliked and distrusted, the Portugueze answered the appeal with enthusiasm. The squares were filled, the streets lined with volunteers, practising their evolutions with a zeal deserving better teachers than it found. In these ranks the old man and the stripling stood side by side,—all pedantry of inches and proportion was forgotten; the strength to carry arms, and the heart to use them, were all the qualifications required. Some were armed with fowling-pieces, some with bayonets screwed upon poles, some with pikes and halberds, which for centuries had hung idly in the hall; bullets were piled up in heaps at every stall, with flints and ramrods, and rusty weapons of all kinds were brought out from the dust to answer the general demand for arms. The children with their flags and wooden guns were playing at soldiers, imitating the discipline of their fathers with that spirit which, if well fostered and directed, would render any country invincible. There was no want of courage, of enthusiasm, or of patriotic feeling; but such was the incapacity of the government, and the despondence of their British allies, that the people had none to whom they could look with confidence.

It was the beginning of February before the news arrived of Sir John Moore's death, and of the evacuation of Spain. Fourteen thousand English troops had been left at Lisbon when the army began its march. Some regiments had advanced to the frontiers, to be near the commander-in-chief if he should require to be reinforced, or find it expedient to fall back upon them. They learning that he had retreated by a different route, and that superior forces were hastening against them, returned by forced marches to the capital. Every thing was in confusion there. One day the cavalry was embarked, the next it was relanded. The sea bat-

teries were all dismantled, and their guns shipped to be sent to Brazil; those at fort St Julien alone were left mounted, as a defensible post if our troops should be forced to embark precipitately. The women * belonging to the army were sent on board. These preparations exasperated the people: they were willing and eager to do whatever should be required of them in the defence of their country; that their own governors wanted courage or principle to stand by them was what they might have expected; but from the English, who were the old and faithful friends of the Portugueze, they looked for that assistance which England had never refused to Portugal in its time of need. The feeling which this intended abandonment produced was rather anger than fear; and they resented it more as if they felt ashamed for allies long trusted, and always found worthy, than alarmed for the consequences to themselves. A party of the armed populace seized the whole of the English ambassador's baggage, which was packed up for removal. The government affected to consider *Feb. 24.* this as the work of French emissaries, though it was evidently a manifestation of the general temper; but while threats of condign punishment were denounced against any person who should again offer insult to a British subject, the people were assured that it was only by the powerful assistance of the British army that their national independence could be maintained.

The danger, indeed, appeared imminent. The army of Portugal (as those ruffians were called whom the unprecedented folly of the British commanders, by their armistice and convention, had rescued from destruction,) was again upon the frontiers of that country. Soult, with the robber Loison under him, was preparing to cross the Minho, and enter from the north, while Ney remained to keep the Galicians in subjection. Between these generals and Victor, Lefebvre, and Sebastiani, who, from New Castille and Estremadura, equally threatened Andalusia and Portugal, Salamanca was the point of communication, and General Maupetit was stationed there to keep up that communication, and dispatch supplies to each as they might be wanted. This plan, however, was defeated by a small body of Portugueze, under an English leader, who perceived the real worth of that despised and injured people, and knew how to call it into action.

Sir Robert Wilson, with little assistance and little encouragement from the regency, had, during his stay at Porto, raised a legion of 2000 volunteers. It might have been increased to 10,000, could he have relied upon resources for them; for the quickness with which they learnt our discipline, the confidence which they acquired, the pride which they felt in being displayed, and their officers in displaying them, excited the emulation of all their countrymen. In ten weeks they were perfectly disciplined, and Sir Robert, on the 14th of December, before Generals Moore and Baird had formed a junction,

* They were more than 500. It is remarked by Mr Semple, as a reproach to our discipline, that the whole French force under Junot had scarcely 200 when they embarked. That gentleman did not recollect, that while the French were in the country no woman was safe.

marched towards the frontier, with the intent of facilitating the communication between them, and covering, as far as his means would permit, the approach to the northern provinces. Little, or rather nothing, was done by the regency to assist him,—even the common means which they had at their command were neglected. Sir John Cradock, indeed, who had the command of the British forces at Lisbon, did all he could to forward Sir Robert Wilson's views, and gave him full powers to act according to his own judgment. This was all that he could do; but to a man of genius and perseverance this was of the first importance. He had no instructions, and no security for the payment of his troops.

They marched to Ciudad Rodrigo, through a country which, by officers of ordinary talents, would have been pronounced impracticable. It was in a season of heavy rains, and the torrents were sometimes breast-high. By dint of manual exertion, cannon and carts were drawn up steeps which had been before thought inaccessible to carriages: Sometimes, when the carriages would have swam, the wheels were taken off, and they were slidden over on the foot-bridges; sometimes hauled along causeways and connecting bridges so narrow, that the wheels rested on half their fellies, upon angular stones placed point upwards to form the edge of the road. It was the first march which these troops had ever made; yet there was not one straggler; not a murmur was heard amid all their difficulties; they sung as they went along, and reached their resting place at night with unabating spirit and cheerfulness. When they reached Ciudad Rodrigo, which was their head-quarters, Sir Robert issued a proclamation in reply to one of the French, in which they threatened to put to death all who did not obey their requisitions; if this threat were put in execution, he declared that he would hang a Frenchman for every Spaniard. The people took heart, seeing the determination with which he acted; the supreme junta conferred on him the rank of brigadier-general, and placed the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo and the troops in the province at his disposal; from thence he extended his excursions as far as Salamanca, keeping the enemy in constant alarm, intercepting their collections of money, horses, and supplies, and carrying their posts in open day. Nor did the retreat of the British army, and the evacuation of Galicia, abate his hopes or alter his resolution; he determined to maintain the country to the last, notwithstanding the general alarm, and his own peculiar danger, if the fortune of war should throw him into the hands of Buonaparte. By feebler minds this was considered as the excess of rashness;* but it was of essential service both to Portugal and Spain. Mau-

* I am tempted to extract the following admirable passage from a letter written by a British officer in this legion, at Ciudad Rodrigo, Jan. 25th.—"Though at 200 miles distance from all British support, unaided by the supine regency, and reduced to consult our own personal safety, as every thing appears abandoned to France, we not only maintain our ground, but press on the enemy, even at the gates of Salamanca. Why do we act so rashly, perhaps you will say.—Because we flatter ourselves that our perseverance may mitigate the disasters of the times,—because we know that, by constancy, the great and interesting cause to which Great Britain is

petit was confined by this indefatigable enemy to the walls of Salamanca; the communication between Victor and Soult was interrupted, and the latter was thus checked in his intention of marching to Lisbon.

The vigorous conduct of Sir Robert Wilson, and the spirit with which the people of Galicia prosecuted that mode of warfare which was best suited to themselves, and most destructive to the enemy, disconcerted the projects of the French, and delayed the invasion of Portugal. Andalusia was not less threatened in the first career of the tyrant's success. He had told his † soldiers that their conquering eagles must be carried even to the pillars of Hercules, for there also he had an injury to avenge; but the fate of Dupont's army was fresh in his remembrance, and numerous as his armies were, beyond any military establishment with which Europe has ever been cursed, it was not possible that, in so large a country as Spain, he could have an overwhelming force in all parts at once. Cadiz, too, was so strong, that the only hope of winning it was by treachery. For this service he had a ready agent in Morla, now become infamous in proportion to the good name which he had formerly obtained. Never was the guilt of any individual more reluctantly believed by the world. It was long before the people of Cadiz could be convinced that their governor, whose patriotic addresses were still circulating among them, could possibly have proved a traitor. So many acts of patriotism and of disinterested vigilance in the administration of justice were remembered of him, that the first reports of his treason were indignantly resented;—the fact was too contrary to all their experience to be credited, and they felt as if they had injured him in listening to such an accusation. Morla had established among them a reputation for integrity, like that which a Mahommedan cadi sometimes enjoys in countries where individual honesty supplies the defects of law. A peasant, whom he had acquitted upon some criminal charge, was so grateful for his acquittal, that he brought him a number of turkies as a present,—Morla put him in prison, consigned the turkies to the gaoler for his food, and set him at liberty when he had eaten the whole of them.—There was neither law nor equity in this, yet it had in it a wild oriental character of justice, well calculated to impress the people with respect for such a judge. But they could not long withhold their belief from the conclusive proofs of his baseness. A letter was intercepted from him to Virues, the provisional governor of Cadiz, in which, after glosing over his own conduct with the plea of necessity, he endeavoured to persuade Virues to follow his ex-

pledged must finally prosper,—because we know that the enemy has not the means of achieving the conquest of a nation whose spirit inflames as the danger approaches, and because we think it our duty to continue at our posts while any utility can arise from it.—It has been a great evil to the world, that the sentiment of fortitude has not been cherished as more essential to officers than animal courage.—The battle of Europe must be fought on Spanish ground, unless the nations who are still free mean to yoke themselves voluntarily in the train of the enslaved people." *Times*, Feb. 24.

† Vol. I. Part I. p. 412.

ample. He thought it right, he said, to prevent the total ruin of Madrid, that the lives of all its inhabitants might not be sacrificed to the absurd extravagance of a few; therefore he capitulated, and was now a prisoner of war; but the good which he had done to that metropolis was his consolation. Nevertheless he could not but contemplate and deplore the fate of his beloved Cadiz, and its dear inhabitants, who had given him such proofs of their confidence and love. "I know not," he continued, "whether the fate of Spain is decided in favour of the brother of the Emperor, whose character appears to me humane and beneficent; but this I know, that the English before the late events were resolved to retreat, and I much fear that they purpose to repay themselves for the presents made us, and the expences incurred on our behalf, by seizing the treasures which are coming from America, and making themselves masters of your beautiful city, which, in that event, would become an English garrison, more burthensome to the nation than Gibraltar, and ruinous to the commerce of the inhabitants. May God avert this! but I deem it necessary that your excellency should endeavour to prevent this catastrophe by the exercise of much valour and address. I deem it expedient that you should refuse to admit their troops into the fortress, however few they may be; perfect the fortifications, fix batteries of bombs and red-hot shot, and cause the ships of war to be placed in a posture of defence; send dispatches to America to prevent the transmission of effects until farther orders, and write to the governor of Ceuta to beware of the English. I need not exhort your excellency to defend Cadiz with the honour and patriotism which becomes you; but, having done this, I remember that an honourable capitulation may save the city, and serve as a full protection for its worthy inhabitants."

In consequence of this letter having been intercepted, it was necessary to remove Virues from the command of the city, more for his own sake than for any suspicion which attached to him, though he had at one time been Godoy's secretary, and though Morla had been his especial friend and patron. Unwilling, and perhaps unable, to believe that one whom he had so long been accustomed to revere and love could have become a traitor, he attempted to excuse Morla as having acted under compulsion,—an excuse which might for a while alleviate his own feelings, but assuredly could not satisfy his judgement. His own patriotism, however, was as little doubted as Morla's had been, and he stood high in the opinion of his countrymen; but he felt himself that, under these circumstances, when it was requisite that the people should have the utmost confidence in their chiefs, it was no longer proper for one who might so probably become suspected, to remain in possession of an important post, and therefore he gladly accepted a mission to England. Don Felix Jones, who had distinguished himself in the operations against Dupont, was made governor. Morla had advised additional works of defence towards the sea; but the people of Cadiz knew who were their real enemies, and new works were begun, to protect the approach of the city, under the direction of Colonel Hallowell, who came from Gibraltar for this purpose. Ammunition and stores in abundance were sent from Seville. Measures of rigorous pre-

caution were also taken by the new governor. The property of the natives of any country subject to France was confiscated; in consequence of which more than 300 shops were shut up. No person whatever, not even a Spaniard or an Englishman, was permitted to go a mile beyond the city without a passport. Every Frenchman in the place was arrested, and sent on board the ships in the harbour. This was intended as much for their own security as for that of the city; for so bitterly were the populace incensed against that perfidious nation, and such was their fear of treachery in every person belonging to it, that they purposed putting all whom they could find at large to death; and it was said that three hundred knives for this purpose had been purchased at one shop.

The junta displayed more vigour and activity in their reverses than they had done while fortune was in their favour. As soon as Madrid was in danger they wisely retired from the capital, first to Badajoz, then to Seville, and immediately they began to collect and reorganize their scattered armies. On the 30th of December their venerable president, Count de Floridablanca, died, at the great age of eighty-one. From the time of Godoy's ascendancy till the revolution he had lived in retirement: that villainous favourite designed his exile from the court to be felt as a disgrace and a punishment; but it suited with the disposition and declining years of the injured man, and Floridablanca passed his time chiefly in those religious meditations which are the natural comfort and solace of old age. Many rulers and statesmen have retired into a convent when the cares and vanities of the world have wearied or disgusted them; but few men have been called upon, like Floridablanca, in extreme old age, to sacrifice their retirement, their tranquillity, and their pious habits, for the higher duty of serving their country in its hour of danger. The junta displayed their sense of his virtue by conferring upon his heir, and all his legitimate descendants who should succeed him in the title, the rank of grandee. They added to this an exemption from certain taxes, in itself unjust, and especially injudicious at this time, when it behoved them to have set an example of abrogating these impolitic and obnoxious privileges. The same gazette which announced this grant made known to the nation an instance of splendid patriotism in one of its nobles. The Duke of Medina-Sidonia, whose property in Madrid had just been confiscated by the intruder, had, from the commencement of the revolution, in addition to his share of the public burthens, made a free gift monthly of 2500 dollars, besides various donations of necessaries for the army.

The French emissaries, knowing of what importance it was to bring the legitimate government into disrepute, spread reports that the junta had sanctioned and approved the capitulation of Madrid. This the junta contradicted in a spirited proclamation, and they exhorted the inhabitants of that city to remember that the momentary occupation of the buildings of Madrid by the enemy was of no importance, while he was not master of their hearts. "Continue to resist him," they said, "in the very bosom of your families; place no confidence in the promises of the French, reflect that to every people they have promised happiness, and they have plunged all into mi-

Dec. 23, 1808.

sery. Keep alive your hopes, retain your courage and firmness, and your deliverance will be the more glorious, as the danger you have encountered has been great." They made no attempt to conceal or palliate the extent of their disasters; but they attributed them to the inexperience of the troops, and denied that the monarchy was comprehended within the narrow precincts of the capital. "Were you to believe the enemy," they said, in another of their addresses to the nation, "our armies have all vanished like the smoke of the battle, and Spain has neither forces to oppose her invaders, nor authority to regulate her councils, nor resources to protect her from annihilation. All this is false. The government which has been chosen by the people never attracted more respect, never felt more strongly the strong principle of union, and never experienced more ardour in the public cause. The provinces at its voice have redoubled their exertions, and new enlistments, new contributions, and new sacrifices, have already filled the void occasioned by our reverses." In order to expedite the formation and equipment of these new armies, deputies from the junta itself were dispatched into the provinces. A similar measure had been pursued with the best effect by the French convention in the days of jacobinism, and to that measure the success of the French armies, which has since proved so baneful to Europe, is primarily to be attributed; for their commissioners were men picked out from a popular assembly for their talents and desperate enthusiasm; they had authority to displace suspected generals or men of incapacity, to set aside all the ordinary rules and etiquette of the service, and to regard nothing in their promotions but military merit. The Spanish deputies had neither the same power, nor, constituted as the supreme junta necessarily was, is it likely that they would have had the same ability in exercising it. To excite the feelings of the people, and encourage them by their faith, the government appointed a solemn day of supplication to their sainted king, Fernando; the members of the junta themselves went in procession to the metropolitan church, where the image of the royal saint was placed upon the high altar, in the same form as on his annual festival. Mass being ended, they accompanied the chapter to the royal chapel, where the body was displayed, and prayers were addressed to him whose relics were before them, that he would intercede for the people and for the armies of Spain, and procure them victory and deliverance by his intercession.

Jan. 1.

While the south of the peninsula obtained leisure to prepare for defence, through the diversion occasioned by Sir John Moore, by the bolder measures of Sir Robert Wilson, and by the devoted courage of the Zaragozans, the provinces nearer the Pyrenees had nothing to protect them against the invader except their own unconquerable patriotism. The first fruits of the French victories was the relief of Barcelona, which had been long and closely blockaded by the Spaniards. Catalonia, indeed, seemed to have been neglected by the British government, in a manner for which it would be impossible to account, if Lord Castlereagh had not explained it. We had a fine army in Sicily, and part of this army was ordered to the assistance of the Catalans. Of a measure so obviously important the French could not but be aware; they

made a threat of invading Sicily from Naples; and as the court of Palermo is only preserved from the indignation of its subjects by British protection, the troops were detained upon this unworthy service, when they ought to have been gloriously and usefully employed in co-operating with one of the finest and bravest people in the world. The Catalans have been described as a turbulent and seditious race by the courtly Castillan writers, because they have so often struggled against the yoke to which the Castillans, since the War of the Commons, patiently resigned themselves: never did any people prove themselves more worthy of liberty, by the heroic efforts and sacrifices which they have made in its defence, than the people of Catalonia.

As soon as the French began to act on the offensive, they detached about 6000 men, chiefly Italians, against Rosas. The Lucifer and Meteor bomb vessels were in the bay, under Captain West of the Excellent. The enemy appeared on the 6th of November, 1808, from the side of Figueras, (one of the important places of which they obtained possession by treachery before the commencement of the war;) there was no force to oppose them, and on the following morning they were masters of the heights which encompass the whole bay. That same day they entered the town, the inhabitants flying, some to their boats, others to the citadel; but the Excellent and Meteor lay within point-blank shot of the place, and soon compelled the invaders to retreat more rapidly than they had advanced. The citadel was in a wretched state for defence; the south-west bastion had been blown down in the last war by the explosion of a magazine, and all that had been done was to hide the breach, by patching it with a few thin planks and loose stones: such was the supine security of Godoy's administration, and the junta had had too many occupations to distract its attention. The stores were as incomplete as the works; there were neither measures for their powder nor saws for their fusees,—hats and axes were used instead. Five-and-twenty of the Excellent's marines were sent to reinforce Fort Trinidad, which stands east of the town, upon an eminence on the shore, commanding the port, but itself commanded by the heights; the rest of the ships' marines, with fifty seamen, went to assist the garrison of the citadel. O'Daly, the governor, sent for reinforcements to the junta of Gerona; but a traitor was employed by the French to intercept all his dispatches, while at the same time their emissaries reported that the English had taken possession of the fortress, and suspended the Spanish commander. Hearing this confidently affirmed, and receiving no other intelligence, that junta wrote to Captain West, requesting he would explain to them the motives for this conduct. The artifice of the enemy was then discovered; but meantime between two and three weeks had elapsed, during which the junta were kept in ignorance, and thus prevented from taking any measures for the relief of the place, if any were in their power.

Reille, one of Buonaparte's aid-de-camps, commanded the besieging army. He expected to take Rosas by a sudden attack; but the steadiness of the Spaniards, and the exertions of the British seamen, baffled him. Late on the evening of the 9th a large breach was made in the rampart of the citadel, sufficient to admit

more than 20 men abreast. O'Daly immediately apprized Captain West of this disaster: the Meteor was then placed in such a situation as to flank the breach, and two boats were sent to enfilade the shore with carronades. It was fortunately so late that the enemy were not apprized of what their guns had effected. More seamen were sent to assist in repairing the breach: it is indifferent to our sailors on what service they are employed; whatever can be done by courage, activity, and strenuous exertion, they can accomplish. The rampart was made secure during the next day, and on the following it was as defensible as it had ever been. On one occasion, when a body of miquelets (as the irregular troops of Catalonia are called) were hard pressed by the advanced posts of the enemy, Captain West sallied with his men from the citadel and rescued them. His horse was shot under him in this affair, and several of his people wounded. Reille now found that, neglected as Rosas had been, with its feeble works, its scanty garrison, and insufficient stores, it was necessary to proceed against it by regular siege. On the 30th, however, he attempted to carry Fort Trinadad by assault. Two hundred men advanced, with about 2000 to support them; they were bravely repulsed, but returned in greater strength, and two of the outer gates were forced. Still such a steady fire of musketry and hand grenades was kept up against them, that they retired a second time, leaving many of their men dead under the walls, and among others their leader, a chief of brigade. The second in command was carried off desperately wounded. Captain West, expecting a third assault, reinforced the fort with thirty marines, who entered by means of a rope ladder, under an incessant fire, but without loss, and the enemy did not again venture to assail the place till they could bring an overpowering force against it.

Nothing could be more cordial than the co-operation of the Spaniards and their allies during this siege. Reille, departing from the usual system of havock and cruelty upon which his countrymen proceeded in Spain, endeavoured, by a temporary moderation, to decoy the inhabitants into submission; but the Catalans were neither to be terrified nor tempted to forsake their duty. He now began to erect batteries upon the heights. One of our bomb vessels endeavoured in vain to prevent this for two days. During the night of the 19th the enemy threw up an entrenchment three hundred yards from the citadel, and at day-break opened upon the ships in the bay from three large mortars, and compelled them to retire. A battery of three heavy guns was at the same time opened upon the walls. At this time Captain West was superseded upon this station by Captain Bennet of the Fame. The state of the citadel soon appeared hopeless. Fort Trinidad was battered in breach by four four-and-twenty pounders, and a passage to the lower bomb-proof being nearly effected, the marines belonging to the Fame were withdrawn on the 23d. But a new defender was at hand. Lord Collingwood, with great judgement, had entrusted Lord Cochrane with discretionary orders to assist the Spaniards wherever it could be done with most effect, and he hastened, in the Imperieuse, to the Bay of Rosas, as soon as he knew of the siege. Captain Bennet, though he had withdrawn his own men, did not officially alter Lord Collingwood's orders, and Cochrane threw himself

into Fort Trinidad, with 80 of his seamen and marines, at a time when the garrison, amounting to the same number, would else have surrendered, perceiving that further resistance had been thought unavailing by the English themselves. This garrison was changed, and the new men brought with them fresh hope and unexhausted strength. Cochrane formed a rampart within the breach of palisadoes and barrels, ships' hammock-cloths, awning, &c., filled with sand and rubbish, and these supplied the place of walls and ditches. On the 30th the breach was assaulted by a thousand picked men; they were repulsed, with the loss of their commanding officer, storming equipage, and of every man who attempted to mount the breach. While the enemy were battering the fort, the Spanish flag fell into the ditch. Lord Cochrane descended after it through a shower of balls, returned unhurt, and planted it again upon the walls. The citadel, being reduced almost to a heap of ruins, capitulated on the 5th of December. Cochrane then knew that any farther resistance was impracticable, and having maintained the shattered walls of Fort Trinidad twelve days after they were thought untenable, he embarked the whole of its garrison, and blew up the magazines. So skilfully was this desperate service performed, that during these twelve days the loss of the English amounted only to three men killed and seven wounded, and that of the Spaniards to two killed and five wounded.

Thus, in consequence of our co-operation, were the French detained a whole month before a neglected and ill-provided fortress, which, without that co-operation, could not have resisted the first attack; and its conquest was not purchased without a considerable expence of men as well as time. The event, however, might have been far different had there been a floating army off the coast: the whole of the besieging force might then have been cut off. Of the errors which the English government has committed in the conduct of the Spanish war, the neglect of this obvious and most important means of annoying the enemy, and advantaging our allies, is the most extraordinary. Five thousand men, at the disposal of Lord Cochrane, or Sir Sidney Smith, or any of those numerous officers in the British navy who have given undoubted proofs of their genius as well as courage, would have rendered more service to the common cause than five times their number upon shore; because they could at all times chuse their point of attack, and the enemy, never knowing where to expect them, would every where be in fear, and every where, within reach of the shore, in danger. During the month of September 1808, Lord Cochrane, with his single ship, the Imperieuse, kept the whole coast of Languedoc in alarm, destroyed the newly-constructed semaphoric telegraphs (which were of the utmost consequence to the numerous coasting convoys of the French) at Bourdique, La Pinede, St Maguire, Frontignan, Canet, and Foy; demolished fourteen barracks of the *gens d' armes*; blew up a battery and the strong tower upon the lake of Frontignan; and not only prevented any troops from being sent from that province into Spain, but even excited such dismay, that 2000 men were drawn from Figueras to oppose him, when they would otherwise have been marching farther into the peninsula. The coasting trade was entirely sus-

pended during this alarm; and with such consummate prudence were all his enterprizes planned and executed, that not one of his men was either killed or hurt, except one, who was singed in blowing up the battery.

Before he quitted the station, Lord Cochrane rendered one more service to a cause in which he felt that lively interest which became him as a Briton and a true lover of liberty. *Jan. 2.* Hearing that eleven victuallers, destined for the relief of Barcelona, were lying in the port of Caldagues, under convoy of a cutter and a lugger, he captured the whole, drove the French from the town of Caldagues, and took all the guns which they had mounted and were mounting on the batteries. But Barcelona had already been relieved by land. St Cyr's division, after defeating the patriots under Reding and Vives, entered it on the 17th of December. Many opportunities had occurred, and many there were afterwards, in which a floating English force, under an enterprizing leader, such a leader as Cochrane, might have recovered for Spain this most important city.

CHAP. XX.

Second Siege and Fall of Zaragoza. Honours decreed to that City, and its Defenders and Inhabitants.

AFTER the defeat at Tudela, Palafox retired to Zaragoza, to prepare for a second siege. "I had no apprehension of this sort," said he, "at Caperroso, where I was posted with a division of my army, far from thinking that I should so soon find myself in the lamentable situation in which I am now placed; for never could any combination of mine have brought me into it." The charge of incapacity thus implied against the commander-in-chief was strengthened by an official account of the battle, published by General O'Neil. Here it appeared that the troops under the command of Palafox had felt the utmost confidence in their general; that his plans had been ably formed; and that when, in consequence of a movement undertaken without his advice, and contrary to his designs, they were forced to engage under many grievous disadvantages, both officers and men had done their duty, and maintained the character of their country. But the evil was done; and though the regret which must have been felt that such a man as Palafox should not have been left free to follow the impulses of his own superior genius, might operate as a warning for the future, it could not remedy the past.

During the former siege the Zaragozans had been embarrassed by the French who resided in the city. Whatever might be the virtues of an individual, it is not to be wondered at if every Frenchman suffered the penalty of imputed sin for the crimes of his government. It was necessary to take precautions against their probable treachery, and at the same time to protect them against the fatal effects of popular suspicion.

Nov. 24. To prevent this inconvenience, and to avoid a general massacre of these unfortunate people, which he apprehended, not more from the indignant rage of the Spaniards than from the instigation of the wretches in the tyrant's pay, Palafox sent them out of the city to distant places of confinement. The prisoners and deserters from the enemy were also sent away to places appointed for their reception. All the women, all men above threescore, and all boys not able to carry cartridges, were commanded to leave the city within three days, orders having been issued to all the towns and villages in the kingdom to receive them with kindness, and to supply their wants. The nuns were permitted to remove to other convents at a distance from

the scene of danger, where they might devote themselves without interruption to their religious exercises. These measures could not be executed to their full extent, the enemy approached so rapidly; and had there been leisure for their fulfilment, it might probably have been difficult to enforce them; for the patriotism of the Zaragozans was as ardent in the women as in the men, and many of them would consider it a greater evil to seek bread and protection apart from their husbands, than to remain with them during the siege, and triumph or perish together. Another decree was levelled against those persons who, for the sake of preserving their own property, would fain have submitted to the intruder; of such persons the majority of his adherents is composed, wretches who are bribed by their own wealth to betray their country. Palafox ordained, that all the inhabitants of Zaragoza, of whatever rank or condition, should consider themselves bound to devote their persons, their property, and their lives to its defence; that the rich should foster, and assist, and clothe the poor, enable them to maintain their respective posts, and remunerate them for the zeal with which they defended *their* lives, *their* estates, and their common country. If any man were unnatural enough to disregard this sacred duty, which he owed both to his country and his religion, he should be fined in proportion to the magnitude of his offence, and the amount of the fine appropriated to the subsistence of the army. All persons who served the cause of the enemy, by pasquinades, by endeavouring to excite a want of confidence in the chiefs, the people, or the army, or by raising disturbances and riots, should be carried before Don Santiago Penicela, the newly-appointed judge of the police, who would pass judgement according to their crimes, and suitable to the danger of the country; but before he imposed the punishment of death, he should consult the captain-general. All the houses were ordered to be well supplied with vessels of water, in order to extinguish fires; and the *Alcaides de Barrio*, or officers of the ward, were charged to superintend this important measure of preparation. All persons entering or leaving the city were to be watched with the greatest care, because the enemy even assumed the dress of the Spaniards, and, greatly superior as they were in numbers, resorted to every artifice. "All these measures," said Palafox, "should be obeyed with religious respect, because they are all directed to the good of our country, which, in happier times, will recompence all the sacrifices we make,—sacrifices so acceptable in the sight of God, and of the Virgin Mother of God, who is our celestial protectress."

The French, with their usual celerity, proceeded to improve their victory, and marched against Zaragoza, under Marshal Moncey (Duke of Cornegliano). They encamped at a little distance from that city four days after the battle. Meantime the utmost exertions were made by the inhabitants to strengthen their fortifications; old and young worked at them, without distinction of sex or rank. On the 29th some skirmishes took place between the advanced parties, which were to the advantage of the patriots. On the 30th, in the dusk of the evening, about 1200 of the enemy appeared on the side of the Torrero and the Casa Blanca. Part of them took post on a height between the *Ermidas*, or chapels of

Nov. 27.

Soledad, and Santa Barbara, which commanded the Casa Blanca; the rest ascended through the ravine de la Muerte, and took possession of the Carthusian monastery of the Conception. The whole of the garrison was immediately under arms.

Dec. 1. At day-break the enemy were attacked, dislodged from the monastery, and compelled to fall back through the ravine; they then took post, in five columns, on the heights that command the Torrero, and having manœuvred till ten o'clock, commenced a vigorous attack in the direction of the Casa Blanca. It continued for four hours, during which time the fire of the Spaniards was so well kept up that the French at length fell back, and at four in the afternoon they filed off towards Alagon, leaving behind them part of their baggage and a considerable quantity of provisions. The success of the day was attributed in great measure to the able dispositions of General St Marc. This repulse impeded the plans of the enemy, and a division of their force, which was advancing by Zuera, fell back towards Tausti. They were not more successful in an attack made upon the line of the canal, where the bridge was three times taken and recovered. The division of Asturian troops charged them with such spirit that they retreated, leaving many hundreds upon the field.

The delay which was occasioned in the progress of the siege by these defeats, and by numerous other sallies of the Zaragozans, Buonaparte represented as an act of humanity on his part. He was anxious, he said, to spare the inhabitants the horrors inseparable from a capture by storm, and was unwilling therefore that the city should be attacked before the surrender of Madrid, and the dispersion of the Spanish armies should be known there. But the tyrant could not possibly imagine that the fate of Madrid would produce any effect upon Zaragoza; that city had been tried and proved, and the hatred which rankled in the heart of this base barbarian against its defenders was manifested by his invectives against Palafox. To this hatred he gave full scope when it suited him to speak his real feelings: Mines and bombs, said he, shall reduce Zaragoza to reason; and he swore in his fury that the city should be destroyed. A great quantity of mortars, bombs, and howitzers of every calibre, were brought by General Dedon, who commanded the artillery, from Pamplona; and Lacoste, the general of engineers, who was one of the Corsican's aid-de-camps, collected instruments of every kind for mining. Buonaparte had been taught that there was no other means of conquering Zaragoza than by destroying it.

Marshal Berwick, after he had attained the height of his military reputation, used to wish that he might have a good fortress to defend,—this he thought was yet wanting to his fame. Something more would still have been wanting, which never fell to Marshal Berwick's lot,—a good cause for which to have defended it: A man may become a great general without this, but he never can become a hero; never can win for himself the admiration and reverence and love of all succeeding ages, like Palafox within the mud walls of Zaragoza. Moncey proposed to him to capitulate; his answer was, Talk of capitulation when I am dead! The soldiers and the citizens were alike worthy of their illustrious leader. The Countess of Burita again enrol-

led herself with three hundred women of all ranks, to assist those who worked at the batteries, by carrying provisions, and rendering whatever service was in their power. Young and old were inspired with the same sacred enthusiasm. A boy of fourteen offered himself as a soldier, and was rejected as too young to serve. Nevertheless he mixed with the troops, joined in one of their attacks upon the French, and won with his own hand a stand of colours, which in the sight of the army he carried to the church of the Pillar, and laid upon the high altar as his offering to the Virgin.

On the 20th of December, the enemy made a general attack in great force on the side where Moncey commanded in person. They won the Torrero, a post untenable from its situation against superior numbers; they won also the Casa Blanca; and the battery of Buenavista, which was flanked in consequence by this success, was blown up by a shell. The Spaniards, expecting that their position would be lost, had ruined the bridge of America, and by blowing it up, prevented the French cavalry from harassing their retreat, which they effected in good order to the redoubt of the Pillar, at the head of the bridge de la Huerba. The success of the day was very different elsewhere. On the other side of the river seven columns of infantry, with a large body of horse, attempted to win the suburb. The command on this side had been entrusted to Brigadier Don Josef Manso, captain of the royal guards, who, after an action of five hours, repulsed the enemy. They renewed the attack with their reserve, and their fire was so hot and the attack so fierce, that the patriots were somewhat disordered. Palafox himself, followed by O'Niel and Saint Marc, hastened to the spot, put himself sword in hand at the head of his countrymen, rallied them, encouraged them by his voice and his example, and the French were defeated and driven back, leaving 4000 men upon the field.

Dec. 22.

A few days afterwards, Moncey, who had now fixed his head-quarters at the Torrero, sent a letter to Palafox, assuring him that Madrid had capitulated, and that any farther resistance on the part of Zaragoza could only produce its total and inevitable destruction. The French Marshal spoke also of his earnest wish to spare the effusion of blood, and to preserve so fine and so estimable a city; and he called upon the Aragonese general to inspire the people with peaceful sentiments, and so deserve the blessings which were offered them. The emperor, he said, had given him power to put a stop to all farther evil; and his heart as well as his duty made him urge the Zaragozans to accept the peace which was proposed. Such profanation of language, to which the French have been accustomed since the baneful ascendancy of the Corsican, makes Genseric and Attila, and the old barbarians of the North and of the East appear less hateful;—they only outraged humanity; these wretches, while they commit equal excesses, insult the understanding, and would pervert the moral nature of man. Palafox replied, "that Madrid, if it had indeed capitulated, must have been betrayed;—the second of May," said he, "is a day which has no parallel in history; either that city defends itself, or it has been sold. But what if it has been sold? Madrid is but a single town. What avails it to talk of danger to men who know how to

die? We in Zaragoza are not to be intimidated by the horrors of a siege,—that has been tried and proved. And for the effusion of blood, which Marshal Moncey is so desirous of sparing, it is as honourable for the Spaniards to shed their blood in such a cause as it is ignominious for the French to be the instruments of shedding it."

Palafox also addressed a proclamation to the people of Madrid. "The dogs by whom he was beset," he said, "scarcely gave him time to clean his sword from their blood. But they still found their graves at Zaragoza. The defenders of that city may be destroyed, but compelled to surrender they could not be. We know," said he, "that we were born for posterity, not for ourselves." And he promised, as soon as he was at liberty, to hasten to the deliverance of Madrid. All Palafox's proclamations were in the same spirit; his language had the high tone and something of the inflation of Spanish romance, suiting the character of those to whom it was addressed. On the last day of the year, a sally was made, which brought on a sharp action; the French suffered considerable loss, and Palafox ordered every man who had signalized himself in this affair to wear a red ribband of distinction on his breast. The priests and friars admirably seconded the general; the Zaragozans were animated by every feeling of honour, enthusiasm, and duty; and if the most heroic and devoted courage could have ensured success, the confidence which Palafox expressed would not have been frustrated. It would have ensured success had there been only the enemy to contend with; but an infectious disease broke out in the city, and pestilence accomplished for the tyrant what he might else, with all his mighty means of destruction, have been unable to effect.

At the beginning of January Moncey was superseded in the command of the besieging army by Junot, whom the convention of Cintra had rescued from the punishment due to his crimes, and transported from Portugal, that he might commit new enormities in Spain. On the 10th, the bombardment began; the main fire was directed towards the head-quarters of the general; for while Buonaparte in his bulletins loaded him with the meanest reproaches that a mind innately and incurably base could suggest, Palafox was the object of his fear as well as hatred, and the French would have regarded his death as a victory. The court of Audience, a precious monument of antiquity, happened to adjoin his quarters, and was consumed, with whatever it contained. The bombardment was so violent, that the clergy suspended the administration of the sacraments. The monastery of St Joseph and the bridge de la Huerba were won by the enemy, whose superior numbers became now far more effectual, because disease was rapidly wasting the besieged. Don Francisco, the brother of Palafox, and member of the supreme junta, left the city in hopes of effecting a diversion in its favour. He embarked at night in a little boat, and descended the Ebro, established himself at Alcaniz, organized the peasantry, and by his active measures harassed the communication of the besieging army, so that they began to be distrest for provisions. It was to such a system that the Aragonese looked when they regretted the movements of the army of the centre after its defeat; and Castanos might have rendered essential services to Zaragoza, if, instead of exposing and

wasting the troops in so long and hazardous a retreat, he had made for the fortresses of Catalonia. St Cyr with his division was now forming a cordon round the eastern frontier of Aragon, to prevent the Catalans from relieving the besieged; Reding with his force was not strong enough to break through their line, nor could he leave the country exposed to the French in Barcelona, to co-operate with Don Francisco at Alcaniz. That general therefore was without any regular troops at a time when they would have been so essentially useful. Yet with the peasantry he effected so much, that Suchet was recalled with his division from Calatayud, and sent with part of his troops down the left bank of the Ebro, while Vatier with 2000 horse and foot went down the right, and proceeded against Alcaniz. The peasantry, who were drawn up on the heights before the town, supported the attack of these troops with great firmness, according to the admission of the French themselves; but they were finally defeated, and the enemy became masters of the town.

Buonaparte beheld with impatience the resolute resistance of Zaragoza. Moncey had been incapacitated by sickness; two other of his dukes, Mortier and Junot, were before it, and Suchet and St Cyr, each with two divisions, covered the siege. His favourite Lasnes, whom he had created Duke of Montebello, was now sent to take the command from Junot, and accelerate the operations. A breach was soon made in the mud walls, and then, as in the former siege, the war was carried on in the streets and houses. But the French had been taught by experience, that in this species of warfare the Zaragozans derived a superiority from the feeling and principle which inspired them, and the cause for which they fought. The only means of conquering Zaragoza was to destroy it house by house, and street by street, and upon this system of destruction they proceeded. Three companies of miners and eight companies of sappers carried on this subterraneous war;—the Spaniards, it is said, attempted to oppose them by countermines: these were operations to which they were wholly unused, and, according to the French statement, their miners were every day discovered and suffocated. Meantime the bombardment was incessantly kept up. "Within the last 48 hours," said Palafox in a letter to his friend General Doyle, "6000 shells have been thrown in, two-thirds of the town are in ruins, but we shall perish under the ruins of the remaining third, rather than surrender." In the course of the siege above 17,000 bombs were thrown at the town; the stock of powder with which Zaragoza had been stored was exhausted; they had none at last, but what they manufactured day by day; and no other cannon balls than those which were shot into the town, and which they collected and fired back upon the enemy.

It was on the 27th of January that the besiegers effected their first lodgement within the walls. Every house was defended most heroically, and every day houses were blown up. On the 30th, sixty were thus destroyed. This mode of war occasioned a great loss of lives to the Zaragozans, but every inch of ground was purchased dearly. Lacoste, the French commander of artillery, was killed. The bulletin, which expressed the regret of the whole army, and especially of Buonaparte himself, for the loss of so brave and

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distinguished an officer, said that he died in the field of honour. Such language might be repeated in the French armies; but even there it would be felt to be fallacious, for Spain is no field of honour for the French. The cause for which they are fighting is so radically base, so openly and confessedly iniquitous, that it gives them no glory in victory, no honour in death. It is the deep and general feeling of this iniquity which makes the sieges of Zaragoza so interesting, so admirable, and so worthy to be admired. There is nothing to lessen our admiration of its defenders; nothing to abate our hatred of the besiegers. We grieve for the success of the Turks at Rhodes, and rejoice over their failure at Malta; but our feeling toward the Turks is that of hostility, not of hatred; they were at fair war with the knights of St John,—they had a fair cause of war; they acted upon a principle of duty, erroneous indeed, but still honourable being a principle, and being felt a duty. They fought in what they believed to be a right cause,—but it is otherwise with the French in Spain; they have no other cause than the will and pleasure of the Corsican, whom they permit to be their tyrant; and in obeying him they sin, knowingly and wilfully, against reason and conscience, and their own souls. In consequence of this direct opposition between right and wrong, here at Zaragoza the resolute defence of the inhabitants reflects no honour upon those by whom that resolution was finally overpowered; it is not like the ten years siege of Troy, where, however Troy is regretted, the Greeks are regarded with additional respect, as having been the victorious party. The history of Zaragoza affects us like a tale of the old persecutions under the heathen emperors, where the constancy and sufferings of one party aggravate the guilt of the other, and heighten our abhorrence of the oppressor.

The bombardment continued two-and-forty days; within the walls the contest was carried on from house to house, and it was only by their mining, against which no courage could avail when there was not equal skill to contend with them in this subterraneous warfare, that the enemy gained ground. But even with this advantage, the French force would have been insufficient, and other armies must have been brought up to supply the slaughter of more thousands, if the defenders of this devoted city had not been visited by that evil, which, in their circumstances, it was equally impossible to prevent or alleviate.

It is well known, that contagion begins more frequently and spreads more rapidly in camps and armies than in any other situation. Zaragoza was crowded with soldiers from all parts of the peninsula. The pestilence which broke out among them is supposed to have been immediately occasioned by the effect of a ruder climate upon the natives of the southern provinces. On the night of the 20th of December, when the besiegers received a severe defeat, part of the troops were under arms in the Cozo for two or three hours while a heavy snow was falling, which was succeeded by frost. This produced an infectious catarrh, which was soon followed by all the alarming and dreadful symptoms of camp contagion. Other causes contributed. The Valencian and Murcian soldiers came from a country where great part of their sustenance consisted of fruits and sweetmeats: the mere change of diet from such aliment to garrison

stores was sufficient to produce disease. They had also been used to drink well water; and though the Aragoneze prefer that of the Ebro, it was supposed that it proved injurious to men who were unaccustomed to it. To these causes must be added scantiness of food, crowded quarters, unusual exertion of body, and anxiety of mind, and the impossibility of recruiting their exhausted strength by needful rest in a city which was almost incessantly bombarded, and where every hour their sleep was broken by the tremendous explosion of mines. There was now no respite, either by day or night, for this devoted city; even the natural order of light and darkness was destroyed in Zaragoza: by day it was involved in a red sulphureous atmosphere of smoke, which hid the face of heaven; by night the fire of cannons and mortars, and the flames of burning houses, kept it in a state of terrific illumination.

When once the pestilence had begun it was impossible to check its progress, or confine it to one quarter of the city. Hospitals were immediately established,—there were above thirty of them; as soon as one was destroyed by the bombardment, the patients were removed to another, and thus the infection was carried to every part of Zaragoza. Famine aggravated the evil;—the city had probably not been sufficiently provided at the commencement of the siege, and of the provisions which it contained, much was destroyed in the daily ruin which the mines and bombs effected. Had the Zaragozans and their garrison proceeded according to military rules, they would have surrendered before the end of January,—their batteries had then been demolished, there were open breaches in many parts of their weak walls, and the enemy were already within the city. On the 30th above sixty houses were blown up, and the French obtained possession of the monasteries of the Augustines and Las Monicas, which adjoined each other, two of the last defensible places left. The enemy forced their way into the church; every column, every chapel, every altar, became a point of defence, which was repeatedly attacked, taken, and retaken; the pavement was covered with blood, the aisles and body of the church strewed with the dead, who were trampled under foot by the combatants. In the midst of this conflict, the roof, shattered by repeated bombs, fell in; the few who were not crushed, after a short pause, which this tremendous shock and their own unexpected escape occasioned, renewed the fight with rekindling fury: fresh parties of the enemy poured in; monks, and citizens, and soldiers came to the defence, and the contest was continued upon the ruins and the bodies of the dead and the dying.

On the 1st of February their situation appeared so hopeless, that persons of approved and unquestionable patriotism came to Don Pedro Maria Ric, and requested him to represent to Palafox the necessity of capitulating; Ric, with a spirit like that of Palafox himself, could not submit to this while there was any possibility of resisting. He inspired those who addressed him with new zeal, and roused up the people to new exertions. Seventeen days longer they continued the defence,—the French continued the bombardment,—the miners and sappers carried on their dreadful operations, and house after house was blown up. Palafox himself was now seized with the contagion, and being

utterly disabled by it, he transferred all his authority, civil and military, on the night of the 18th, to a junta, naming Ric to be the president. That distinguished Spaniard immediately summoned the members, and they began their functions at one on the morning of the 19th. The chiefs of the various military departments were called for to deliver in their opinions. The general of cavalry represented, that there remained only sixty-two horses, and those weak and unserviceable,—the rest having died of hunger. From a statement of the infantry, it appeared that there were only 2822 men fit for service. Ammunition was nearly exhausted; there was none but what was manufactured in the inquisition, and that would be destroyed if a shell should fall there. The commandant of engineers reported that the fortifications were demolished, there were neither men nor materials for repairing them, and all the cloth which could serve for bags of earth had been consumed. All the officers who had thus been consulted gave their opinion that the place ought to be surrendered, and that the junta would be responsible to God and the King for the lives which every hour were sacrificed, if they persisted in resistance, now that it was become manifestly impossible to save the city. Having heard this melancholy representation, the junta required General San Marc, who was one of their members, to express his judgement; the eminent talents, and courage, and patriotism which he had displayed during the whole siege, would render his opinion decisive both with them and the commander-in-chief and the people. He stated, that if the enemy made a general attack, which the preparations that were observed appeared to indicate, the loss of the city was inevitable, and would be followed by every imaginable horror. It was known with what fury the French treated every place which they conquered, and their rage would be greater here, on account of the hatred which they and their general and their bloody emperor bore towards a city that had once put them to such shame, and now cost them so dearly. If the attacks were partial, such as those which were repeatedly made every day, they might hold out two days longer, or possibly four, provided men could be found for defence and for the works; longer than four days it was not possible to maintain the contest; San Marc observed, that unless there were well-founded expectations of speedy relief, it was unjustifiable to sacrifice the lives which in these days must be lost, the loss of the city in that short time being unavoidable.

Upon this the junta proceeded to make inquiry what expectations of relief there were; and for this purpose the Duke of Villahermosa was sent to Palafox; but Palafox was now so ill that he could give no account of any thing, for the fever had fixed upon his brain. His secretary was applied to for any letters and documents which might be in his posssession: he delivered in two, both of which were dated long back. One was a letter from Don Francisco Palafox, saying, that after making the utmost exertions to collect troops, but in vain, he was then at Tortosa, assembling the peasantry with some soldiers from the garrisons on the coast, and that he designed to strengthen this force with some gun-boats that were to be sent up the Ebro. The other was a scrap of paper, written in enigmatical terms (for

it had to pass through the enemy's lines,) and, as it was supposed, by the Conde de Montijo. It said, that the writer and the Duke del Infantado wished to come to the relief of Zaragoza, but the central junta had ordered that the Swiss should go, and that they were to fall upon Madrid. The Swiss was understood to mean General Reding; but whatever hope might otherwise have been excited by the knowledge of his approved talents and courage, he was so situated that no succour could be expected from him; for he was in Catalonia, and the enemy being masters of the suburbs, it was impossible for him to cross the bridge. Moreover there could be no doubt, that other divisions of the French gave him full employment. These papers, therefore, only confirmed the junta in their apprehensions that the French were victorious every where, and that in the general distress of the country they could expect no relief.

While they were deliberating the bombardment was renewed. They knew that the city could not hold out; twenty-six members voted for a capitulation, eight, with Ric among them, that they should still continue their resistance, urging that there was a possibility of being succoured. Such was the high spirit of these brave men, that the opinion of the minority was followed: for they who had voted for surrendering had done so for the sake of others,—for themselves, there was not one among them who would not rather have died than capitulated. They agreed to send a flag of truce to the enemy, requesting a suspension of hostilities for three days, that officers might in the meantime be sent to ascertain the situation of the Spanish armies, and according to the intelligence which might thus be obtained, they would then treat for a surrender. Lasnes, when he had summoned the city, had proposed this method himself,—he now resented the proposal as an insult, and with his usual brutality vented the most ferocious threats against the city, unless it were immediately delivered up. The flag was remanded with a second letter, reminding him that the proposal was originally his own;—he did not vouchsafe to answer it in any other manner than by a shower of bombs, and by ordering the attack to be renewed.

This was the 19th; in the evening of that day the quarter of the Tanneries was lost, a part of the strand leading to the stone bridge, and the Puerto del Angel, a point of great importance. Four cannon in the battery of the wooden bridge were spiked, treacherously it was supposed,—but there was no time for ascertaining this and punishing the traitors. The handful of men who remained were at their posts, manifesting their wonted resolution; but they were too few for the severe service to which they were exposed, and San Marc applied to Ric to reinforce with only 200 the points which were attacked,—more he did not ask for, knowing the deplorable state of the city. Ric had already charged Don Miguel Marraco, a beneficed priest of the Church of the Pillar, whom the general had commissioned to organize the peasantry, to provide men for the works,—he now sent him a note which would have excited him to new exertions had there been any remissness on his part. Don Mariano Cerazo, an honourable citizen, who had distinguished himself by his zeal and his influence with the people, was called upon in like manner, and certain priests also, who had nai-

ted for the purpose of training and encouraging the peasantry, were requested in this emergency to furnish men. These measures, before the pestilence had so widely extended itself, would in a quarter of an hour have produced a thousand armed men. Don P. M. Ric ordered also the alarm to be beaten in the New Tower, and taking advantage of a favourable moment, when the enemy were driven back by the bayonet from the Convent del Sepulcro, he sent the public crier through the streets to proclaim this success, and summon the people by sound of trumpet to complete the victory.

All was in vain; disease had subdued the people; of the surviving population, the few who were not suffering under the disorder were attending their sick or dying friends, and neither hope nor despair could call them out,—hope, indeed, they had none, and the dreadful duty in which they were engaged, rendered them insensible to all evils but those before their eyes. San Marc was joined by only seventeen men, and ill tidings came upon him from every quarter; one commander complained that he was cut off at his station,—another that he was on the point of being so,—a third that he was undermined,—from every quarter they called for troops and labourers and ammunition, at a time when all were wanting.

Thus situated, the junta ordered the almoners of the different parishes to inform their parishioners of the state of the city, and report the opinion which they should form in consequence to the junta. Two-thirds of the city had been destroyed; thirty thousand of the inhabitants had perished, and from three to four hundred persons were daily dying of the pestilence. Under such circumstances the junta protested that they had fulfilled their oath of fidelity, *for Zaragoza was destroyed*, and they dispatched a flag of truce to the French commander, requesting a suspension of hostilities for four-and-twenty hours, that they might in that time negociate for a capitulation. A French officer came with the reply, requiring the junta to wait upon Marshal Lasnes within two hours, and declaring that after that time was expired, he would not listen to any terms. Ric instantly summoned the junta, and as they could not all be immediately collected, he proceeded with some of them toward Marshal Lasnes, leaving some to acquaint the others with the result of the flag of truce, and to act as circumstances might require. They took a trumpeter with them to announce a parley, because the firing was still continued on both sides; but, notwithstanding this, the Spanish deputies were fired at from one of the enemy's batteries. Ric protested against this violation of the laws of war, and refused to proceed till he was assured that it should not be repeated. An aid-de-camp of the French general had just before arrived, with instructions that the junta should repair to the Casa Blanca, not to the suburbs as had been first appointed; this officer went for an escort of infantry, and conducted Ric and his colleagues to the general's presence. Lasnes received them with an insolent indifference, while his despite for the brave resistance which he had found betrayed itself in marks of affected contempt. He took some turns about the room, then addressing himself to Ric, began to inveigh against the Zaragozans for not believing him when he said that resistance was in

vain,—for which, he said, they deserved little consideration from his hands. He reproached the junta also. Ric interrupted him. The junta, he said, had commenced their sittings on the yesterday, and therefore could not be responsible for any thing before that time. The Marshal himself must feel, that if they had surrendered without having ascertained the absolute necessity of surrendering, they would have failed in their duty. When they were informed of the actual state of affairs, they had considered of a capitulation, and addressed a letter, proposing measures which he himself had suggested in the summons to which he now alluded. This had offended him, and he did not condescend to notice their second letter in explanation of the first. They had then dispatched a third flag, requesting a suspension of four-and-twenty hours, because they were accountable to the people, and that time was necessary for ascertaining the public will. Zaragoza, which had so nobly distinguished itself by the manner of her resistance, must also distinguish herself in the manner of capitulating, when capitulation was become inevitable. "Acting upon these principles," said Ric, "it is my duty to declare that I bring neither powers nor instructions, neither do I know the will of the people; but I believe they will accept a capitulation, if it be reasonable, and becoming the heroism with which Zaragoza has defended itself."

The manner and the manliness of this declaration were not lost even upon Lasnes: in spite of himself he felt the superiority of the men who stood before him, and, abstaining from farther insults, he said, the women and the children should be safe, and the negociation was concluded. Ric replied, it was not yet begun, for this would be surrendering at discretion, and Zaragoza had no such thought. If the Marshal insisted upon this, he might renew his attacks on the city, "And I and my companions," said the noble Aragoneze, "will return there, and continue to defend ourselves; we have yet arms and ammunition, and daggers: war is never without precariousness, and if we are driven to despair, it yet remains to be seen who are to be victorious." This answer did not appear to irritate the French general; he knew, indeed, that though farther resistance could not possibly save Zaragoza, every inch which he had to win must be dearly purchased, and, for the honour of France, the sooner the siege was concluded the better, —it had already lasted too long. There was another reason, too, why he did not refuse to grant terms,—it would be in his power to break them. He called for his secretary, and dictated the preamble of the capitulation and some of the articles. The first stipulated, that the garrison should surrender prisoners. Ric proposed that they should march out, as became them, with the honours of war; Lasnes would not consent to make any alteration in the words of the article, but he promised on his word that those honours should be allowed them, and that the officers should retain their baggage, and the men their knapsacks. Ric then required that Palafox, with all his staff, should be at liberty to go wherever he pleased. It was replied, that an individual could never be the subject of capitulation; but Marshal Lasnes pledged his word of honour that Palafox should go wherever he pleased,—and he specified Mallen or Toledo. These places, Ric replied, would not suit him, because they

were occupied by French troops, and it was understood that he thought of going to Majorca. Lasnes then gave his word of honour that he might go to any place which he thought best. It was demanded that all persons, not included in the garrison, who wished to leave Zaragoza, in order to avoid the contagion, should be allowed passports. Lasnes replied, all who wished it might go out,—he pledged his word to this; but it was not necessary, he said, to insert an article upon this head, and he was desious of terminating the capitulation.

While copies of the capitulation were drawing out, the French general produced a plan of the city, and laid his finger upon the part which was that night to have been blown up, telling Ric that 44,000lb. of powder were already lodged for the explosion, and that this would have been followed by a cannonade from 70 pieces of artillery, and a bombardment from thirty mortars, which they were at that time mounting in the suburbs. The duplicates being signed, Ric and his companions returned to lay the terms before the other members of the junta, and they, who had ascertained the opinion of their fellow-citizens, accepted, ratified, and signed the act. Some farther stipulations, however, they still thought desirable; they wished it to be stated in the articles, that the garrison were to march out with the honours of war; for, as only the written capitulation would appear in the gazettes, if this were not expressed it would not be understood. They required also, that the peasants who had been formed into temporary corps should not be prisoners of war, urging, that they ought not to be considered as regular soldiers, and the injury which it would be to agriculture if they were marched away. And at the petition of the clergy, they requested that an article might be added, securing to them the punctual payment of their revenues from the funds assigned by the government for that purpose. With these proposals Ric returned to Marshal Lasnes; the two former were in every respect unexceptionable; the last was the only one upon which any demur might have been looked for. The French commander, however, broke into a violent fit of rage, snatched the paper out of Ric's hand, and threw it into the fire. One of his generals, sensible of the indecency of this conduct, rescued it from the flames, and Ric, unable to obtain more, received a ratified copy of the capitulation, and returned to the city.

The French, by their own account, threw above 17,000 bombs during the siege, and expended near a hundred and sixty thousand weight of powder. More than 30,000 men, the flower of the Spanish armies, and 500 officers, lay buried beneath the ruins of Zaragoza; and this is far from the amount of lives which were sacrificed in this memorable and most virtuous defence, the number of women and children who perished by the bombardment, by the mines, by famine and pestilence, remaining untold. The loss of the besiegers was carefully concealed; it was sufficient to cripple their army; the Paris papers declared, that one part was to march against Lerida, another against Valencia, and neither of these movements could be effected.

On the evening of the capitulation, the French troops entered. They began immediately to pillage. General Laval was appointed governor. This man commanded an army before

Manheim, during the reign of the guillotine, and one of his official letters to the convention was in these terms: "We are employed in ravaging this rich country; we leave nothing to the inhabitants, but their eyes to weep. *Vive la Republique!* We are all generous *sans culottes* both in name and in effect. We worship thee, O holy Guillotine! What miracles hast thou wrought! Thou hast been of more service to us than a hundred thousand men—*ça ira, ça ira! Vive la Montagne!*" Such a man was as fit an instrument for Buonaparte as for Robespierre. He ordered all the clergy of the city to go out and compliment Marshal Lasnes;—the yoke was upon their necks; they went forth to appear at this ceremony, like prisoners in a Roman triumph, and as they went, the French were permitted to rob them of their apparel in the streets. Laval, when complaint was made to him of such outrages, either did not condescend to reply, or he observed, that his troops had to indemnify themselves for the plunder which they looked upon as certain, and which they would have had in another day, if the capitulation had not disappointed them.

On the 22d, the Spanish officers were ordered to quit Zaragoza, on pain of being shot, if they remained more than four-and-twenty hours in the town. They joined the other prisoners of the garrison. The French bulletin affirms, that 17,000 laid down their arms; but there were in reality not more than four-and-twenty hundred capable of bearing them, the rest were in the hospitals, and this was the number which was marched off for France. Some prisoners had been made in the suburbs, but they were not many, the patriots in all these contests having the unsubdued part of the city to retire to. Two hundred and seventy of these men, who from the fatigue and weakness occasioned by their exertions and sufferings, could not keep up the pace which their ferocious guard required, were butchered and left on the road, where their companions in the next division might march over their bodies. Augustina Zaragoza was among the prisoners. She had distinguished herself in this siege as much as in the former; at the commencement she took her former station at the Portillo, by the same gun which she had served so well. "See, general," said she, with a cheerful conntenance, pointing to the gun when Palafox visited that quarter, "I am again with my old friend." Her husband was severely wounded, and she pointed the cannon at the enemy, while he lay bleeding among his companions by her side. Frequently she was at the head of an assaulting party, knife or sword in hand, with her cloak wrapt round her, cheering the soldiers and encouraging them by her example; constantly exposed as she was, she escaped without a wound: yet once she was thrown into a ditch, and nearly suffocated by the dead and dying who covered her. At the close of the siege she was too well known by the French to escape notice, and they made her prisoner. Fortunately, as it proved, she had at that time caught the contagion, and was removed to the hospital, where, as she was supposed to be dying, little care was taken to secure her. Feeling herself better, she availed herself of this, and effected her escape. Another heroine, whose name was Manuella Sanchez, was shot through the heart. Benita, a lady of distinction, who headed one of the female corps which

had been formed to carry provisions, bear away the wounded, and fight in the streets, escaped the hourly dangers to which she exposed herself, only to die of grief upon hearing that her daughter had been killed. During the siege not less than six hundred women and children perished, not by the bombardment and the mines,—the number who were destroyed in that manner remains untold,—but in action, by the bayonet or bullet.

P. Santiago * Sass, who had distinguished himself most heroically in this as well as the former siege, and P. Basilius de Santiago * were arrested by the French with the ordinary forms of civil justice. Their fate was not certainly known in Zaragoza; there was a report that they had been put to death, and in the French papers, it was said they had been publicly shot;—in exploits of this nature, Buonaparte's generals never boast of what they would not perform; but these murders were not committed in sight of the people, whom such a spectacle might have roused to some effort of desperate revenge. Palafox would have shared the same fate, if there had not been some secret motives of policy for sparing him: perhaps the tyrant, who had so meanly reviled him, considered him as the best hostage he could have in his hands, in case of the possible capture of any of his favourites whom he might wish to have exchanged. When the city was taken, it was probable also that Palafox would never recover from his brain-fever. Marshal Lasnes had pledged his word of honour that this noble Spaniard should be at full liberty to go wherever he would, as soon as he was able to travel; in contempt of that pledge he was immediately made prisoner, surrounded entirely by French, and left even in want of necessary food. Ric, who was ever ready to exert himself when any duty was to be performed, remonstrated against this treatment both verbally and in writing. He could obtain little immediate relief, and no redress. A few of the French generals have yet retained some feelings of honour and humanity; they are but few, and neither Junot nor Lasnes were of the number. They ordered Palafox to be sent prisoner to France. He was so ill at the time, that, having taken him out of the city, they were obliged to return with him. The respite thus allowed him was as short as possible, and before he was recovered he was hurried into that country—from which, and to which, since it has been disgraced by its Corsican tyrant, no prisoner returns! In the last letter which was received from Palafox, on his way into France, he said, that he had been robbed to his very shirt.

"It is the high privilege," says Mr Wordsworth, "of men who have performed what he has performed, that they cannot be missed, and in moments of weakness only can they be lamented; their actions represent them every where and for ever. Palafox has taken his place as parent and ancestor of innumerable heroes." His life was for the present spared by Buonaparte; but that malicious and low-minded usurper, who, feeling no virtue in himself, can acknowledge none in others, endeavoured to murder his good name. He had already reproached him as a coward and a runaway in the field; he now, with contradictory calumny, reviled him

* These must certainly be the *Basalis* and *Asface* of the French papers.

for having defended Zaragoza against the will of the inhabitants themselves. "The people," it was said in the French papers, "held him in such abhorrence, that it was necessary to protect him by stationing a guard before his door, for otherwise he would have been stoned. An idea of the detestation in which he and the monks of his party were held, could only be formed by remembering the hatred with which those men were regarded in France, who governed by terror and the guillotine." This the French said of Palafox,—when one of the worshippers of the guillotine was their own governor in Zaragoza. Yet such was the inconsistency of the wretched sycophants of Buonaparte, while they thus asserted at one time that Palafox defended the city against the will of the people, at another they affirmed that the Spanish troops would have surrendered long before, being perfectly sensible that farther resistance was unavailing after the French had possessed themselves of part of the city, but it did not depend upon them,—they were obliged to submit to the wills of the meanest of the inhabitants. Any one who should have expressed a wish to capitulate would have been punished with death:—such a thought could not be uttered till two-thirds of the city were lying in ruins, and 20,000 of its defenders destroyed by disease. No higher eulogy can be pronounced upon Zaragoza, than is comprised in the very calumnies of its unworthy conqueror.

Before Lasnes, with the main body of the French, made their entry into the city, they demanded of Ric 50,000 pair of shoes, 8000 pair of boots, and 1200 shirts for the army, all new, with medicines and every requisite for an hospital. Several of the officers demanded for themselves double equipage and linen, curtains, pens, paper, and whatever they wanted, insisting that plenty of every thing should be supplied them, and the best of its kind, at the expence of the city. A service of china was required for Junot; and this wretch, who ought to have suffered by the executioner in Portugal, insisted that a tennis court should be fitted up for his amusement, in a city of which two-thirds were then lying in ruins, and beneath which so large a proportion of the inhabitants lay buried! Ric resisted these demands, which it was impossible for the city to supply. The French generals, provoked at his refusal to engage for the maintenance of their household, threatened to send in a squadron of hussars. He replied, that well they might, since the gates of the city were demolished and in their power, but that from that moment they would not advance a foot of ground till they had moistened it with French blood. Another member of the junta who had less courage, undertook that these ruffians should be satisfied as far as was possible. Ric, who was too true a Spaniard to live under the government of the intruder, renounced the high office which he held, and, not being considered as a prisoner, obtained his liberty.*

Lasnes made his entrance on Sunday the 5th of March; his approach was announced by the discharge of 200 cannon, and he proceeded in triumph through that part of the city which remained standing, to the

* At present he holds a seat in the Cortes, as the worthy representative of his illustrious native city.

Church of the Pillar. The wretched inhabitants had been compelled to adorn the streets with such hangings as could be found, and to witness the pomp of festive triumph, and hear the sounds of joy and exultation. The suffragan bishop of the diocese, a traitor who had fled from the town when it took arms, and now returned there to act as the infamous instrument of the oppressors of his country, met Lasnes at the great door of the church, and conducted him in procession, with the crucifix and the banner, to a throne prepared for him before the altar, and near the famous idol which had escaped destruction. Then the wretch addressed a sermon to his countrymen upon the horrors of war! "They had seen," he said, "in their unhappy city, the streets and market places strewn with dead, parents expiring and leaving their children helpless and unprotected, babes sucking at the dry breasts of the famished mother, palaces in ruins, houses in flames, dead bodies heaped at the doors of the churches, and hurried into common graves without any religious ceremony. And what had been the cause of all this ruin? "I repeat it," said the villain, "I shall always repeat it, your sins and your seditious spirit, your forgetfulness of the principles of the gospel. These horrors have ceased, and to whom are you indebted for this unexpected happiness? To God in the first place, who raises and destroys monarchies according to his will; after God, to the Virgin of the Pillar, who interceded for us; and in the next place to the generous heart of the great Napoleon, to the man who is the messenger of God upon earth to execute his divine decrees, and who is sent to punish us for our sins. Nothing can equal his power except his clemency and his goodness! He has granted us the inestimable favour of peace; Oh that, at the expence of my tears and my blood, I could render it eternal! It is just, O my God, that for this great and unexpected mercy, this signal mercy, we should all exclaim, *Te Deum Laudamus!* We praise thee, O God!" Such were the vile blasphemies which this hoary traitor uttered over the ruins of his heroic city! It is not possible to record them without feeling a wish, that some one of the noble-hearted Zaragozans, who at that hour of bitterness were wishing themselves in the grave, had smitten him before the altar, and sprinkled it with the blood of one just and righteous sacrifice!

The oath of obedience and allegiance was then administered to those persons who either retained or accepted offices under the intruder's government. A superb entertainment followed, at which Lasnes and his fellow ruffians sate down to a table of 400 covers, and at every health which was drunk to the family of the execrable Corsican, the cannons were discharged. The transactions of the day furnished a fine topic for the journalists at Paris. "All the people," they said, "manifested their joy at so sudden and happy a change, in acclamations of Long live the Emperor! they were edified by the behaviour of their conquerors during the religious ceremony; that ceremony had melted the most obdurate hearts, the hatred of the French was eradicated from all breasts, and Aragon would soon become one of the most submissive provinces in Spain!" At the very time when these falsehoods were published at Paris, Lasnes issued a proclamation, declaring, that every Aragoneze who should be-

found in arms should be punished with death. Upon this the supreme junta addressed an order to all their generals, requiring them to make known to the French commanders to whom they might be opposed, that every Spaniard who was capable of carrying arms was a soldier, so their duty required them to be, and such the supreme junta declared them; "this," they said, "was not a war of armies against armies, as in other cases, but of an army against a whole nation, unanimous in resisting the hateful yoke which a tyrant and usurper sought to force upon them; every individual, therefore, of that nation was under the protection of the laws of war, and the general who should violate those laws towards them was not a soldier, but a ruffian, who would provoke the indignation of Heaven and the vengeance of man. The junta well knew, they said, that the French, when they were victorious, ridiculed principles of equity, which the observance and respect of all nations had consecrated, with an effrontery and insolence equal to the affectation with which they appealed to them when they were vanquished. The Spaniards were, however, in a condition to enforce that justice which they demanded. Three Frenchmen should suffer for every Spaniard, be he peasant or soldier, who might be put to death. Europe would hear with admiration as well as horror, that a magnanimous nation, which had begun its struggle by making 30,000 prisoners, and treating them with generosity, was forced, in opposition to its natural character, to decimate those prisoners without distinction, from the first general to the meanest in the ranks. But it was the chiefs of their own nation who condemned these unfortunate wretches, and who, by imposing upon Spain the dreadful necessity of retaliation, signed the death of their own countrymen when they murdered a Spaniard."

The junta pronounced the funeral oration of Zaragoza, in an address to the people. "Spaniards," said they, "the only boon which Zaragoza begged of our unfortunate monarch at Victoria was, that she might be the first city to sacrifice herself in his defence. That sacrifice has been consummated. More than two months the murderous siege continued; almost all the houses were destroyed, those which were still standing had been undermined; provisions were nearly exhausted, ammunition all consumed, 16,000 sick were struggling with a mortal contagion, which every day hurried hundreds to the grave; the garrison was reduced to less than a sixth part; the general dying of the pestilence; O'Neil, the second in command, dead; San Marc, upon whom the command then devolved, prostrated by the fever: so much was required, Spaniards, to make Zaragoza yield to the rigour of fate, and suffer herself to be occupied by the enemy. The surrender was made upon such terms as the French have granted to other towns, and those terms have been observed as usual by the perfidious enemy. Thus only were they able to take possession of those glorious precincts, filled only with demolished houses and temples, and peopled only with the dead and the dying; where every street, every ruin, every wall, every stone, seemed mutely to say to the beholder, Go, tell my king, that Zaragoza, faithful to her word, hath joyfully sacrificed herself to maintain her truth.

"A series of events, as mournful as they are notorious, frustrated all the efforts which were made to relieve

the city; but the imagination of all the good fixed upon her lot, and accompanied her defenders in their dangers, was agitated with them in their battles, sympathised in their privations and labours, and followed them in all the dreadful vicissitudes of their fortune; and when strength failed them at last through a continued resistance, which they had prolonged almost beyond belief, in the first moment of grief it seemed as if the torch of liberty had been at once extinguished, and the column of independence overthrown. But, Spaniards, Zaragoza still survives for imitation and example! still survives in the public spirit which, from her heroic exertions, is for ever imbibing lessons of courage and of constancy. For who is the Spaniard, priding himself upon that name, who would be less than the Zaragozans, and not seal the liberty of his country, which he has proclaimed, and the faith to his king, which he has promised, at the cost of the same perils and the same labours? Let the base, the selfish, and the cowardly be dismayed by them, not the other towns of Aragon, who are ready to imitate and to recover their capital; not the firm and faithful patriots, who see in that illustrious city a model to imitate, a vengeance to be exacted, and the only path of conquest. Forty thousand Frenchmen, who have perished before the mud walls of Zaragoza, cause France to mourn the barren and ephemeral triumph which she has obtained, and evince to Spain, that three cities of equal resolution will save their country, and baffle the tyrant. Valour springs from valour; and when the unhappy who have suffered, and the victims who have died there, shall learn that their fellow-citizens, following them in the paths of glory, have surpassed them in fortune, they will bless their destiny, however rigorous it has been, and rejoice in the contemplation of our triumphs.

"Time passes away, and days will come when these dreadful convulsions, with which the genius of iniquity is now afflicting the earth, will have subsided. The friends of virtue and patriotism will come to the banks of the Ebro to visit those majestic ruins, and beholding them with admiration and with envy, Here, they will say, stood that city which in modern ages realized, or, more truly, surpassed those ancient prodigies of devotement and constancy, which are scarcely credited in history! Without a regiment, without other defence than a weak wall, without other resources than its courage, it first dared to provoke the fury of the tyrant: twice it withstood the force of his victorious legions. The subjection of this open and defenceless town cost France more blood, more tears, more slaughter, than the conquest of whole kingdoms: nor was it French valour that subdued it; a deadly and general pestilence prostrated the strength of its defenders, and the enemy, when they entered, triumphed over a few sick and dying men, but they did not subdue citizens, nor conquer soldiers."

This address was followed by a decree, declaring "that Zaragoza, its inhabitants, and garrison had deserved well of their country, in an eminent and heroic degree: That whenever Palafox should be restored to liberty, to accomplish which no efforts on the part of the government should be wanting, the junta, in the name of the nation, would confer upon him that reward which should seem most worthy of his unconquerable con-

stancy and ardent patriotism: That every officer employed in the siege should be promoted one step, and every private soldier enjoy the rank and the pay of serjeant: That all the defenders of Zaragoza, and its inhabitants, and their heirs, should enjoy personal nobility: That pensions, conformable to their rank and circumstances, should be granted to the widows and orphans of all who had perished there: That the having been within the walls during the siege should be considered as a claim in future pretensions: That Zaragoza should be exempt from all contributions for ten years, from the time when peace should be established; and that at that time the rebuilding of the public edifices, with all possible magnificence, should be begun at the expence of the state, and a monument erected in the square of the city, in perpetual memory of the valour of the inhabitants and their glorious defence: That in the squares of all the cities of the kingdom an inscription should forthwith be set up, relating the most heroic circumstances of the two sieges, and a medal be struck in its honour, as a testimony of national gratitude for such eminent services. Finally, the junta promised the same honours and privileges to every city which should resist a like siege with like constancy, and proposed rewards for the best poem and best discourse upon this memorable event; the object being not only to hold up the virtues of the Zaragozans to the present generation and to posterity, but to inflame the hearts of the Spaniards with the same ardent patriotism, the same love of freedom, and the same abhorrence of tyranny."

"The narrative of these two sieges," says our eloquent Wordsworth, "should be the manual of every Spaniard; he may add to it the ancient stories of Numantia and Saguntum: Let him sleep upon the book as a pillow; and, if he be a devout adherent to the religion of his country, let him wear it in his bosom, for his crucifix to rest upon."

CHAP. XXI.

Proceedings of Buonaparte at Madrid and Valladolid. The Intruder enters the Capital. The Central Army retires into Valencia. Advance of Cuesta in Estremadura. Cruelty and horrible Crimes of the French. State of Affairs at Cadiz; Discussions concerning the Admission of British Troops.

BEFORE Buonaparte left Madrid to march against Sir John Moore, an address, framed by the traitors of that city, in the name of the magistracy and citizens, was presented to him by the corregidor. In the abject language of submission and servility they thanked him for his gracious clemency, for thinking, in the midst of conquest, of the safety and welfare of the conquered inhabitants, and for his forgiveness of all that had occurred during the absence of their king, Joseph; and they intreated him that it might please him to grant them the favour of seeing King Joseph in Madrid, that under his laws Madrid, with all the places under its immediate jurisdiction, and the whole of Spain, might at length enjoy that tranquillity and happiness which they expected from the benevolence of their new sovereign's character.

To this address the tyrant replied by one of his characteristic harangues. "I am pleased," he said, "with the sentiments of the city of Madrid. I regret the injuries she has suffered, and am particularly happy that, under existing circumstances, I have been able to effect her deliverance, and to protect her from great calamities. I have accomplished what I owed to myself and my nation. Vengeance has had its due. It has fallen upon ten of the principal culprits; all the rest have entire and absolute forgiveness." Doubtless Spain will preserve the names of these men, who signalized themselves in her cause so as to be selected for martyrdom by the murderous Corsican, and deemed worthy of his invectives,—the best eulogium of a Spaniard's virtue. Then he enumerated the reforms by which he hoped to reconcile the nation to a foreign yoke: "I have preserved the spiritual orders, but with a limitation of the number of monks. Those of them who are influenced by a divine call shall remain in their cloisters; with regard to those whose call was doubtful, or influenced by worldly considerations, I have fixed their condition in the order of secular priests. Out of the surplus of the monastic property I have provided for the maintenance of the pastors, that important and useful class of the clergy. I have abolished that court which was a subject of complaint to Europe and the present age: Priests may guide the minds of men, but must exercise no temporal or corpo-

ral jurisdiction over the citizens. I have abolished those privileges which the grandees usurped during times of civil war. I have abolished the feudal rights, and henceforth every one may set up inns, ovens, mills, employ himself in fishing and rabbit-hunting, and give free scope to his industry, provided he respects the laws and regulations of the police. The selfishness, wealth, and prosperity of a small number of individuals were more injurious to your agriculture than the heat of the Dog-days. All peculiar jurisdictions were usurpations, and at variance with the rights of the nation. I have abolished them. As there is but one God, so should there be in a state but one judicial power." This is not the whole of the deduction which the tyrant would make from the unity of that God, whose name he never utters but to outrage, and whose vengeance, sooner or later, will overtake him. There is but one God, and Napoleon is his representative; this is the creed which this political Mahommed hints at himself, and suffers his infidel bishops and his flatterers to proclaim. Fool that he is! to be omniscient is the necessary condition of omnipotence, and the Spaniards, who had proved him fallible, had already set limits to his power.

"There is no obstacle," he continued, "which can long resist the execution of my resolutions. But what transcends my power is this, to consolidate the Spaniards as one nation, under the sway of the king, should they continue to be affected with those principles of hatred to France which the partizans of England and the enemies of the continent have infused into the bosom of Spain. I can establish no nation, no king, no independence of the Spaniards, if the king be not assured of their attachment and fidelity. The Bourbons can no longer reign in Europe. The divisions of the royal family were contrived by the English. It was not the dethronement of King Charles and of the favourite, that the Duke del Infantado, that tool of England, had in view. The intention was, to establish the predominant influence of England in Spain; a senseless project, the result of which would have been a perpetual continental war, that would have caused torrents of blood. No power under the influence of England can exist on the continent. If there be any that entertain such a wish, their wish is absurd, and will sooner or later occasion their fall. It would be easy for me, should I be compelled to adopt that measure, to govern Spain, by establishing as many viceroys in it as there are provinces. Nevertheless, I do not refuse to abdicate my rights of conquest in favour of the king, and to establish him in Madrid, as soon as the 30,000 citizens which this capital contains, the clergy, nobility, merchants, and lawyers shall have declared their sentiments and their fidelity, set an example to the provinces, enlightened the people, and made the nation sensible that their existence and prosperity essentially depend upon a king and a free constitution, favourable to the people, and hostile only to the egotism and haughty passions of the grandees.

"If such be the sentiments of the inhabitants of the city of Madrid, let the 30,000 citizens assemble in the churches; let them, in the presence of the holy Sacrament, take an oath, not only with their mouths, but also with their hearts, and without any jesuitical equivocation, that they promise support, attachment, and fidelity

to their king; let the priests in the confessional and the pulpit, the mercantile class in their correspondence, the men of law in their writings and speeches, infuse these sentiments into the people:—then shall I surrender my right of conquest, place the king upon the throne, and make it my pleasing task to conduct myself as a true friend of the Spaniards. The present generation may differ in their opinions; the passions have been too much brought into action; but your grand-children will bless me as their renovator; they will reckon the day when I appeared among you among their memorable festivals; and from that day will the happiness of Spain date its commencement.

"Thus," he concluded, addressing himself to the corregidor, "you are informed of the whole of my determination. Consult with your fellow citizens, and consider what part you will chuse; but whatever it be, make your choice with sincerity, and tell me only your genuine sentiments." There was something more preposterous, more detestable, in this affectation of candour and generosity than in his open and insolent violence. "Consult! and consider what part you will chuse, and make your choice with sincerity!"—The tyrant might have known that the Spanish nation had made their choice; they had made it at Baylen and at Reynosa, at Cadiz and at Madrid, at Valencia and at Zaragoza; for life or for death, deliberately, and yet as if with one impulse, with enthusiasm, and yet calmly, had that noble nation nobly, and wisely, and religiously made their heroic choice. They had written it in blood, their own and their oppressors'; its proofs were to be seen in deserted houses and depopulated towns, in the blackened walls of hamlets which had been burnt, in the bones which were bleaching upon the mountains of Biscay, and in the bodies, French and Spaniard, which were at that hour floating down the tainted Ebro! Here, in Madrid, their choice had been recorded; the thousands who had been swept down by grape-shot in its streets, or bayonetted in the houses, they who had fallen in the heat of battle before its gates, and they who in cold blood had been sent in droves to execution, alike had borne witness to that choice, and confirmed it with their lives, and rejoiced in it with their dying breath. And this tyrant called upon the people of Madrid now to make their choice, now that their armies were dispersed, and they themselves, betrayed and disarmed, were surrounded by his legions!—Registers were opened in every quarter, and, if the French accounts could be believed, 30,000 fathers of families rushed thither in crowds, and signed a supplication to the conqueror, entreating him to put an end to their misfortunes, by granting them his august brother Joseph for their king. If this impossible eagerness had really been manifested, it could admit of no other solution than that the people of Madrid, bitterly as they detested and heartily as they despised Joseph Buonaparte, yet thought it a less evil to be governed by him than by the tyrant himself,—for this was the alternative which was held up in terror. But a census of this kind, as it is called, like those which coloured Buonaparte's assumption, first of the consulship for life, and then of an hereditary throne, was easily procured, when neither threats, nor persuasions, nor fraud, nor violence were spared.

While this mockery of election was going on, Buonaparte departed from Madrid to proceed against the Eng-

lish. A formidable army was left to overawe the metropolis, consisting of the corps of Marshals Lefebvre and Victor, (Dukes of Dantzic and Belluno,) and three divisions of cavalry; in the whole not less than 50,000 men, subject to the orders of Joseph, who had not however yet entered that city. The votes, as they were denominated, were collected with insolent formality, and oppression was aggravated by impiety; the host was elevated in all the churches, and the priests compelled to receive from their countrymen at the altar a compulsory oath of allegiance to the intruder. Yet even under these circumstances a body of the people assembled, when they were called upon to swear, and asked whether they were to swear to Ferdinand; for to him they had taken the oaths, and to none but him would they swear allegiance. It was judged more politic to let this display of patriotic feeling pass unnoticed, than to give it publicity by punishment. The ceremony of voting was delayed till Buonaparte's departure, "because," said the French journalists, "a suspicion of fear might else have attached to it; the act was now the more noble, as being entirely free, as being confirmed by the most weighty considerations by which a people can be influenced,—their interest, their happiness, and their glory." Such was the absurd language by which, while all authentic information was prohibited, the better part of the French nation were insulted, and the unreflecting deceived.

Dec. 23.

Having seen the English general abandon the defence of Galicia, and turn his army into a rout, Buonaparte turned back from Astorga to Valladolid, a well-chosen station, from whence he might send reinforcements either to the pursuing army, under Soult, or to the divisions at Madrid. Here he received dispatches, and addresses from all the councils, orders, and corporate bodies of the metropolis, couched in abject terms, and all soliciting that they might be favoured with the presence of their king. From the commencement of the revolution, the higher ranks in Madrid had shewn themselves as deficient in public as they had long been in private virtue. Not an individual in the capital who was distinguished for rank, or power, or riches, had stood forward in the patriotic cause; so fallacious is the opinion that those persons will be most zealous in the defence of their country who have what is called the largest stake in it. The council of state, by a deputy, expressed its homage of thanks for the generous clemency of the conqueror. "What gratitude," said he, "does it not owe you for having snatched Spain from the influence of those destructive councils which fifty years of misfortune had prepared for it; for having rid it of the English armies, who threatened to fix upon its territories the theatre of continental war, and to inflict upon it the disorders and the ravages which are usually in its train; grateful for all these benefits, the council of state has still another supplication to lay at the feet of your majesty. Deign, sire, to commit to our loyalty your august brother, our lord and king. Permit him to reenter Madrid, and to take into his hands the reins of government; so that under the benevolent sway of this august prince, whose mildness, wisdom, and justice are known to all Europe, our widowed and desolate monarchy may find a father in the best of kings." D. Bernardo Yriarte

Jan. 16.

spoke for the council of the Indies. "It entirely submits itself," he said, "to the decrees of your Majesty, and to those of your august brother, the king our master, who is to create the happiness of Spain, as well by the wisdom and the assemblage of the lofty virtues which he possesses, as by the powerful support of the hero of Europe, upon whom the council of the Indies founds its hopes of seeing those ties reunited, which ought always to unite the American possessors with the mother country." The council of finance requested that it might behold in Madrid the august and beloved brother of the emperor, expecting from his presence the felicity and repose of the kingdom. The council of war supplicated him, through an effect of his august beneficence, to confer upon the capital the felicity of the presence of their sovereign, Joseph I. This was the theme upon which all the deputations rung their changes. The council of marine alone adding an appropriate flattery to the same request, expressed its hope of contributing to the liberty of the seas.

On the 22d of January the intruder re-entered that city, from which he had been driven by the indignation of a whole people. At break of day his approach was announced by the discharge of an hundred cannon; a fit symphony, announcing at once to the people by what right he claimed the throne, and by what means he must sustain himself upon it. From the gate of Atocha to the church of St Isidro, and from thence to the palace, the streets were lined with French troops, and detachments were stationed in every part of the city, more for the purpose of overawing the inhabitants than of doing honour to this wretched puppet of majesty, who, while he submitted to be the instrument of tyranny over the Spaniards, was himself a slave. The cavalry advanced to the Plaza de las Delicias to meet him; there he mounted on horseback, and a procession was formed of his aid-de-camps and equerries, the grand major domo, the grand master of the ceremonies, the grand master of the hounds, with all the other personages of the drama of royalty, the members of the different councils, and those grandees who, for their own base interests, had deserted the cause of their country, and stained with infamy names which had once been illustrious in the Spanish annals. At the gate of Atocha the governor of Madrid was ready to present him with the keys. As soon as he entered another discharge of an hundred cannon proclaimed his presence, and all the bells struck up. He proceeded through the city to the church of St Isidro, where the suffragan bishop, in his pontifical habits, the canons, vicars, and rectors, the vicar-general, and the prelates of the religious orders received him at the gate, and six of the most ancient canons conducted him to the throne. Then the suffragan bishop addressed him in the only language which might that day be used, the language of servility, adulation, and treason. The intruder's reply was in that strain of hypocrisy which marks the usurpation of the Buonapartes with new and peculiar guilt. This was his speech:

"Before rendering thanks to the Supreme Arbiter of Destinies, for my return to the capital of this kingdom intrusted to my care, I wish to reply to the affectionate reception of its inhabitants, by declaring my secret thoughts in the presence of the living God, who has just received your oath of fidelity to my person. I protest

then, before God, who knows the hearts of all, that it is my duty and conscience only which induce me to mount the throne, and not my own private inclination. I am willing to sacrifice my own happiness, because I think you have need of me for the establishment of yours. The unity of our holy religion, the independence of the monarchy, the integrity of its territory, and the liberty of its citizens, are the conditions of the oath which I have taken on receiving the crown. It will not be disgraced upon my head; and if, as I have no doubt, the desires of the nation support the efforts of its king, I shall soon be the most happy of all, because you through me will all be happy."

Two rows of banquetting tables were laid out in the nave of the church, where the civil and military officers of the intruder, and the members of the councils, were seated according to their respective ranks. High mass was performed by the chapel-royal, and a solemn *Te Deum* concluded the mockery. That done, Joseph proceeded with the same form to the palace, and a third discharge of an hundred guns proclaimed his arrival there. On the day which followed this triumphal entry, its ostentatious joy, and the affected humanity and philanthropy of his professions, he issued his decree for the formation of special military tribunals, which should punish all persons with death who took arms against him, or enlisted others for the patriotic cause; and the very day that the decree was issued, mingling, like his accursed brother, words of blasphemy with deeds of blood, he addressed a circular epistle to the archbishops and bishops of the realm, commanding them to order a *Te Deum* in all the churches of their respective dioceses. "In returning to the capital, (this was his language) our first care, as well as first duty, has been to prostrate ourselves at the feet of that God who disposes of crowns. We have offered him the homage of our existence for the felicity of the brave nation whom he has entrusted to our care. It is with this end only, in conformity with our dearest thoughts, that we have addressed to him our humble prayers. What is an individual in the immense population of the earth? What is he in the eyes of the Eternal, who alone penetrates the intentions of men, and according to them determines their elevation? He who sincerely wishes the welfare of his fellows serves God, and his omnipotent goodness protects him. We desire that, in conformity with these dispositions, you direct the prayers of the faithful whom Providence has entrusted to you. Let us all ask of God, that he deign to let fall upon us his spirit of peace and wisdom; let us abjure every passion, that we may be occupied alone by such sentiments as ought to animate us, and which the general interests of this monarchy inspire: let the exercise of religion, tranquillity, and happiness succeed to the discords to which we have been a prey; let us return thanks to God for the success which he has been pleased to grant to the arms of our august brother and powerful ally the Emperor of the French, who has had no other end in supporting our rights by his power than to procure to Spain a long peace, founded on her independence."

In thus ordering thanksgivings for success, the intruder considered, or affected to consider, his triumph as complete. Buonaparte also held the same language; and when at this time

he left Spain and hastened back to Paris, called thither by intelligence of hostile preparations on the part of Austria, the French and their partizans affirmed, that he had returned to France because his presence in the peninsula was no longer needful. But at this very time the French were masters of no more territory than their armies could cover. They had indeed overrun Navarre and Aragon, Biscay, Asturias, the Castilles, Leon, and Galicia, but they had not subdued them. In Catalonia, where every town resisted them, an army was rallying round Reding at Tarragona. The Duke del Infantado was re-forming the army of the centre, for which 4000 stand of arms had been procured by Mr Frere from Gibraltar. He was instructed to advance upon Ocana and Aranjuez; the Marquis de Palacios was to join him from La Mancha; and if the English, as was expected, had made a stand in Galicia, their combined force was to have pushed for Madrid. The retreat of Sir John Moore frustrated this plan. The duke was then ordered to remain on the defensive, and new levies were sent to him from Seville as soon as they were in the slightest degree organized. The spirit of the people was in no degree diminished; their numerous defeats, the loss of their capital, and the treachery of their chiefs, seemed rather to exasperate than intimidate them; and there would have been no lack of men for the armies had there been arms for their use, a government who could have provided for their sustenance, or generals who could have directed their zeal and courage. A memorable instance of the general spirit was displayed in the little town of Luzena. Four men of every hundred were to be drawn for military service, according to a decree of the supreme junta. All the men of the place assembled, to the number of 400, and when the magistrate was proceeding to ballot for 16, the whole 400 exclaimed that they were all soldiers, and marched off that very day to join the troops at Seville.

The French, with their usual celerity, resolved to destroy the army of the centre before it should become formidable. Victor accordingly marched against it, at the very time when Infantado was beginning to advance. The first division of the Spaniards, including the advanced guard, consisted of from ten to twelve thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, under Venegas. Victor attacked him on the 13th of January, and was at first repulsed with such success, that tidings of a victory were dispatched to Seville: but whether through the want of discipline, or the not less probable treachery of some of their officers, the victory, which the patriots seemed to have won, was wrested from them, and they lost nearly 3000 prisoners. During the action, the Duke del Infantado reached Carrascosa,—then he learned that a firing was heard in the direction of Ucles, and presently the scouts brought in word that the first division was hastily retreating, and the enemy advancing in pursuit. Immediately he so disposed his troops as to give support to the defeated corps; they collected again, and presented such a front to the enemy, that Victor did not deem it prudent to hazard a second attack. Infantado, however, judged it necessary to retreat into Valencia, before the French should force him to an engagement, knowing how little, in its present state, his army was to be relied on. At day-break, on the 15th, he began to fall back, and to disen-

cumber his march, ventured upon the dangerous expedient of separating himself from his artillery, which was ordered to go by a different route, and rejoin the army at Almovodar del Pinas. The roads were exceedingly bad, and the French, who thought it more adviseable to pursue the artillery than the men, came up with it. The cavalry regiment of Farnese, who were convoying it, twice charged the enemy bravely, but were overpowered by numbers, and no chance remained of recovering the guns, which Lapena, with such difficulty, had conveyed from Tudela, unless a general engagement were risked. This the duke knew, under his present circumstances, would be only adding loss to loss, and, consoling himself with the thought that so large a part of the artillery belonging to this army had been sent forward and placed in safety, he prosecuted his retreat. Shortly afterwards he was removed from the command.

In Estremadura, the patriots were more fortunate. Some of the French from that quarter had been recalled to march against Sir John Moore, and such efforts were made to place Cuesta at the head of an efficient army, that in a few weeks he was enabled to act on the offensive. Towards the close of January, the army was posted between Truxillo and Xaraicejo, having its vanguard on the left branch of the Alamonte, half a league to the S. W. of the latter place. The French had pushed their advanced parties nearly to the same place, * but they were repulsed and driven beyond Miravete.

Jan. 25. The patriots then took possession of the pass upon that mountain, planted two cannon and a howitzer on the heights, and their advanced posts approached the bridge of Almaraz. Six thousand of the enemy were between that bridge and the Puente del Arzobispo, which crossed the Tagus about six-and-thirty miles higher up. But the French were not in sufficient force to maintain their ground upon the left bank. On the 28th, Henestrosa, who was Cuesta's camp-marshal, won the bridge of Almaraz, the patriots pushed their advanced guard to Naval-moral, and the French fled towards Talavera. This was the situation of what was now become the principal Spanish army at the end of January, while Zaragoza, by its heroic defence, occupied two French armies, and thus drew off the attention of the invader on one side, and Sir Robert Wilson harassed them on the other. The remains of the army of the North meantime terminated their retreat, but not their labours. Romana having separated from the English at Astorga, made his way over the mountains to Ponferrada. His force was divided into four divisions, the first, forming the rear-guard, was surrounded and captured before it reached Fuencebadon: The dragoon who was carrying orders to them fell into the hands of the enemy, and this circumstance occasioned their capture. About the 10th of January the marquis reached Orense, and collected some two thousand men there. Blake, who had accompanied the poor remainder of his gallant army thus long amid all their sufferings, left them here, and set out for Seville, taking his way through Portugal, with only his two aids-de-camp. Ro-

* Laborde is mistaken in placing the Puerto de Miravete between Xaraicejo and Truxillo: it is between the former place and the bridge of Almaraz. The mountain to which he gives the name is considerably lower.

mana placed his advanced posts on the Sil. Towards the end of the month they were driven from thence, and he was in consequence obliged to evacuate Orense. After making a stand of two days at Allariz, and sustaining several engagements at Jinzo and in its neighbourhood, he fell back to Monterrey, and established his head-quarters at Oimbra, a little village on the Tamega. The people of Galicia co-operated with him in the most effectual way. The first success which encouraged them was at Val de Terros, a village near Orense, where the people, assisted by some of the soldiers, who were scattered about the country wherever they could find a hiding place, fell upon a party of 150 cavalry escorting the baggage of a French general, and concerted the attack so well, that they killed the whole escort except eleven, whom they made prisoners. This success diffused new hope through the province, and that species of warfare was carried on which must prove fatal to an invading enemy however powerful, a war upon his sick and his stragglers, his scouts and his outposts, his detachments and his convoys. The war assumed a character of ferocity which, during centuries of progressive civilization, had been unknown in Europe. For the French, giving free scope to that savage cruelty, which their civil and religious wars, the persecutions of Louis XIV., and the excesses of the revolution, have but too plainly demonstrated to characterize them as a people, acted up to the full spirit of the Corsican's instructions, and, affecting to consider the Spaniards as rebels, punished as such with death all the peasantry whom they took in arms; while the patriots were actuated not merely by the true spirit of patriotism, which in no nation exists more strongly, not merely by the duty of defending their hearths and altars, but by personal and goading feelings; some urged on by the hope of protecting their wives and daughters, others by a deeper passion, the just and insatiable desire of revenging them.

A heavy load of national guilt lay upon the nations of the peninsula; and those persons, who, with well-founded faith, could see and understand that the moral government of the world is not less perfect, nor less certain in its course, than that material order which science has demonstrated,—they perceived in this dreadful visitation the work of righteous retribution. The bloody conquests of the Portugueze in India were yet unexpiated; the Spaniards had to atone for extirpated nations in Cuba and Hayti, and their other islands, and on the continent for cruelties and excesses not less atrocious than those which they were appointed to punish; vengeance had not been exacted for the enormities perpetrated in the Netherlands, nor for that accursed tribunal which, during more than two centuries, triumphed both in Spain and Portugal, to the ineffaceable and eternal infamy of the Romish church. The crimes of a nation bring on their punishment in necessary consequence, not less certainly than the vices of an individual,—so righteously have all things been ordained. From the spoils of India and America these two governments drew treasures which rendered them independent of the people for supplies; and the war which their priesthood waged against knowledge and reformation succeeded in shutting them out from their devoted countries. A double despotism, of the throne and of the altar,

was thus established, and the result was a state of degradation, which nothing less than the destruction of both, by some moral and political earthquake, loosening the very foundations of society, could remove. Such a convulsion had taken place, and the sins of the fathers were now visited upon the children. Madrid, the seat of Philip II., "that sad intelligencing tyrant," who from thence, as our great Milton expresses it, "mischieved the world with his mines of Ophir," that city which had once aspired to be the mistress of the world, and tyrannized over so large a part of it, was now itself in thraldom. The Spanish cloak, which was the universal dress of all ranks, was prohibited in Madrid, and no Spaniard was allowed to walk abroad in the evening, unless he carried a light. All communication between the capital and the southern provinces, the most fertile and wealthiest of the kingdom, was cut off, and from those parts, which were overrun by the enemy, no other accounts could be received than what the intruding government chose to circulate. Of the trading part of the community, therefore, all those who were connected with the great commercial cities of the south coast were at once ruined, and they whose dealings lay with the provinces which were the seat of war were hardly more fortunate.

Jan. 22. The public creditors experienced that breach of public faith which always results from a violent revolution. The intrusive government acknowledged their debts, and gave notice of its intention to pay them by bills upon Spanish America: for this there was a double motive,—the shame of acknowledging that the intruder was unable to discharge the obligations of the government to whose rights and duties he affected to succeed, and the hope of interesting the holders of these bills in his cause. While commercial and funded property was thus destroyed, landed property was of as little immediate value to its owner. No remittances could be made from that part of Spain which was not yet overrun to the capital; and indeed, as the devastations had been so extensive as to deprive most of the peasants of the means of paying what was due to the proprietors and to the church, a general spirit of resistance to the claims of both began to show itself over the whole of the kingdom. These were the first fruits of that prosperity and happiness which the Buonapartes promised to the Spaniards, these were the blessings which Joseph brought with him to Madrid! He, meantime, was affecting to participate in rejoicings and receiving the incense of adulation, in that city where all the middle classes were reduced to poverty by his usurpation, and where the wives whom he had widowed, and the mothers whom he had made childless, mingled with their prayers for the dead, supplications for vengeance upon the author of all their miseries. The theatre was fitted up to receive him, the boxes were lined with silk, the municipality attended him to his seat, he was presented with a congratulatory poem upon his entrance, and the stage curtain represented the Genius of Peace with an olive branch in his left hand, and a torch in his right, setting fire to the attributes of war. Underneath was written, Live happy, Sire, reign and pardon! At the very time when this precious speci-

Feb. 18. men of French taste complimented him upon his clemency, an extraordinary criminal junta was formed, even the military tribunals not being found sufficiently extensive in their powers for the work of extermination which he had begun. It was "for the trial of assassins, robbers, (a purpose for which certainly there needed no extraordinary tribunal,) recruiters in favour of the insurgents, those who maintained correspondence with them, and who spread false reports." Persons apprehended upon these charges were to be tried within twenty-four hours, and sentenced to the gallows, and the sentence executed without appeal.

It is not sufficient to speak of the cruelties of the French in general terms, which are forgotten as soon as heard: Rousseau has said, that he who turns away with a coward's feeling from the detail of such atrocities, betrays the cause of justice; it is the business of true humanity to publish them and hold up the perpetrators to the execration of mankind. One of the many partial actions which occurred about this time was fought near Ucles,—a place remarkable in history, as the scene of the most signal defeat which the Spaniards ever received from the Moors since the destruction of the kingdom of the Goths. The patriots were routed, and the enemy took possession of the town. The Alcazar, which had once been a fortress of considerable strength, was now inhabited by religioners, and the inhabitants of the decayed town had taken no part in the battle, and attempted no resistance. They had soon bitter reason to lament that they had not rather immolated their wives and children with their own hands, and then rushed upon the invaders to sweeten death with vengeance, instead of submitting to the mercy of such an enemy. Plunder was the first object of these ruffians; and in order to make the townsmen discover where they had secreted their valuables, they inflicted upon them the most shocking tortures. When this was done, and they had secured all the portable wealth of the place, they yoked the inhabitants like beasts, loaded them with their own furniture, which they made them carry to the castle hill, and pile up in heaps, where they set fire to it, and consumed the whole. They then put to death, in mere wantonness, sixty-nine of the inhabitants, dragging them to the shambles, that this butchery might be committed in its proper scene. Several women were among the number, and happy were they who were thus delivered from the worse horrors that ensued. For the French soldiers laid hands on the surviving women of the place, amounting in number to about three hundred,—they tore the nun from the altar, the wife from her husband's body, the virgin from her mother's arms, and they abused these victims of their lust till many of them died upon the spot, and more in consequence of what they had undergone. But three hundred women were not sufficient for these monsters, and they seized upon children of ten and twelve years old, boys as well as girls;—it is impossible to proceed with this dreadful narrative;—the abominations which were perpetrated, and the devilish means which were used for perpetrating them, can scarcely even be thus hinted at without violating the decencies of language, and the respect which is due to human nature. Yet these unutterable things were commit-

ted in open day-light and in the sight of the French officers and generals, who made not the slightest attempt to restrain the wretches under their command,—their whole attention was directed toward securing the best part of the plunder for themselves. Nothing has been exaggerated in speaking of these monstrous atrocities; they are related after an authentic account, published * by the Spanish government, and containing the names of many of the sufferers.

The decrees of the intruder against the patriots, and the infamous cruelties which were daily perpetrated by his troops, provoked a decree from the supreme junta, that every French soldier, officer, or general, who might be taken prisoner in any town or district, in which acts, contrary to the laws of war, had been committed by the enemy, should be immediately put to the sword, as an example to their companions, and a satisfaction to outraged humanity. The preamble particularized some of the atrocities of the French, such, it was truly said, as make human nature shudder; and the junta, declaring that it would not be moderation and justice, but the most culpable indifference, and the basest meanness, to observe the laws of ordinary war with those who respected no law whatever, called upon all Europe to witness the awful necessity which compelled them to resort to the means of retaliation, and to inflict upon a bloody banditti violence for violence. It had been well if the junta had always acted with equal spirit and decision; but they wanted vigour, and the members, however estimable some of them were as individuals, and zealously devoted to the cause of their country, were little able to direct public opinion in such times. By their half-measures,—by their regard to rank and influence rather than to merit in their military promotions, and by their ill-timed and most injurious restrictions of the press, they had given just matter of offence to the wiser part of the nation, and now the fear of the dissatisfaction which they had provoked, contributed to influence their conduct. A more lamentable proof of weakness could not be given than in their appointment of Cuesta to the command.

Feb. 7.

As soon as the dispersion of Blake's army was known in England, the British government anticipated the disasters which would follow, and considered Cadiz as the ultimate point of retreat to which the Spaniards would be driven; there, supported by Cadiz on one side, and by Gibraltar on the other, they might unquestionably make such a stand as no force which France could bring against them could overpower. Accordingly, when Sir John Moore's first intention of retreating was known, government resolved that his army should immediately be transferred to the south of Spain, for it was impossible to foresee the miserable state to which the manner of his retreat would reduce it. But the representations of that general concerning the little assistance which he received from the Spaniards, and the little patriotism which he could discover in them, so far influenced ministers, that they thought it improper to hazard an army in the south, unless a corps of it were admitted into Cadiz. The treachery of Morla, who of all men seemed the least to be suspected, and the danger of similar treasons which that traitor was endeavouring to instigate in Cadiz itself, rendered this precaution advisable. Upon this subject

* *Gazeta del Gobierno*, April 24, 1809.

Mr Frere was instructed to communicate with the supreme junta, and as it was not apprehended that the required proof of confidence would be refused, General Sherbrooke, with 4000 men, was ordered to sail immediately for Cadiz. He was not to require the command of the garrison,—that might have offended the feelings of the Spaniards,—whereas what was requested was designed as much for their security as our own. If, however, the junta should think proper not to admit him, he was then to proceed to Gibraltar, and any operations in the south of Spain were necessarily abandoned, though it was expressly stated, there was no intention even in that case of abandoning the cause of Spain. Sir John Craddock also was instructed to sail for Cadiz, if he should find it necessary to abandon Portugal; but he was not to take this step till he had been apprized of the determination of the Spanish government.

Nothing could be more frank than the language of Mr Frere's instructions, nor more worthy of the union existing between the two nations. An unfortunate circumstance frustrated the effect which this frankness might have produced. Before it was known that the junta had quitted Aranjuez, Sir George Smith had been sent to Cadiz on a local mission, to provide for the possible case of British troops being necessary for the defence of that city, at a time when it might be impracticable to obtain the opinion of the central government. When the government was removed to Seville, his mission evidently ceased with the necessity of it. He, however, not only considered it as still existing, but went beyond his instructions; he informed the governor of Cadiz, the Marquis of Villel, that he had authority to require that British troops should be admitted to garrison that place, and he sent to Sir John Craddock, directing him to dispatch troops thither from Lisbon, a measure which was not to have been taken except at the direct solicitation of the Spanish authorities at * Cadiz. This, however, he did without waiting for their consent, and without consulting or even communicating with the English ambassador. The consequence was, that the junta immediately conceived an opinion that some secret designs were on foot, with which Mr Frere had not been entrusted, because he had not been thought a proper instrument, and that minister had the vexation of hearing the justice which they did to his frankness, and his sincere anxiety for the cause of Spain, urged as a ground for unjust suspicions. "Cadiz," they said, "was not threatened, and a measure so extraordinary and unexpected as that of admitting the English troops there, might compromise the supreme junta with the whole of the nation. Many would imagine that the unfounded prognostics of Morla, which the government had considered as ridiculous dreams, had assumed at least an air of reality and probability, and however firmly the junta might be persuaded of the purity of the motives by which Great Britain was influenced, it would not be in their power to prevent or counteract this imagination. Spain," they said, "had addressed herself to Great Britain, had implored assistance, and had found a generous reception, powerful succours, friendship, fraternity, and good offices, which were notorious to the world, and which would for ever redound to the honour of England. Spain had opened her

Feb. 7.

* Parliamentary papers ordered to be printed March 22, 1810.

heart to an unbounded gratitude; but she never could believe that her difficulties and her misfortunes obliged her to admit so unnecessary a measure. Let the allied troops disembark in small divisions, so as to leave room for each other, and let them proceed without delay to occupy their cantonments at Xeres, Port St Mary's and the neighbourhood, as had been agreed upon, and then pursue their march into the interior. It would be easy to fall back upon Cadiz if that should be necessary; but that necessity was at all events very distant. This, as the final resolution of King Ferdinand, the junta (carrying on the fiction of governing in his name,) communicated to Mr Frere: trusting," they said, "in his discernment and in his religious probity, that he would feel the truth of their representations, and give the most positive and peremptory orders for the British troops to abide by what had been agreed upon, and under no pretext whatever to remain in the fortress of Cadiz."

During these discussions, the two regiments under General Mackenzie, which Sir George Smith had so precipitately ordered from Lisbon, arrived in the bay of Cadiz. About the same time Mr Frere received a copy of the instructions intended for Sir John Moore, directing him, in case he could not keep his ground in the north, to embark his troops, and carry them round either to Lisbon or to the south of Spain. These the ambassador communicated to the junta; and at the same time informed them that the British government expected Buonaparte would have driven back the English army into Galicia, and marched himself into Andalusia with an overpowering force, to make himself master of Seville, the second capital of the kingdom, and shut the door against every hope of succour. Expecting that he would pursue this plan, which indeed he ought to have pursued, government, while it sent these instructions to Sir John Moore, dispatched the corps under General Sherbrooke, with a view of preventing at least the surrender of Cadiz, and ensuring to the auxiliary army some safe landing place. In such a scheme, Mr Frere argued there was nothing unreasonable; it did not become the British ministers to risk their army without any place of retreat from an enemy who was less formidable for his military force than for the means of corruption which he employed,—means which the capitulation of Madrid evinced to have been not less successful in Spain than in other countries. Should the English then expose themselves to the danger arising from the enemy's intrigues, only in deference to the injurious suspicions which that very enemy wished to excite against them in the minds of the Spanish government,—a government to which that of his Britannic Majesty had never ceased to offer proofs of disinterestedness and of good faith? "The members of the junta," said Mr Frere, "will do me the justice to admit (if it be not rather an imputation on the conduct of a foreign minister,) that I have never endeavoured to promote the interests of my nation, but as being essentially connected with those of their own. If, however, I have always been guided by the same sentiments and the same views which a Spanish politician might have, I do not think it is to depart from them, if I deliver the same opinion which I should give if I had the honour of occupying a place in the council of your nation, namely, that the whole policy of the Spanish government rests essentially

on the persuasion of the most perfect good faith on the part of England, and that it is particularly important to confirm it more and more by testimonies of mutual confidence, and by cautiously avoiding the slightest appearance of distrust between government and government."

One other point Mr Frere adverted to, which, though less important, was however of great weight. The precariousness of commerce, occasioned by the supposed insecurity of Cadiz, was infinitely prejudicial to the finances of Spain. There was no longer a place in the peninsula where British goods could be deposited; and the government was therefore under the necessity of cutting off all mercantile intercourse between the colonies and the rest of the civilized world, or of affording to foreign commerce a security which it could not find in the sole protection of a Spanish garrison. On this head he appealed to the custom-house registers, and to the applications made by neutrals for permission to unship goods, which they did not deem any longer safe. A note was transmitted in reply to this, saying, that the junta would dispatch an extraordinary courier to London, and entreat their minister there to settle a point of so much interest and importance in a manner agreeable to the interests of both nations. Meantime, the English troops which were at present in the bay, and those which should arrive there, might disembark at Cadiz, for the purpose of proceeding to Port St Mary, San Lucar, Xeres, and the other places proposed for their cantonment, where every preparation had been made for their reception. No misfortune which could happen to the Spanish cause could prevent the English from falling back on Gibraltar and Cadiz; and this step would prevent the inconvenience and perhaps sickness to which they might be exposed by remaining on board ship or in Cadiz, the appointed stations being in a country the most beautiful and healthy in the world.

Feb. 17.

Having thus considered the convenience of the troops, the junta adverted to the best means of availing themselves of the assistance of the English, and they submitted two propositions to Mr Frere, the only person, they said, alluding to Sir George Smith's interference, whom they acknowledged as the representative of the British nation. First, that the British troops should proceed to the coast of Catalonia, and garrison the maritime ports of that principality, thus enabling the Spanish army in that quarter to march to the relief of Zaragoza, a measure of such urgent importance. Secondly, that they should co-operate with Cuesta: that general was threatened by a force not very superior in number to his own, the assistance of the English might give him the superiority; thus Cadiz would be secured, and time given to set on foot the troops who were now only waiting for muskets from England. The note concluded by expressing a feeling of honourable pain in the junta, that England should distrust the safety of Cadiz unless it were garrisoned by English troops. With justifiable pride they asserted, that the constancy and valour of the Spanish nation, manifested in this arduous struggle, entitled it to the respect of Europe; and, gently hinting at what had passed in Galicia, they requested that a veil might be drawn over it. Cadiz was not situated like Coruna, the same events therefore could not possibly occur there.

Feb. 18. Upon the receipt of this note, Mr Frere requested to be admitted to a conference with the members of the central junta, who had been commissioned to draw it up. At this conference they proposed to him that he should name a governor for Cadiz. He replied, that it was a responsibility with which he would not charge himself for all the world. Four months ago he should have chosen Morla, Espeleta six months before that: both these had been found wanting in the day of trial, though neither of them had been placed in a situation so trying to their fidelity as that of a governor holding out in the last remaining garrison. Then replying to the argument, that the junta could not act against the popular opinion, "it must likewise be recollected," he said, "that the British government could not proceed in opposition to an opinion equally decided in England; and it only remained to examine which of the two pretensions was the most just. England was willing to expose an English army to any hazard which resulted absolutely from the nature of things, but England would not consent that that danger should be aggravated in the slightest degree, out of deference to the caprice of popular opinion, or suspicions which were unworthy of either country. England required of Spain that it should place confidence in the British government, binding itself by the most formal engagements; Spain offered the choice of a governor and the chance of his fidelity. Our proposal was in every respect the fairest and the most rational, and it could not be expected that we should depart from a demand of right, for the sake of conferring a favour. Mr Frere offered to propose to General Mackenzie, that he should leave 1000 men in Cadiz, and proceed with the rest to act in concert with Cuesta for the protection of Seville, and that when General Sherbrooke arrived, 3000 should proceed to the same direction, and he should content himself with garrisoning Cadiz with 2000 men, and proceed with or forward the remainder of his own force to General Mackenzie. To this proposition the junta had so nearly acceded, that the agreement was only broken off by their insisting that the public mind could not be reconciled to the admission of 2000 troops into Cadiz, and offering to admit half the number, a force which Mr Frere judged altogether inadequate to a purpose for which his own government allotted four times that amount.

The conference, which was conducted on both sides with perfect moderation and good temper, concluded with a fair avowal from the junta, that they were fully convinced of the good faith of the British government, and of the advantage that would result to Spain from the admission of British troops into Cadiz, if that was to be the indispensable condition of their co-operation. But that their own existence as a government depended upon popular opinion; and the English ambassador could not be ignorant of the numerous and active enemies who were endeavouring to undermine them. The junta of Seville, who gave themselves great credit for resisting the introduction of the English into Cadiz last year when the French were advanced as far as Ecija, were upon the watch now, and calling the attention of the people to the conduct of the central junta in the present instance. Mr Frere made answer, that he could not of course expect his opinion should

be submitted to upon a subject on which their existence as a government and their personal security (for such in fact was the case,) were involved. But he advised them seriously to consider, whether the responsibility to which they exposed themselves in the other alternative was not equally dangerous, and whether their enemies would not be as ready and as able to make a handle of the rejection of British assistance as of its acceptance. They thought, however, that their opponents had taken their line so decidedly, that it was not possible for them at once to slip round to an opposite direction.

Mr Frere was aware that the uppermost feeling in the minds of some of the junta was the apprehension of the resentment which Cuesta might entertain against them, convinced as that general must have been of their weakness by the manner of his appointment. Being desirous, therefore, of obtaining his opinion in favour of the measure which the British government proposed, or at least in such terms as would remove all fear of his declaring himself in opposition to it, he wrote to him, explaining what Great Britain was willing to do in aid of Spain, and what condition was required. That condition, he said, was to be considered as indispensable, not only in the opinion of government, but in that of the nation, the individuals of which did not at that moment consider Cadiz as sufficiently secure even for a place of disposal for their merchandize, so that they were daily soliciting permission to re-export it, a fact which might well show what was the general opinion, and it might easily be judged whether the nation would risk its army upon an assurance which individuals did not consider as sufficient for their woollen and cotton. Nor was it easy to understand upon what ground of jealousy their condition was opposed. Lisbon had twice been garrisoned by British troops, without the smallest inconvenience to the Portugueze government. Madeira had in like manner been garrisoned: the Portugueze knew us by long experience; they knew also the internal state of England; knew that the English government never entertained a thought of abusing the confidence of its allies; and the state of public opinion is such in England, that it could not do this, even though it wished it. Under the present circumstances, the political question came before General Cuesta, both as a commander and a patriot, who, as he must be interested in any thing that might appear to injure the honour and independence of his country, so also he could not regard with indifference any thing that might derange the military plans of his government, and perhaps its political relations, by repeated acts of mistrust and mutual displeasure. 2800 good British troops might at this time march to co-operate with him upon the frontier of Estremadura, they would be followed by 1500 more as soon as General Sherbrooke arrived, and the auxiliary army would be delayed no longer than was necessary to dispose of its wounded and prisoners, and to be re-equipped. The question therefore was, whether General Cuesta could dispense with the present reinforcement of 4300 men, and whether Spain could dispense with the aid of an auxiliary army; for these were the points to be decided by the resolution which the junta should take of admitting, or immediately sending back the British troops, such being the alternative in which those troops

were placed by the orders under which they left Lisbon.

Cuesta returned a reply in terms of proper respect, both for the British government and his own. He did not, he said, discover any difficulty in the actual state of things which should prevent the British troops from garrisoning Cadiz, but he was far from supposing that the central junta could be without good ground for their objections, and that they should have objections was sufficient to prevent him from giving any opinion on so important a subject, unless they consulted him. With regard to the 4300 men, there could be no doubt but that he stood in need of them; and he hoped that England, convinced as it must be of the importance of preserving Estremadura, would lend him much greater assistance, particularly if from any change of circumstances the central junta should no longer appear repugnant to the condition which the British government required. This reply did not alter the determination which Mr Frere had made, of sending the troops back to Lisbon, considering Seville as comparatively safe, and conceiving that the principle which the English ministry had originally laid down, of not attaching small corps of British troops to a Spanish army, was one he should not be justified in departing from, for any object less important than the security of Cadiz or the capital. Accordingly, he communicated this determination to Don Martin de Garay, alledging that the information which he had lately received from Lisbon rendered such a measure necessary. In fact, Mr Frere had no other wish at this time than to conclude the subject without compromising either himself or others; and he was not displeased that the proposals which he had made were not accepted, because General Mackenzie, though willing to submit to any inconvenience for the public service, had expressed some apprehension, that unpleasant results might arise if he were to act in conjunction with a man of the peculiar humour of General Cuesta.

Don Martin de Garay's answer closed the discussion. It was meant to be at the same time conciliatory, and capable of being produced for the exculpation of the junta. He represented, "that if the present state of affairs was so unfavourable that any immediate attack upon Cadiz was to be feared,—if the Spanish forces were incapable of defending that point,—if there were no others of the greatest importance where the enemy might be opposed with advantage, the supreme junta would not fear to hurt the public feeling by admitting foreign troops into that fortress, because the public feeling would then be actuated by the existing state of things. But no such emergency existed; the armies were strengthening themselves in points very distant from Cadiz; even were things worse than there was any cause for expecting them to be, still the enemy had much ground to pass, and many difficulties to conquer, before he could threaten Cadiz; time could never be wanted to fall back upon that fortress; it was easy to be defended,—it was to be considered as a last point of retreat, and extreme points ought to be defended in advance, never in themselves, except in cases of extreme urgency. The army of Estremadura defended Andalusia on that side, those of the centre and La Carolina at the Sierra Morena; the enemy for some time past had not been able to make any progress,

and there, if superior forces could be collected against him, a decisive blow might be struck. On the other hand, Catalonia was bravely defending itself, and Zaragoza still resisted the repeated attacks of an obstinate and persevering besieger." It is remarkable that the junta should have so little considered the disproportion between that heroic city and the force which was brought against it, and have been so ill informed of the progress of the siege, as to suppose that Zaragoza would still hold out, when it had at this time been eight days in possession of the French.

"Either in Estremadura, or with the central army or in Catalonia," Don Martin de Garay pursued, "the assistance of Great Britain would be of infinite service. This was the opinion of the supreme junta; this was the opinion of the whole nation, and would doubtless be that of every one who impartially contemplated the true state of things. If the auxiliary troops already in the bay, or on their passage, should disembark in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, and proceed to reinforce General Cuesta, they would always find a safe retreat in Cadiz in case of any reverse; but should a body of troops, already very small, leave part of its force in Cadiz, in order to secure a retreat at such a distance, the English ambassador himself must surely acknowledge that such assistance could inspire the Spaniards with very little confidence, particularly after the events in Galicia. But it appeared to Mr Frere that the presence of these troops was necessary at Lisbon, and therefore he had given orders for their return. Of this measure the same might be said as of the proposed one for securing Cadiz. Lisbon was not the point where Portugal could be defended; the greatest possible number of troops ought to be employed in those advanced lines where the enemy was posted, and where he might be routed decisively. For all these reasons the supreme junta were persuaded, that if the British government should determine that its troops should not act in union with theirs, except on the expressed condition, this non-co-operation could never be imputed to them. The junta must on all occasions, and particularly under the present circumstances, act in such a manner, that if it should be necessary to manifest to the nation, and to all Europe, the motives of their conduct, it might be done with that security, and with that foundation, that should conciliate to them the public opinion, which was the first and main spring of their power."

Thus terminated the discussion concerning the admission of English troops into Cadiz. Mr Frere seriously warned the junta of the ill consequences which must result to Spain, if it should appear that the efforts and offers which the King of England had made, should have the effect of producing embarrassment to his government at home. It appears, indeed, as if both governments acted more with reference to their enemies at home, than from any real importance which they could attach to the point in dispute. With the Spanish government this was confessedly the case; they did not, and could not, possibly suspect the good faith of England,—between Spain and England, the honourable character of one country is at all times sufficient security for the other; but they stood equally in fear of the bolder patriots, who were dissatisfied with their tardy and indecisive measures, and of Morla and the other traitors, whose aim was to

excite suspicions of Great Britain. Under the influence of this feeling, they obstinately opposed a measure which they did not think otherwise objectionable, but which they opposed the more firmly because they did not perceive that it was in any degree necessary. The English ministry on their part wanted a point of defence against the opposition, who, as they omitted no means of wounding the pride and calumniating the character of the Spaniards, were continually saying that they did not desire our assistance, and that they had no confidence in us. It was against this party at home that Cadiz was wanted as a point of defence,—not as a point of retreat upon a coast where we possessed Gibraltar, and where also we were sure of the disposition of the people in Cadiz itself, whatever might be the conduct of its governor. The governor at Coruna had failed in his duty, but still the embarkation of the English was protected by that fortress.

Mr Frere concluded this unpleasant transaction according to his own judgement. He had the satisfaction of finding that the ministry perfectly accorded with him. They sent him Sir George Smith's instructions, authorising him, if he thought proper, to communicate them to the supreme junta, that they might see the step which that officer had taken was not to have been taken except at the direct solicitation of the Spanish authorities at Cadiz. They recalled Sir George Smith, and assured the junta that no such separate or secret commission, as they apprehended to have been given to him, ever had been, or ever would be, entrusted to any officer or other person; and that it never could be in the contemplation of the English government to select any other channel of communication than the King's accredited minister, in a transaction of such importance, much less to engage in such a transaction without the entire consent and concurrence of the Spanish government. They dispatched orders after General Sherbrooke, directing him to proceed to Lisbon instead of Cadiz; and, as the plans proposed by the junta for the employment of the British troops were not deemed advisable, government having uniformly refused to parcel out their army into small detachments, to be annexed to the different Spanish armies, and to act under Spanish generals, they determined to augment the force in Portugal to an amount sufficient for the protection of that country, the defence of which was so essential to the safety of the whole peninsula. Nevertheless, if at any time the junta should require a British force for the actual garrison of Cadiz, Mr Frere was authorised to send to Lisbon for that purpose, and the commanding officer there was ordered to comply with his requisition.

CHAP. XXII.

Disturbances at Cadiz. State of the War in Catalonia. Death of Reding. Miquelets. Success of the Duke of Albuquerque. Cuesta defeated at Medellin. Exertions of the Junta after that Defeat.

WHILE the question of admitting English troops into Cadiz was discussed at Seville, Cadiz itself became the scene of an insurrection, in which the popular feeling in favour of the English was unequivocally expressed. The people of this great city were dissatisfied with the conduct of the central junta; they complained that, instead of informing them of the true state of affairs, their government affected to keep them in ignorance; and having been so villainously deceived by Morla, the slightest circumstance sufficed to make them suspect any one who had the means of betraying them. A corps of foreign troops had enlisted into the Spanish service from the prisoners taken at Baylen; they consisted chiefly of Poles and Germans, men who in general would assuredly fight with a better heart against Buonaparte than for him, but who in this instance were more suspicious than if they had deserted from the French armies, because they had enlisted to escape confinement. This corps was now ordered to do garrison duty at Cadiz; while, at the same time, the volunteers of that city and of Port St Mary's were to be drafted to other parts. But the people, thinking that if Cadiz wanted defenders, it could by none be so faithfully defended as by its own children, determined to oppose both these measures by force of arms, and on the morning of the 22d of February they broke out in insurrection. Their first act of violence was to seize a courier charged with dispatches from the junta to the Marquis of Villel, a member of that body, and its representative in this important fortress. The marquis had rendered himself suspected by setting many persons at liberty who were confined on account of their supposed attachment to the French, and by imposing some injudicious restrictions upon the public amusements, which, by allusions to the existing state of things, and by calling forth popular applause and acclamation at patriotic sentiments, contributed to keep up the public spirit. The Spanish government dreaded these ebullitions of generous feeling; their hatred of the French was counteracted by their fear of jacobinism, and rather than permit the outward and visible signs of liberty, it seemed as if they would more willingly have extinguished the inward and spiritual grace. Acting upon this system, the Marquis of Villel had proceeded, it is said, with

such unwarrantable severity, that he had even committed some women of respectable rank to the house of industry, and threatened others with the same scandalous punishment. This circumstance excited the highest indignation in the people; they seized him, and were dragging him to the public jail, where, if he had arrived alive, it is little probable that he would long have been protected from popular fury. Fortunately P. Moguer, a capuchin friar, possessed influence enough with the people to save him. He persuaded them to commit him to the capuchin convent, where he might be securely guarded, and pledged himself to produce his person to suffer condign punishment, if any proofs of treason, discovered either among his papers or by any other means, should be brought home to him.

As soon as General Mackenzie was informed of the tumult, he sent orders to the ships, forbidding all officers who were on board to come on shore, and all who were already in the town were directed not to interfere in any manner with the people. Luckily the confidence of the people was possessed by the governor, Don Felix Jones, and in a still greater degree by the guardian of the capuchins, Fr. Mariano de Sevilla. The former represented to Gen. Mackenzie, that it would tend greatly to the re-establishment of tranquillity if a distinct assurance were given that the English would take no part in the tumult; for they had been called upon by the people to land and assist them against the traitors who were plotting against the cause of both countries. Accordingly the British general sent his aid-de-camp, with some other officers who could speak the language, and they, in the presence of the governor and the principal capuchin friars, distinctly declared, that the British troops would by no means interfere in any thing that related to the domestic and internal concerns of the people, but that they were ready to assist in defending the town against the common enemy to the last extremity. This was repeated to the people, and it seemed for a time to allay their agitation. In the course of a few hours, however, they again became tumultuous; still an opinion prevailed that they were betrayed, and that measures were secretly arranged by the persons at the head of affairs for delivering up Cadiz to the French. They called for the dismissal of those whom they most vehemently suspected, and they required that two British officers should be appointed to inspect the fortifications, jointly with two Spanish officers, and to superintend and direct the preparations for defence. As soon as this was reported to General Mackenzie, he immediately deputed two officers for that purpose; and all those of his staff accompanied the most active and popular of the friars to a balcony, from which they harangued the people, assuring them of the co-operation of the British troops and the support of the British nation, and frequently appealing to the British officers to confirm by their own voices the pledges given in their name and in their presence. This perfectly satisfied the populace, and they dispersed with loud huzzas, in honour of King George and King Ferdinand.

On the following morning the governor issued a proclamation, in which, considering the discontents which had been manifested and the disturbances which had taken place, "and keeping in mind," he said, "the loyalty

and patriotism of the inhabitants at all times, but particularly under the present circumstances, and the good and signal services which they had done and daily were doing, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, in support of the good cause, he dismissed from their office four persons whose discharge had been loudly demanded; and declared also, that if the people wished to have the junta of Cadiz suppressed, their desire should immediately be fulfilled. He assured them that no foreign troops should be admitted; but that officers of their intimate and faithful ally the British nation were invited to examine the posts and works of the city and its dependencies, and that every thing necessary for its defence should be concerted with them. He promised also that the papers of the Marquis de Villel should be regularly examined without delay; that there should be no longer any cause of complaint respecting the ignorance in which the people were kept of public affairs, for that whatever occurred should punctually and faithfully be made public; that the enlistment of the inhabitants for the provincial regiment of Ciudad Rodrigo should cease till further consideration; and that no part of the volunteers, the light troops, and companies of artillery should be ordered away." Notwithstanding the popularity of Don Felix Jones, it was thought advisable that this proclamation should be countersigned by the guardian of the capuchins.

Still the tumult continued. It is said, and the thing itself is every way probable, that the French had emissaries in the town ready to excite insurrection, for the purpose of overthrowing the existing government, to aggravate the people, and instigate them on to excesses which might be represented as a disgrace to the patriotic cause. General Caraffa, who had been second in command of the Spanish troops in Portugal, was confined in the castle of Catalina, under a charge of misconduct or treachery, with the viceroy of Mexico and other prisoners, who had been sent home from New Spain. The mob proceeded there, and demanded the prisoners, that they might put them to death. Colonel Roche, who had just arrived from Seville with another English officer, interposed, addressed the people, and succeeded in dissuading them from their purpose. But shortly afterwards they fell in with Don Joseph de Heredia, a particular object of their suspicion, who that very day had at their demand been dismissed from his office of collector of the public rents. He was stepping into a boat to make his escape to Port St Mary's: the attempt at flight cost him his life, and he was killed upon the spot. The popular fury seemed now to have spent itself, and the clergy and the friars, who throughout the whole insurrection had indefatigably exerted themselves in endeavouring to pacify the people, and protect the victims who were threatened, succeeded in restoring peace. To have attempted to quell the mob by force would have occasioned great bloodshed, for they had got possession of arms and of the park of artillery.

Fifty of the mob, who had been most conspicuous for their violence, were seized by the volunteers of Cadiz, and imprisoned. The central junta addressed a proclamation to the people of that city, reprehending them with dignified severity for the manner in which they had manifested their patriotic zeal. "It was ab-

surd," they said, "to apprehend danger in so populous, so loyal, so brave a city from a single battalion of foreigners, even if there could be any reason to doubt the fidelity of Poles and Germans, who had been forcibly dragged into Spain, and were in every quarter deserting from the flag under which they had been compelled to march. Neither had the Marquis de Villel any part in this obnoxious measure,—a measure in itself so unobjectionable, that when the people coolly reflected they would blush to have been alarmed at it. As little reason was there for their suspicion of the marquis. His voluminous papers were now before the junta, and nothing was expressed in them but zeal for the welfare of the country, and diligence to promote all means for the security and defence of Cadiz. Let the state of those means before his arrival be compared with the works projected and executed since. True it was, he might have erred in the means which he adopted; the junta was far from ascribing infallibility to its members. But had the people no other way of manifesting their disapprobation than by a popular tumult? No one came to the junta to complain of the marquis's conduct; no one informed them that their commissioners at Cadiz had lost the love and confidence of the people. Some anonymous letters only had reached the government, some on one side, some on the other, but all contemptible in the eye of equity and sound policy. But what was the course which would have become the open and generous character of the Spaniards? To have made their complaint frankly and nobly to the government, and the government would have done them justice. Sedition was a resource as low as it was dangerous and fatal."

The junta then warned them to beware of the insidious arts of the enemy. "It is not," said they, "the traitors who fled with the French and returned with them who do most injury to their country; but it is the obscure agitators, hired by them or by the tyrant, who abuse the confidence and mislead the patriotism of the people. It is they who, deviating from the true point of union, the government, disseminating distrust and suspicion, lead you through crooked and guilty paths to the precipice, and to subjugation; it is they who invert the social order, convert loyalty into rage, and zeal into sedition. The junta have proofs enough of these infernal machinations in the intelligence which they receive every day, and in the correspondence which they intercept." But, notwithstanding the government declared its persuasion of the innocence of the Marquis de Villel, it was not thought proper completely to exculpate him without such farther inquiry as might satisfy the people. This proclamation, therefore, announced that a commission would be appointed to examine his conduct, and that it would not be composed of members of the central junta, in order to avoid all shadow of partiality in an affair so serious. "Any person," said the junta, "shall be heard who desires to accuse him of treachery or malversation, and the sentence will be adjudged according to law. He himself demands in justice of the junta that this may be done; his honour, the estimation of the government, and the public satisfaction, necessarily prescribe it. If the marquis be culpable, he shall be punished in proportion to his abuse of the high functions and national confidence which he has enjoyed; but if he be declared innocent, it is necessary that

the reparation made to his good name be as solemn and public as the aggression was cruel and scandalous." These proceedings satisfied the people, of whom the better sort were grieved at the excesses which had been committed; and their suspicions against the marquis were in some degree removed when Don Felix Jones, to whom his papers were delivered, declared that no indication of treason was to be discovered in them.

Feb. 1. A seasonable supply of seven millions of dollars arrived at Cadiz early in the year from the colonial possessions of Spain: 600,000 of these were a patriotic contribution from Carthagena, 300,000 from Cuba. This was one main advantage which the legitimate government possessed over that of the intruder: they received the usual revenue from the colonies, while he, when the church-plate had once been melted down, could raise no supplies from the provinces which he devastated. At present, before these provinces were quite exhausted, his armies were contented with free plunder, the hope of ransacking the rich cities of the south, and the confident expectation that they should soon complete the subjugation of Spain. A large proportion of their force became disposeable after the fall of Zaragoza; but even those who formed the army of observation had been so harassed, notwithstanding their superiority, by the indefatigable Spaniards, that it was found necessary to allow them some repose. When they were sufficiently recruited, St Cyr returned with his division into Catalonia. Reding had made a daring attempt to surprise Barcelona, in which he was frustrated by the treachery of some of his officers. He took up a line of posts from Martorell to Tarragona, the head-quarters, under Field Marshal Castro, being at Igualada: before his measures were completed for an intended attack upon the enemy, St Cyr, preventing him, fell, with far superior *Feb.* 16. forces, upon his left, and compelled it to fall back upon Igualada, which Castro then found it necessary to evacuate, retreating towards Cerrara. Reding was at this time in Tarragona. Judging it now necessary to reassemble his troops, and collect them in that fortress, he set out from *Feb.* 20. thence with 300 horse, a battalion of his Swiss countrymen, and six pieces of flying artillery, to effect this object; the party who were retreating from Coll de Santa Christina joined him, and he sent orders to Brigadier-General Irenzo, who with 1200 men had defended himself for two days in the monastery of Santa Cruz, to force a passage that night, and effect a junction with him. This that officer accomplished without the loss of a man, or any part of the stores or baggage. Proceeding from thence to Santa Colonia de Queralt, he collected other detachments there, his forces now amounting to 10,000 men; but there he learned that the French had entered Vals in order to cut off his retreat, and it was in consequence resolved to make a retrograde movement. On the 23d he reached Montblanch. A party of the enemy having appeared in his rear, he held a council the following day, and it was determined that they should make the best of their way in the night. At five in the morning the *Feb.* 25. advance, under Castro, and half the centre, had passed Vals, leaving the enemy's camp-fires on the left. They were proceeding as silent-

ly as possible, and in good order, when, as Castro with his escort was passing a small bridge, a volley of musketry opened upon him within pistol-shot. This unexpected attack occasioned a momentary disorder; the troops, however, were soon judiciously stationed,—the artillery on both sides began to play; the French descended from the heights of Vals in several columns; the patriots advanced against them, and attacked them so bravely, that they drove them back, and made them fly to the very summit; there they received reinforcements and made a stand. By this time it was mid-day, and the troops were exhausted with their night march: Reding concentrated them, and the whole of the baggage being safe, again pursued his retreat. St Cyr meantime collected all his force, followed the retreating army, and attacked them in three points. Their main effort was on the left, and this they succeeded in forcing about half after four; and the Spaniards then, unable longer to resist a very superior force, dispersed,—the less reluctantly as they had a near point of shelter in Tarragona. They had been engaged for eleven hours, without showing the slightest sign of disorder till the fate of the day was thus finally decided. In the whole of this long action Reding distinguished himself equally by his personal exertions and his military skill, and he received five wounds. His aid-de-camp, Mr Reed, an Englishman, bravely covered the retreat of his disabled general, till being himself severely wounded with a sabre, he was taken prisoner. Reding got into Tarragona that night, where the greater part of the dispersed troops found their way, some corps in good order, others in small parties. In his dispatches he made no mention of his wounds; but they proved mortal, and he closed an honourable life by a death worthy of his former atchievements. He fell in a foreign land, and in the service of a foreign state; but the cause in which Theodore Reding fell was the same for which his brother Aloys had fought amid their native mountains; it was the cause of his own countrymen as well as of the Spaniards, the cause of all good men in all countries. In ordinary wars, the motives for which they have been undertaken have been so mean and transitory, and come so little to the heart of man, that when a few years have elapsed all interest concerning them is exhausted; and even our nationality does not prevent us from feeling, that they, whose lives have been expended in such contests, have died rather in the exercise of their profession than of their duty. But the struggle of Spain against Buonaparte is of the same eternal and unfading interest as the wars of Greece against Xerxes: at whatever distance of time its records shall be perused, they will excite in every honest heart the same indignant and ennobling sympathy. Not, therefore, in an ungrateful service did Reding lay down his life, for with those records his name must be perpetuated: Switzerland will remember him with pride, and Spain with gratitude.

Blake was appointed to succeed him in the command; a more able man could not have been chosen; but he succeeded to a charge of extreme difficulty; the most important fortresses and cities were in possesion of the enemy, and he had to keep the country against a force as much superior to his own in numbers as they were in discipline and equipment, and who, by way of Figueras or Pamplu-

na, could receive stores and reinforcements more easily from France than he could draw them from the exhausted provinces of Spain. Such, however, was the skill, and such was the activity of the Catalans, that, under all disadvantages, the patriots kept their ground, and for some months prevented the French from attempting any important operation. No country has ever produced a braver or more enterprizing race of men than Catalonia, and grievously as their liberties have suffered since their union, first with Aragon and afterwards with Castile, the people have never lost their characteristic qualities which ennobled them in former times, when they were the masters of the sea. The irregular troops, who severely annoyed the French from the commencement of the struggle, were called Miquelets, or Michelets. In the old wars between Aragon and France, they had been known by the appellation of Almogavares: their patience under every kind of privation, their savage habits and appearance, and their dexterity in the use of their weapons, made them the terror of their enemies. These men were originally the scouts and outposts of the Christians against the Moors, and lived in a perpetual state of warfare; when that contest was terminated they became banditti in their own country, or soldiers of fortune abroad, and, losing their Moorish appellation, acquired their present name from Michelot de Prats, one of their leaders, who served with distinction in Italy, and became the companion of Cæsar Borgia, and the main agent in many of his atrocities. Wherever the administration of justice is corrupt and feeble, men will always be found who live in a state of continual outlawry;—in Spain, however, the severity of the revenue laws opened for bold and mutinous spirits the least injurious channel in which they could be employed, and they, who in other times would have been robbers, became smugglers. Of such men the Miquelets consisted in the commencement of the contest; their hardy habits, their daring and adventurous disposition, and that intimate knowledge which, in the course of their former occupation, they had acquired of all the mountain paths, made them the best soldiers for such warfare as the state of Spain required; and the peasantry, or the citizens, who, having been utterly ruined, had no other course left them, than to stand or fall with their country in the field, acquired the same title when they formed themselves into irregular companies. Their ingenuity supplied the deficiency of arms; they manufactured wooden cannons, and by means of this artillery sometimes obtained advantages over their enemies.

Catalonia, however, was not the side to which the French were now directing their efforts. Their object was by a conjoined operation to destroy the armies of La Mancha and Estremadura at the same time, and make themselves masters of Seville. While Sebastiani was preparing to march against the former army, Victor was concentrating his forces for an attack upon the latter. His plans were impeded by the Duke de Albuquerque, who held a command under the Duke de Urbino in the army of La Mancha. He attempted to surprise a detachment of the enemy, who occupied the town of Mora; by the mistake (not the treachery) of a guide, the different parties of his troops were prevented from uniting at the appointed

Feb. 18.

spot, and surrounding the French before their approach was discovered. The success, however, was still considerable; the French suffered great loss before they fell back upon their head-quarters, abandoning their baggage, and Mora, with all the adjacent posts, were left in possession of the Spaniards. The operations of the enemy against the army of Estremadura were thus for a while frustrated. The Duke now projected fresh enterprizes on the side of Madrid; but the distinguished proofs of ability which he had given in the plan and conduct of this attack, the discipline which he had introduced into his troops, and the confidence with which he had inspired them, excited the apprehension of the French; and collecting a force of 11,000 infantry, and 3000 horse, they attempted to surprise him at Consuegra early on the morning of the 22d. In this they were defeated by his vigilance; the advanced guard of the Spaniards gave the alarm in time, and opposed the enemy steadily; the remainder of his division instantly formed; they, in the face of superior numbers, effected their retreat in good order through the pass of La Gineta, and took up their position at Villalta. The French, after an action of six hours, had only advanced a mile, when they gave up the attack at the expence of more than 400 horse, a chest of ammunition, and two of their cannon, which they were obliged to spike. The Viscount de Zolina, who had distinguished himself at the battle of Baylen, acquired fresh reputation in this action; which, indeed, was greatly to the honour of the Spaniards; only seven of the army discovered either treachery or cowardice in the field, and they were delivered over to a military commission.

Feb. 22.

The success of the Duke de Albuquerque retarded the plans of the enemy for a month, and had the army been under his command, greater things would have been accomplished; the men had full confidence in him, but his commander had neither the same spirit of enterprize, nor the same talents, and withheld him from any further offensive operations by positive orders. This was exceedingly unfortunate; the troops were in high spirits; they had the greatest love for their leader, and he was equally popular among the people of La Mancha. The French, freed from the disquietude which his active measures would have given them, had leisure to complete their preparations, and about the middle of March Victor began to put his plans in execution. He had to cross to the left bank of the Tagus; the point where he designed to effect his passage was at the Puente del Arzobispo, or the Archbishop's bridge, so called from its founder, Don Pedro Tenorio. A wooden bridge which existed in his days was swept away by the flood, and as it was here that all pilgrims from the western side of the river passed to pay their devotions to the famous image of our Lady of Guadaloupe, he built the present edifice, founded an hospital for their accommodation, and a town which he named Villa Franca, but which now takes its appellation from the bridge. Six thousand men had been stationed to defend this point; due precautions, however, had not been taken, the passage was won, and on the following morning the French attacked the

March 16.

Spanish positions at Meza de Ibor and Fresnedoso. The patriots, though consisting mostly of raw levies, made an obstinate resistance to the superior force which was brought against them, and when compelled to retreat they fell back in good order, taking up new positions, till early on the next day they joined the main body of Cuesta's army at Miravete.

This column of the French then divided into two bodies; the one proceeded by the circuitous way of Deleytosa and Torrecillas, to take post between Truxillo and Miravete, and thus cut off Cuesta's communication and supplies, and attack him in the rear, while the force from Almaraz, passing the river in boats, or upon rafts, should attack him in front. The other columns directed their march to the bridge of Almaraz, to turn Cuesta's advanced guard, who were defending that bridge against the enemy on the right bank. Henestrosa, who commanded here, abandoned this important post and fell back to Miravete, with such precipitation and evident misconduct or treachery, that he was put under arrest, brought to a summary trial, and shot within three hours. Cuesta himself gave no proofs either of firmness or ability. Miravete is a difficult pass; the force which was marching round to get in his rear did not exceed six thousand men, against whom he might have sent a detachment of sufficient strength, and still have been strong enough to maintain so advantageous a post. He, however, fell back as soon as the troops from the Puente del Arzobispo joined him, retreated beyond Truxillo, and took up a position at Santa Cruz, thus leaving Estremadura open to the enemy. His magazines at Truxillo fell into their hands.

This was not the only error which Cuesta committed. He knew at this time that he might expect an English army to act in co-operation with him. Sir Arthur Wellesley had, in the end of February, resigned his seat in Parliament, and the chief secretaryship of Ireland, preparatory to taking the command, and General Beresford was already arrived at Lisbon. His policy, therefore, should have been by all means to avoid a general action. Having, however, formed a junction with the Duke de Albuquerque's division, and hearing that Victor had detached part of his troops from Miajadas to Merida and Medellin, he resolved to march in search of him, and give him battle. Accordingly on the 27th of March he put his army in motion; the next morning he discovered that Victor had concentrated his whole force, consisting of about 3000 horse and 20,000 foot, in front of Medellin. This discovery, however, did not divert him from his rash resolution. The French infantry were formed in large close columns, their flanks covered by the cavalry, their front by six batteries. Cuesta ordered some of his columns to deploy, others to storm these batteries,—the town before them was the birth-place of Hernan Cortes, and that recollection alone might have given them courage. The left wing of the Spaniards advanced steadily, within pistol-shot of the first battery, and carried it with fixed bayonets. Victor, with a strong division, both of horse and foot, charged to retake it; the Spanish infantry advanced resolutely to meet them, but the cavalry failed in their duty; instead of charging the enemy at full gallop according to their orders, they threw their own troops into disorder, —the left wing was consequently

routed, and the French being thus victorious on that side, directed their whole force against the centre and the right. A want of decision on the part of General Eguia completed the ruin of the army; he did not venture to vary his orders as necessity required, without receiving fresh ones from Cuesta, at a time when Cuesta was in such a situation that it was impossible for them to communicate. The Spaniards fought bravely; but the failure of their cavalry, and the want of talent in their commander, rendered all individual courage fruitless. 7000, according to the French accounts, were left upon the field, 3000 made prisoners, 30 pieces of cannon were taken. The statement is not greatly exaggerated. Cuesta reported that the loss was very considerable, though it had not been ascertained, and that the number of officers whom he had lost amounted to 170.

The day before the battle was fought, Sebastiani, with 20,000 men, routed the army of La Mancha before Ciudad Real, without any resistance, he says,—a circumstance which, if it were true, would be even more disgraceful to the conqueror than to the Spaniards, for in the same official report it was added, that the cavalry put more than three thousand of them to the sword: 18 pieces of cannon and 4000 prisoners, including 197 officers, were the fruits of this victory. Sebastiani was now at the foot of the Sierra Morena, on a line with Victor, and it was announced at Madrid that these victories secured the conquest of Andalusia. Cuesta's army they represented as dispersed and annihilated, and their own loss as inconceivably little, not more than three hundred in killed and wounded, and less than one at Ciudad Real. That the French obtained a complete victory is beyond doubt; the Spaniards have not attempted to conceal their defeats, nor to extenuate the loss, prone as they have been to underrate the strength of the enemy; but that the conquerors purchased their triumph dearly became manifest when it was seen that they derived no advantage from it. They pushed on a corps to the neighbourhood of Badajoz; but the Duke de Albuquerque was in that quarter, and being freed from the shackles of a commander of inferior talents, his military skill was again displayed, 700 of the enemy were slain, and 200 sent prisoners to Seville. This loss, added to what they had already sustained, checked their progress, and instead of advancing into Andalusia, as had been boasted at Madrid, they retreated from Lobon and Talaveruala. Cuesta was then enabled, without molestation, to take up a position not many leagues from the field of battle, having his advanced guard at Almendralejo. Here he collected the scattered troops, reinforcements were sent him, and in a few days he was as formidable as before the action. In his general orders he thanked the army for their good conduct on that day, excepting by name the regiments of cavalry which had precipitately and disgracefully taken to flight, and thereby occasioned the defeat. For this offence he suspended three colonels from their rank,—it does not appear that any heavier punishment was inflicted, grievously as it was deserved. The privates were disgraced by having one of their pistols taken from them, till by some act of valour they should regain the honour which they had lost: a more injudicious mark of disgrace than this, which deprived them of part of their weapons,

and thereby rendered them less efficient in the field, could hardly have been devised.

It was reported that the central junta, in consequence of the defeat, had fled from Seville; they, however, were better informed of the loss which the enemy had sustained, than to be dismayed at the issue of the battle; and their conduct was dignified as well as politic. They decreed a pension to the *April* 1. widows and orphans of all those who had fallen, in proportion to their rank and circumstances,—a badge of distinction to all the corps whom the general should commend, with double-pay for one month, and they promoted all the officers who had distinguished themselves. They declared that the general and the great body of the army had deserved well of their country, and they conferred the rank of captain-general upon Cuesta. This measure was censured, and with good reason; for Cuesta had committed important errors in neglecting to defend the Puente del Arzobispo with an adequate force, in abandoning the strong pass of Miravete, where every advantage of position was in his favour, and in risking a battle afterwards upon ground which the enemy had chosen. The Duke de Urbino and Generals Lapena and Marina were displaced on suspicion of treason. The great advantage which Cuesta enjoyed was, that his patriotism was undoubted, and the soldiers had no fear of being betrayed by him: the danger of being sold and sacrificed by the officers and generals was perpetually in their thoughts; and this was an additional evil arising from the system of appointing men of high rank to the command. The greater their possessions, the greater was their temptation to acknowledge the intruder: property is a pledge of attachment to a legitimate government; but in perilous times it has been found that it usually becomes a pledge of submission to any usurpation.

The intruder and his partisans hoped that the defeat and dispersion of two armies at the same time would break the spirit of the government, if not of the nation, and that the supreme junta might be induced to secure themselves and their own possessions by submission. Accordingly a Spanish traitor, by name Joaquim Maria Sotelo, addressed a letter from *April* 12. Merida to the vice-president, saying, that the greater number of the provinces of Spain had sufficiently suffered from the horrible effects of war and conquest, and now the rest were threatened with the same calamities. Filled with consternation, he said, at the defeats of Urbino and Cuesta, the honourable Spaniards at the court of Madrid, who could not contemplate without the most poignant grief, the utter desolation of their beloved country, had implored the king to alleviate the distresses of such provinces as were occupied by the French troops, and to prevent them in those which were not yet in their possession. To these prayers the king had attended, and had therefore ordered him to announce his compliance to the junta, and authorised him to consult with such deputies as the junta might think fit to appoint, on the best means of fulfilling his wishes. He could not suppose that they would refuse to take steps on which the salvation of Andalusia and the happiness of the whole kingdom depended. And, as the business was most important in its character, and

most urgent in the present circumstances, Sotelo represented, that it would be improper to conduct it in writing, and that all the disputes and irregularities and doubts which it would otherwise cause might be completely obviated by a personal conference. On this ground, he hoped, from the honour and patriotism of the junta, that deputies would be named to confer with him.

The junta replied, not to this traitor himself, but to Cuesta: "They had not forgotten, they said, the sacred character with which they were invested, and the solemn oath which they had taken, in unison with the wishes of the whole Spanish nation. If Sotelo were the bearer of powers sufficiently extensive to treat for the restitution of their beloved king, and for the immediate evacuation of the Spanish territory by the French troops, let him publish them in the usual form adopted by states, and they would be announced to the allies of Spain. The junta had no authority to listen to any treaty, or terminate any transaction, which was not founded on the basis of eternal justice. Any other principle of negociation, without benefitting the empire, would only tend to degrade the junta, which had entered into the most aweful engagements to bury itself beneath the ruins of the monarchy, rather than sanction any proposition which should diminish the honour and independence of the Spanish people. This answer they desired Cuesta to transmit to the intruder's agent, and they published the proposal and the reply. Perceiving, however, of what importance the safety of the government was to the patriotic cause, and the danger therefore of associating it in the minds of the people with any particular place of residence, in times when no place was secure, they published a decree upon this subject. It began by an avowal, that in their anxiety to provide a quick remedy for the calamities which had befallen the armies of La Mancha and Estremadura, they had imprudently hazarded their own safety by remaining at Seville. But having provided for the reinforcement and equipment of the troops, and furnished all the supplies which were requisite for the defence of the four kingdoms of Andalusia, they had in cool consideration reflected, that their security was inseparable from that of the state; that the preserval of the deposit of the sovereignty entrusted into their hands was the first of their obligations; and that they could not again expose it to the danger of being destroyed, without doing wrong to the nation which had confided it to them. The precipitation with which the tyrant of Europe advanced against Madrid in November, and sent troops towards Aranjuez, made it apparent that a principal object of his ferocious policy was to strike a mortal blow at the government, and, seizing the body which administered it, cut all the bonds of political association, and then throw the nation into confusion. These were still his objects: trusting more to his cunning than his force, he still pursued the government, hoping to get its members in his power, and then renew the infamous scenes of Bayonne, by compelling them to authorize his usurpation, or sacrificing them to his rage if they resisted his seductions and his menaces. Thus to degrade the government in the eyes of the nation itself would, he thought, be the best means of degrading the nation also, and reducing it to that utter servitude,

April 18.

which, in the insolence of his fortune, this tyrant designed to inflict upon Spain. To frustrate these aims, the junta decreed, that, whenever the place of their residence was threatened, or when any other reason should convince them of the utility of so doing, they would transfer the seat of government elsewhere, where they might preserve the august deposit of the sovereignty, and watch over the defence, the well-being, and the prosperity of the nation. And they declared, that, whatever the accidents of the war might be, the junta would never abandon the continent of Spain, while a single spot could be found in it where they could establish themselves for the defence of the country against the force and fraud of its perfidious enemy, as they had solemnly sworn to do.

CHAP. XXIII.

State of the War in Galicia. Soult enters Portugal. Capture and Recapture of Chaves. General Freire killed by his Troops. Capture of Porto, and Massacre in that City. The Spaniards recover Vigo. Success of Romana at Villafranca. Perilous Situation of Soult.

THE plans of the intruder were, that, when Sebastiani and Victor had defeated the armies of La Mancha and Estremadura, the former should advance into Andalusia, and make himself master of Seville, while the latter should enter Portugal by the side of Badajos, and co-operate with Soult, who was to advance from Galicia through the northern provinces. Success was considered as so certain, that, when the news of Cuesta's defeat reached Paris, the Moniteur affirmed that this engagement had laid Seville open to the French armies, and that probably by that time the capital of Portugal was in their possession also. The unexpected and unexampled rapidity with which the Spanish troops again assembled after their dispersion, and the shock which Victor received from the Duke of Albuquerque, frustrated the intended movements on the side of the Sierra Morena and of Alentejo. Soult meantime, ignorant of this fortune, (for the communication by way of Salamanca was cut off by Sir Robert Wilson's indefatigable legion) proceeded to execute his part of the combined operations.

Marshal Ney, between whom and Soult no very cordial feelings of good-will existed, had been appointed governor of Galicia. He had still a predominant force after Soult's army was departed; there were garrisons in every town which was sufficiently important, either for its size or situation, to require one, and the French had complete military possession of the country. But they had yet to subdue the spirit of the people; and the Galicians, who had no longer an example of panic and disorder before their eyes, carried on the war in their own way. Captain M'Kinley in the Lively frigate, with the Plover sloop under his command, arrived off the coast to assist them. He discovered none of that apathy for their own country, none of that contented indifference who was to be their master, none of that sullen and ungrateful dislike of the English, of which the retreating army had complained so loudly; he heard from them nothing but expressions of gratitude to the British government and praise of the British nation; he perceived in them the true feelings of loyalty and patriotism, and saw in all their actions the most enthusiastic ardour, regulated by a cool and determined courage. The French at-

tempted, by the most atrocious means, to terrify and keep them down. On the 7th of March, a body of these ruffians entered the little towns of Carril and Villa Garcia, murdered some old men and women in the streets, set fire to the houses of those persons whom they suspected of being patriots, and then retreated to Padron. To lay waste villages with fire, to abandon the women to the soldiery, to put to death every man whom they took in arms, was the system upon which Ney and Soult proceeded, in conformity to the orders of Buonaparte. Such a system, if it failed to intimidate, necessarily recoiled upon their own heads; and the thirst of vengeance gave a character of desperation to the courage of the Galicians. A party of 105 French were pillaging a convent, when Don Bernardo Gonzalez, with two-and-thirty Spaniards, fell upon them, and did such execution while the enemy were in disorder and encumbered with their plunder, that only sixteen of them escaped. During three days the French attempted to destroy the peasants of Deza and Trasdira; the men of Banos and Tabieros came to aid their countrymen, and the invaders at length retreated with the loss of 114 men. A party from Pontevedra entered Marin: here the Lively and the Plover opened their fire upon them, and as they fled from the English ships, their officers fell into the hands of the peasantry. In this kind of perpetual war the French were wasted; a malignant fever broke out among them, which raged particularly at their head-quarters in Santiago, and many who had no disease died of the fatigue which they suffered from being incessantly harassed, and kept night and day on the alarm.

March 9.

The bulletins had fixed Soult's arrival at Lisbon for the end of February. It was not however till the beginning of the following month that he began his march. The Minho was to be crossed; there is no bridge over it in any part where it forms the boundary line between the two kingdoms, and it is never fordable but at one spot, above Melgaco, and then only after an unusual continuance of dry weather. Soult wished to cross without ascending the whole way to Orense, which is about four-and-forty miles from Tuy, and the best place seemed at its mouth, in defiance of the old frontier fortress of Caminha. The works, originally* ill-planned and ill-situated, had long been neglected, and though there were still a few guns mounted, the French, despising both the place and the enemy, preferred crossing in the face of this fortress to the delay and fatigue of going round. In order, however, to deceive the Portugueze garrison, the troops were entirely withdrawn from the opposite bank, making a feint of marching up the stream. Boats meantime had been collected at the neighbouring fishing town, La Guardia; they were brought over land to the most convenient point of embarkation, and soldiers enough to storm the ruinous works of Caminha attempted the passage. But the Portugueze had not been duped into any remissness of their duty; they opened an effectual fire from a few guns; some of the boats were sunk, one reached the left bank with thirty-eight men and two officers, who were immediately made

* Dumouriez says, *il semble qu'on se soit ingenié a faire de cette place un chef d'œuvre d'absurdité savante.*

prisoners. The rest returned to the Galician shore.

Thus baffled in his attempt, Marshal Soult ascended the right bank of the Minho, and crossed by the bridge at Orense on the 6th of March. This line of route brought him near Romana, to whose outposts he sent a trumpeter, requesting permission for an officer to pass with a letter to the Marquis. It was granted; and, incautiously, the Spaniards suffered the Frenchman to pass without having blindfolded him. Soult had selected an intelligent officer, whose real object was to survey the position of the patriots, the letter being nothing more than an offer to the Marquis of honours and employment in the intruder's name, if he would recognize him as king, and deliver up his army. Romana only glanced at the contents, and ordered the Frenchman to tell his general, that the only answer he could give to such proposals, was from the mouth of the cannon. Soult, however, had effected his purpose, and the next day making a desperate charge on the right of the Spanish troops, who were posted to the south-east of Monterey, on the heights of Orsona, he bore every thing before him. Romana himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner, part of his baggage was taken, and great part of that of the army. The loss of men was not great. It was boasted in the bulletin, that 2000 were made prisoners, and the whole of the rear guard, consisting of 3000, destroyed, in a series of actions at Inzo, Allarez, and Osono. In reality the number of prisoners did not exceed 300, nearly 200 of whom effected their escape, and joined the Spanish army at Sanabria, to which place Romana retreated. * The proportion of the slain must in like manner be reduced. Having pursued the patriots one day, Soult turned back to pursue the original object of his expedition, and on the 13th he appeared before Chaves, the Aquæ Flaviæ of the Romans, so named because of its hot springs, and in honour of its founder Vespasian. The baths, when flattery in course of nature was out of date, supplanted the memory of the emperor, and the place obtained the more appropriate name of Aquæ Calidæ, which in process of time was abbreviated and corrupted into Chaves. The hot springs are in a place called the Tabolado, between the walls and the river Tamega; they are said to be more efficacious than any others in Portugal, but the buildings which formerly served to accommodate invalids who came to derive benefit from these waters, were demolished towards the close of the seventeenth century, in order that the guns might command the approach on that side without impediment. The Count de Mesquitella, by whose orders this was done, has been censured for it, as having committed a certain mischief for the sake of a frivolous precaution. It is the frontier town of Portugal, opposite to Monterey, and when war was carried on upon a less extensive scale, was considered as an important post. The walls were now broken in many places; the citadel indeed was in better repair, but both this and the town are commanded from several points, and at short distances. The Portugueze general, Francisco de Silveira, was stationed here with about 3000 regular troops, and a body of militia and peasantry, who were armed chiefly with pikes and fowling-pieces; but, knowing that the place was untena-

* This is affirmed upon authentic information.

ble, and how ill Portugal could afford the loss of this little army, he retreated, on the approach of the French, five leagues, to Villa Pouca. An outcry was raised against him for this movement, and he was accused of treason: Rash men, whose patriotism had neither judgement to guide, nor virtue to sustain it, joined in the clamour with those agitators who were in the service of the French; and some of the militia and of the peasantry were persuaded by them, in contempt of Silveira's orders, to remain in the town and undertake its defence. Had the character of this general been any way doubtful, and had he been less esteemed and less beloved by the soldiers, there can be little doubt but that he would have fallen a sacrifice to unjust suspicion.

The show of defence which was made at Chaves induced Soult to invest it. By this time the men, who, in violation of discipline, had chosen to remain there, grew cool; they perceived that the place was untenable; and surrendered on the third day without having fired a shot. The French then proceeded towards Braga.

March 15.

Between this city and the frontier there is some of the most defensible ground in the whole kingdom, and here Bernardino Freire de Andrade, the governor-general of the northern provinces, had stationed himself with a few regular troops and a great number of peasantry, men as brave and as patriotic as the best general could desire, but totally undisciplined, though the example of Sir Robert Wilson proves that there had been sufficient time to discipline men so zealous and so docile. No sooner was it known that the French were approaching the frontiers, than Freire, instead of attempting to defend the passes, or taking advantage of the nature of the country, retreated to Braga, the situation and old walls of which afforded nothing favourable for defence. This measure occasioned a general alarm; peasantry from all parts came flocking in, some retreating before the French, some hastening to meet them,—some armed with pikes,—those who had fowling-pieces looking for ammunition,—all eager to be embodied and led against the enemy. The city and its vicinity were in an uproar; and the people, seeing that no measures of resistance were taken, became clamorous. The armed inhabitants waited upon Freire, and requested that he would lead them out, and resist the progress of the enemy in the mountains. He replied, it would be madness to attack them in the passes, but that he had prepared every thing, and would give them battle in due time and place. Such an answer would not satisfy men who saw no preparations except what they themselves had made. A cry went forth that ammunition had been refused to those who had fire-arms; and presently it was discovered that cartridges had not been served to the soldiers. At this the fury of the people became ungovernable; no longer doubting that they were betrayed by the governor, the pikemen attacked his house: It was in vain that his guards resisted them; they forced their way, and Freire and his aid-de-camp were put to death upon the spot. One of his secretaries, after having received several stabs, cried for mercy, and promised to confess the whole treason. In consequence of the dying man's declaration, the Marquis de Loule and three other nobles were displaced from their commands, arrested, and sent prisoners to Lisbon; for the people

repressed their fury, believing that they had obtained legal proofs against them. It was said that the secretary discovered where ammunition had been buried, and also gave up two papers containing the terms of agreement between Freire and the French; but it is hardly possible that either of these charges can be true. Ammunition could not be buried without a great number of accomplices and the most imminent risk of discovery, and it is not to be believed that any man would keep in his own possession written proofs of his own treason, which, till it was accomplished, endangered his ruin, and after it was accomplished, could be of no advantage to him. Freire's guilt, however, seems to have been admitted by the Portugueze government. His whole conduct toward Sir Arthur Wellesley shews him to have been a weak and presumptuous man; and perhaps the mortification which he felt when he found himself treated as such, made him lend a readier ear to the insinuations of the French, and devote himself more willingly to their service.

Baron D'Eben, a major in the English service, and equerry to the Prince of Wales, was at that time in Braga. He commanded the second battalion of Sir Robert Wilson's legion, and had been left by him at Porto, with instructions to follow from thence; but afterwards his instructions had been changed, in consequence of the apprehended attack on the northern provinces, and he was sent to act under Freire with what force could be collected at Porto. The people had full confidence in him as a British officer,—for in every part of Portugal the British character is known and loved, and they had proofs of his abilities in the state of discipline to which he had brought his men. Upon him, therefore, they conferred the command by acclamation, and under such circumstances there was no alternative but to accept it. They insisted that he should lead them against the enemy. He advanced therefore to Carvalho d'Este, a strong position a few leagues from the city, and there, during three successive days, he repelled the attacks which Soult made to dislodge him. This he effected principally by the excellent conduct of his own battalion, which consisted of not more than 600 effective men. But these were all upon whom he could rely. However well the armed inhabitants of Braga and the peasantry were disposed to second him, they were altogether without discipline, nor had he officers enough to direct their exertions. On the fourth day, Soult's artillery forced the pass, the peasantry fled, and Baron D'Eben with his battalion and some few regulars and militia, made an orderly retreat to Porto.

March 19.

This was related in France as a victory over 20,000 Portugueze, who lost 6000 men and all their artillery! It left indeed the road to Porto open: But, though the distance between that city and Braga is only two-and-thirty miles, five days elapsed before the French arrived there, so perpetually were they harassed and impeded by an enemy who kept the country against them, though they could not resist them in battle. No sooner was Silveira assured of their advance, than he hastened back from Villa Pouca with his little army, and appeared before Chaves. Soult had left about 1300 men here, including his sick; and here he thought he had secured his Spanish prisoners, 114 in number, being all that he had brought away from his boasted victories over

Romana. The French thinking it more easy to beat the Portugueze in battle, than defend against them the walls of a town where the people would take part with the assailants, advanced to meet them; but superiority of discipline was of little avail in the management of so small a body, and the Portugueze had the advantage in number. About 600 of the invaders were killed or wounded, and the remainder took shelter in the citadel called Fort St Francisco: the place was not stored for defence, and the French general, Messinger, with the remainder of his detachment, was compelled to surrender prisoners of war. Silveira then followed the French army, and harassed their rear, till they approached Porto, then he took post at the bridge of Amarante, upon the Tamega, a strong and important position. Antiquarians have endeavoured to prove that this bridge was the work of Trajan; but a tradition too long established, and too fondly believed to be shaken by any historical arguments, has ascribed its foundation to St Gonzalo de Amarante, a saint, who, having taken up his abode there in a hermitage, and commiserating the numerous accidents that happened in passing the river, determined to build a bridge. The alms which he obtained would have fallen short of the necessary charges for feeding his workmen, if the saint had had no other resources; he, however, by making a cross upon the water, drew as many fish to his hand as he pleased to take, and then supplied his labourers with a fountain of oil from the rock for the purpose of dressing them, and another of wine, that their hearts might be gladdened, as well as their countenances made chearful.

March 21.

The approach of the French threw the people of Porto into the most violent agitation. Their first impulse was to take vengeance upon their own traitorous countrymen. They killed a major whom they suspected, and on the following day, breaking open the prison where Oliveira, their former governor, was confined, they put him to death with their knives, took out fourteen other partizans of the enemy and shot them, then dragged the bodies through the streets, and threw them into the Douro. However culpable such excesses may be, the chief blame lay in the government for having suffered these men to lie so long in prison, instead of bringing them to trial, and acquitting or sentencing them to death or banishment according to their deserts. Porto was ill prepared for defence; the people had hastily thrown up a cordon of detached batteries round the town and suburbs, ill-constructed, injudiciously placed, and the line was so extensive, that an army of sixty thousand men would have been necessary to defend it. Captain Von Arenschild, an artillery officer of the German legion, arrived in time to remedy some of these defects, and erect other works which, if there had been troops to defend them, might have saved the town. There were men enough, as brave, as ardent, and as full of hatred for the enemy as the occasion required;—the courage and the docility of the Portugueze have since been established by the most indisputable and splendid proofs;—at this time they had none to direct them, their passions were at the height, fear of treason prevented them from depending upon their officers, and under such circumstances the officers were more afraid of their own men than of the enemy. Never was a more glorious opportunity lost for want of a commanding mind like Palafox. Soult approach-

March 21.

ed with only 12,000 men,—the Portugueze had 270 pieces of cannon mounted, and ill as they had constructed the works, those works were still sufficient to afford protection to the city, though it would have been far better to have defended the streets and houses;—Porto might then have been more fatal to the French than Zaragoza, for Soult, if then defeated, must inevitably have been destroyed.

But the blind populace, led by blind leaders, relied upon their numbers, and gave up the advantage of street-fighting, where their numbers and their artillery must have ensured success. They even insisted upon dividing D'Eben's legion into small parties to intermix with the people, instead of stationing them in a body in the most important points. The enemy reconnoitred the works on the 26th. On the two following days he attacked the works, and on both was repulsed. On the 29th, the distrust which the people entertained of their officers, occasioned irretrievable confusion; the enemy entered the city, at a time when they had not more than six round of cartridges left. Another hour of steadiness, and Porto would have been saved from the horrors which ensued! Upon the pretext that a French officer, who was sent to summon the city, had been killed, many thousands of the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, were bayonetted, and their bodies for three days exposed in the streets, then cast into the river. The river had already received but too many victims,—the wretched inhabitants flying from their butchers, thought to escape by the bridge of boats, it gave way beneath these numbers, those who were behind prest on,—and more perished in the water than in the assault. In the Madrid Gazette, it was said that the whole garrison was put to the sword.—Thus the French chose to represent the massacre, when they made it their boast; but the massacre was indiscriminate.

A week after this dreadful butchery, a newspaper was published at Porto, under direction of the French, and the first number opened with a panegyric upon Marshal Soult, because he had not entirely destroyed the city. "The catastrophe which Porto had suffered," it said, "was truly dreadful, and might serve as a warning to all who had the folly and temerity to undertake great enterprizes, without calculating the means, or looking on to the end. But amid the horror, with which so severe an example affected every feeling heart, there was abundant matter of consolation for minds which were capable of weighing things in the balance of true philosophy. Towns carried by assault, had invariably, among the most civilized nations, paid with their total destruction the penalty of their contumacy: this was the fate which Porto had to apprehend, and from this it had been spared by a hero who always listened to the voice of mercy, and in whose heart valour and humanity contended for superiority!"

The plans of the ferocious Soult were thus far successful; but already the French in Galicia had reason to wish that he had never entered Portugal. A few days only after he had been baffled by the garrison of Caminha in his attempt to cross the Minho, a party of Portugueze, under Alexandro Alberto de Serpa, crossed at that point, and were joined at Guardia by a body of peasantry. The united force amounted to about

March 10.

4000 men; the Mayorazgo of Galicia, Don Joaquin Tenreyro, put himself at their head, their parish priest acted as officer, and this gallant peasantry thus officered, undisciplined and ill-equipped, proceeded to besiege the French garrison in Vigo, consisting of 1300 men. This town is situated in a bay, which is one of the largest, deepest, and safest in the whole Spanish peninsula. It is built upon a rock, but, notwithstanding the severe loss which the Spaniards, during the War of the Succession, suffered in that port, no care had been taken to fortify it; it has merely a wall, with a fort flanked with four bastions on the land side, and an old castle, equally dilapidated, toward the sea. The neighbourhood of Ferrol has made it neglected as a naval station, and Galicia is too poor a country for foreign commerce. There is, however, a manufactory of hats there, which are exported to America; and a fishery is carried on so extensively as to afford employment for thirty mercantile houses. It derives some importance also from being the seat of government for the province of Tuy. The population amounts to 2,500. Sir John Moore had fixed upon this port as the place of his embarkation, and ordered the transports here; and the delay occasioned by waiting till they came round Cape Finisterre to join him at Coruna, gave time for the French to come up, and for that battle, which, while it redeemed the character of the army, proved fatal to himself.

Captain Crawford, in the Venus frigate, was off the port, and he wrote to Captain M'Kinley, who was then at Villa Garcia, telling him how much the presence of his ship would contribute to the success of the patriots. Meantime Don Pablo Murillo, who had distinguished himself so gallantly in Estremadura, came to examine the state of the siege. He learnt that a reinforcement of 1800 French were at this time in Pontevedra, about four leagues off. They had to cross the bridge of St Payo, over a river which discharges itself into the head of the bay of Vigo, and Murillo immediately took measures for defending the passage. From Don Juan Antonio Gago, an inhabitant of Marin, who was at the head of 500 peasants, he obtained two eight-pounders, and from the town of Redondella, one 24 and two 18-pounders. With these means of defence, he entrusted this position to Don Juan de O'Dogherty, a lieutenant in the Spanish navy, who had the command of three gunboats. While he was taking these necessary measures, a detachment of three thousand men from that army of Romana, which Soult, in his lying dispatches, boasted of having destroyed a fortnight before, drove the enemy back from Pontevedra, and took possession of the town. Murillo joined them; and being of opinion that the speedy reduction of Vigo was the most important object which could then be undertaken, they proceeded to that place.

The French governor Châlot, a *Chef d'Escadron*, had replied to every summons which Tenreyro sent him, that he was not authorised to surrender to peasantry. Captain M'Kinley having now arrived, he was again summoned to surrender, and negociations were begun, which continued till the third day, when Murillo joined the besiegers with the force from Pontevedra, consisting of new levies and retired veterans, 1500 of whom had now come forward to deliver their

March 26.

country; a council of war was held, by which Murillo was appointed commander-in-chief, and requested to assume the title of colonel, for the sake of appearing of more consequence to M. Chálot, whose complaint it was, that he was not summoned by an officer of sufficient rank.

March 27. Having been thus promoted to accommodate the *Chef d' Escadron*, he sent him a summons in due form to surrender within two hours. Chálot replied, that he could not possibly surrender till he had heard the opinion of the council of war, of which he was president; the members were at present dispersed, and he required 24 hours to collect them. Murillo returned a verbal answer, that he granted him another two hours, and the Frenchmen, after another ineffectual attempt to prolong the term, delivered in their proposals of capitulation, which were, that they should march out with their arms, baggage, and the whole of their equipage, and with the honours of war; that they should be conveyed in English vessels to the nearest French port, on parole not to bear arms against Spain or her allies till exchanged, or till peace should have taken place; that the money belonging to the French government, and destined for the payment of the troops of the second corps, should remain in the hands of the paymaster, who was accountable for it, and that the papers relating to the accounts of the regiments should be preserved; finally, that the troops should not lay down their arms, nor the town and forts be delivered up, till the moment of embarking. Murillo with the three French officers who brought these proposals, and two Spaniards, went immediately on board the Lively, to lay them before Captain M'Kinley, and answer them with his concurrence. The answer was in a spirit becoming England and Spain. The garrison were required to ground their arms on the glacis, and surrender themselves prisoners of war; the officers were allowed to retain their swords and wearing apparel, nothing more. The demand respecting the money was refused; the place was to be taken possession of as soon as the French grounded their arms, and if these articles were not ratified within an hour, hostilities were to recommence.

The officers who were sent to negociate agreed to these terms, but the ratification was delayed beyond the hour allotted; and the Spaniards, who were prepared to execute what they had threatened, began the assault between eight and nine at night; while those who had muskets kept up a fire upon the enemy, others began to hew down the gates. An old man particularly distinguished himself at the gate of Camboa, by the vigour with which he laid on his strokes, splintering the wood, and when a ball went through him, by the composure with which he died, happy to have fallen in the discharge of his duty, and in the hour of victory. D. Bernardo Gonzalez, the commanding officer of the detachment from Pontevedra, sprang forward, and taking up the axe of the dead, continued the same work, notwithstanding he was thrice wounded; a fourth wound disabled him, and he was borne away: seven Spaniards fell at this point. Meantime, Murillo was informed that the capitulation was now ratified, and forcing his way through the ranks amidst the fire, with great difficulty he made himself heard, and put a stop to the assault.

On the following morning, when Murillo had made preparations to enter and occupy the place, information

was brought him from the little town of Porrino, that a reinforcement from Tuy was on the way to the French. Porrino is about a league to the eastward of the road between these two places, and equidistant about two leagues from both. News, therefore, could not be brought so soon but that the troops must closely follow it. Murillo instantly sent off a part of his force as secretly as possible to intercept them, and he remained hurrying the embarkation of the French, by telling them that he could not restrain the rage of the peasantry. How well they had deserved any vengeance which the peasantry could inflict the garrison were perfectly conscious, and were as eager to get on board as Murillo was to see them there. In this haste, the baggage could not be examined conformably to the capitulation, for the hurry of both parties was increased by hearing a firing from the town. The troops from Tuy had arrived under its walls, and, to their astonishment, a fire was opened upon them. They were attacked, routed, and pursued with such vigour, that out of 450, not more than 50 escaped; 72 were taken prisoners, and sent on board to join their countrymen, all the rest were either killed or wounded.

The military chest, containing 117,000 franks, had been delivered up according to the terms; but an examination of the baggage was thought necessary; about 20,000 more were discovered, and the whole of both sums was distributed among the troops and peasantry. Never had a more motley army been assembled,—men of all ranks and professions bore arms together at this time in Galicia. Among those who distinguished themselves were soldiers and sailors; D. Francisco Sanchez Villamarin, the Alferez of that brave band of students of Salamanca, the greater part of whom had fallen in this holy war; the abbot of Valladares, and the first preacher of the Franciscans, Fr. Andres Villagaloi. Murillo sent off part of his forces to reduce Tuy; 5000 of the enemy were at this time assembled at Santiago, which they were fortifying, and this skilful officer hastened to place Pontevedra in a state of defence, and to secure the bridge of S Payo, that the French might not be able to form any farther junction. Tuy was soon recovered, part of the French being killed, the rest made prisoners. The Portugueze having assisted in the conquest, re-crossed the Minho to defend their own country, and they barricaded the streets of Viana, and fortified the bridge over the Lima at that town, lest the French from Porto should attempt to succour their countrymen in Galicia by that direction.

While the communication between the French in Galicia and Portugal was thus cut off, Romana being reinforced at Sanabria by 3000 volunteers from Castile, and having rested his harassed army, resolved to march into Asturias, and join his troops to those of that principality. This could not be done without crossing the enemy's line of posts between Astorga and Villafranca, both which places were garrisoned with from 800 to 1000 men. The walls of the former city, old as they were, were sufficient to withstand an army who had no other weapon than their muskets; and the French had strengthened the works materially. But Villafranca had no other fortress than the old palace or castle of the marquisse of Astorga. From Sanabria, therefore, he first moved to Ponferrada, where he made some prisoners, and recovered

a great quantity of corn, several four-pounders, and one dismounted twelve-pounder, all part of his own stores and artillery. The news of his defeat had been circulated over all Galicia with the utmost industry; the French had added, that he himself was made prisoner; they fired salutes for their pretended victory, and, the better to delude the people, they even proceeded to the mockery of offering up thanksgivings in the churches,—lying towards God as well as man. But, in spite of these artifices, the truth was known, and deputations from some town or village came every day to this brave general, assuring him that the Galicians were faithful to the cause of their country. Romana having remounted his twelve-pounder, dispatched his camp-marshal D. Gabriel de Mendizabal to attack the garrison at Villafranca. That officer's first care was to get between them and Galicia, while the commander-in-chief intercepted their retreat towards Astorga; for this purpose he proceeded on the night of the 17th to Cacabelos, and sent one detachment round by the right to occupy the bridge at the other end of the town, while another filed round by the left to join it there; every horseman taking up a foot soldier behind him to ford the Valcarce, and the smaller river which falls into it. Mendizabal, with the remainder of the troops, advanced along the road. His advanced parties drove in the French at all points, till they retired to the castle. The twelve-pounder was brought up; but the Spaniards found that the French fired securely from the old fortification while they themselves were exposed; upon this they entered, and, with bayonets fixed, advanced to storm the castle. Mendizabal was at their head; a ball passed through his clothes without wounding him. He summoned the enemy to surrender, and upon their hesitating what answer to return, repeated the summons with a threat, that if they refused, every man should be put to the sword. The white flag was then hoisted, and a negociation begun, which the French were conducting with a view to gain time, till the Spanish commander cut it short, by allowing them a quarter of an hour to surrender at discretion. Upon this they submitted; Mendizabal then, as an act of free grace, permitted the officers to keep their horses and portmanteaus, and the men their knapsacks; and the colonel commandant of the French, in returning his thanks for his generosity, complimented him upon his good fortune in having captured the finest regiment in the Emperor Napoleon's service. The number of prisoners were about 800. The Spaniards lost two officers and thirty men, 82 wounded. The result of this victory was, that the Bierzo was cleared of the French, and that they fell back from the neighbouring part of Asturias upon Lugo, there to make a stand, supported by the main force, which was divided between Santiago, Coruna, and Ferrol.

These events in Galicia, with the recapture of Chaves, and the bold advance of Silveira to the bridge of Amarante, were little expected by Soult, who had entered Portugal, thinking to intimidate all whom he did not either deceive or corrupt. "In consequence," said he, in the proclamation which he issued, "of the successes obtained in Spain by the army of his majesty the emperor, my august sovereign, I come to take possession of your whole territory in his

name, not expecting to meet with any resistance, but rather that I shall be received with the same cordiality as we experienced little more than a year ago. What effect can resistance have? What can you propose to yourselves when all those armies which frenzy had assembled in Spain are destroyed? and the English, who made their appearance to foment the spirit of rebellion, and inflict all kinds of calamities, have been defeated, and forced to reembark with the loss of half their army, their best generals, all their artillery, ammunition, horses, and baggage? Portugueze, I offer you peace, protection for yourselves, your property, and your religion, and an entire oblivion of the past. You shall enjoy the benefits of the sublime institutions of our august sovereign. I will deliver you from the calamities which you endure, and assuage the evils which you have suffered; arrange your administration, and organize anew your army. There are citizens among you whose intentions have ever been pure, and who ought now to exercise their influence in promoting the re-establishment of good order. They may be assured that their services will be well received, and that the most efficacious protection will be afforded them, whatever their situations, whether in the army, the state, or the church. Reflect, Portugueze, on your situation! Consider these generous offers while it is time, and your country shall be made to shine with new splendour."

Such was the language which the French addressed to the Portugueze, after the miseries which Junot and Loison had inflicted upon them;—these were the promises with which Soult entered Portugal, and the massacre at Porto was a specimen of the manner in which such promises are fulfilled by the instruments of Buonaparte. Soult himself appears to have looked to the crown of Portugal as his own reward for expelling the English from Lisbon. A deputation of twelve of the principal inhabitants of Braga, as they were represented to be in his journal, waited upon him, and in the account of their interview, assured the people that he had conversed with them at great length upon the produce, commerce, and interests of the province between the rivers, in a manner which formed a striking contrast to the conduct of their old government: That government, they said, had been indifferent about all things except the raising of taxes; the flight of the prince regent amounted to a voluntary abdication of the throne, and a happy futurity might now be anticipated under a better dynasty. "The house of Braganza," said these traitors, "no longer exists. It is the will of Heaven that our destinies should pass into other hands, and it has been the particular favour of Divine Providence, which governs the universe, to send us a man exempt from passions, and solely devoted to true glory, who desires to employ the force confided to him by the great Napoleon only for our protection and deliverance from the monster of anarchy which threatened to devour us. Why do we delay to assemble round him and proclaim him our father and deliverer? why do we delay to express our anxiety to see him at the head of a nation, of whose affections he has made so rapid a conquest? The sovereign of France will lend a gracious ear to our supplications, and will be happy to see that we wish to have for our King one of his lieutenants, who, imitating his example,

knows how to conquer and to pardon."

An address of this nature could not have been published in the Diary of Porto, if it had not been conformable to Soult's own views, and probably to the expectations which Buonaparte had encouraged him to form. On another occasion, when he gave audience to a second deputation from Braga, and to the civil, religious, and military authorities of Porto, the obsequious traitors requested he would permit them, till the supreme intentions of the Emperor should be ascertained, to swear fidelity to his most worthy representative, who had so many claims to the love, respect, and gratitude of the Portugueze. Soult expatiated, as usual, in his reply, on the numerous blessings which were about to be showered upon Portugal under a French master. "As to what concerns myself," he added, "I feel myself obliged by the frank expressions which you have used relative to my person, but it does not depend upon me to answer them."

This "worthy representative" of Ali Buonaparte, proceeded, as his master had done before him in Egypt, to show his attachment to the religion of the people whom he came to govern. There is a famous crucifix, known by the name of Nosso Senhor de Bouças, in the little town of Matosinhos, which is situated upon the coast about a league from Porto. According to tradition it is the oldest image in Portugal, being the work of Nicodemus, and though the workman neither attempted to represent muscle nor vein, it is affirmed that there cannot be a more perfect and excellent crucifix. Antiquarians discovered another merit in it, for there has been a controversy concerning the number * of nails used in the crucifixion, and in this, four are represented, agreeing with the opinion of St Gregory of Tours, and the revelation made to the Swedish St Bridget. The sea cast it up, and its miraculous virtue was soon attested by innumerable proofs. One of the arms was wanting. When it was found, the best sculptors were employed to supply this deficiency, but in vain; in spite of all their cunning, not one of them could produce an arm which would fit the place for which it was designed. One day a poor but pious woman, as she was gathering shell-fish upon the beach and drift-wood for fuel, picked up a wooden arm there, which she, supposing that it had belonged to some ordinary and profane image, laid upon the fire. The reader will be at no loss to imagine, that it sprung out of the flames, that the neighbours collected at the vociferations of the woman,—that the priests were ready to carry it in procession to the church of N. Senhor, and that the moment it was applied to the stump to which it belonged, a miraculous junction was effected. Our Lord of Bouças became from that time one of the most famous idols in all Portugal; and on the day of his festival five and twenty thousand persons have sometimes been assembled at his church, coming there in pilgrimage from all parts.

* The matter is of more importance than may perhaps be immediately perceived by a protestant. For more than three of these nails are shown as relics in different churches, and, therefore, if only three, according to the prevailing opinion, were used, the fourth must be spurious, and thus, as all cannot be genuine, a doubt is cast upon the authenticity of each.

To this idol Marshal Soult thought proper to offer his devotions. He and his staff visited the church, and prostrating themselves before the altar, paid, says his journal, that tribute of respect and reverence which religion requires of those who are animated with the true spirit of Christianity. "There cannot," continued the hypocritical traitor who recorded this piece of mummery,—"there cannot be a more affecting and interesting spectacle, than to see a great man humbling himself in the presence of the King of kings and Sovereign Disposer of empires:—all the inhabitants of Matosinhos who were present at this religious solemnity, were wrapt in extasy!" The French marshal testified his great concern at hearing that the plate and jewels and ornaments of the church had been carried off, and he promised the rector, that he would offer two large silver candlesticks himself to Nosso Senhor, and dedicate a silver lamp to him, and assign funds to keep it burning night and day, and, moreover, that he would double the stipend of the rector and the sacristan. "Let this fact," said his penman, "be contrasted with what we have been told respecting the irreligion of the French troops and their leaders! It is time to open our eyes, and to acknowledge the hand of Providence in the events which have befallen us. How fortunate are we that Heaven has destined us to be governed by a hero who possesses a heart disposed to be deeply and warmly impressed with all the majesty of our holy religion, and who aspires only to make it shine forth with new and never-fading splendour! Let the calumniators be confounded, and the timid be tranquil; our hopes ought to be re-animated now that they have obtained a support, which, resting on religion, and lifting its head above the storms, promises them entire realization."

Not a word of restoring the spoils of the church had been said by Marshal Soult,—his promise of the lamp and the funds for the oil, and the increase of salaries, was confirmed by a decree in which he dedicated the lamp, assigned a revenue of sixteen milreas for its support, and doubled the incomes. As far as the decree went he performed his promise—and no farther. His situation, indeed, was becoming too perilous to allow him time for the farce of superstition. While on one hand the success of the Galicians alarmed him,—on the other he learnt that the English, instead of evacuating Lisbon, were expecting a fresh army there; and that General Beresford was already arrived, with the title of field-marshal conferred upon him by the Prince of Brazil, to take the command of the Portugueze army, and reorganize it. He had experienced the courage and the patriotism of the Portugueze, and knew that discipline was all they wanted to make them as formidable in the field as their forefathers. From the center of Spain, notwithstanding the victories at Ciudad Real and Medellin, he could expect little assistance, so rapidly had the Spaniards re-formed their armies,—and from France itself no reinforcements were to be looked for, for Buonaparte was even obliged to withdraw troops from the peninsula, that he might be enabled to withstand the Austrians, who had now taken advantage of the murderous contest in Spain, once more to make a stand against the tyrant of Europe.

CHAP. XXIV.

Changes in Germany since the Treaty of Campo Formio. Preparation for War on the part of Austria. Commencement of Hostilities, and repeated Defeats of the Austrians. Buonaparte appears before Vienna.

By the treaty of Campo Formio the Emperor of Germany ceded the Austrian Netherlands, the Brisgaw, Lombardy, and those other Italian possessions which France had formed into one of its ephemeral states, then called the Cisalpine Republic; he consented to receive Venice in return, and to divide the Venetian territories with France;—a transaction for which it is difficult to say whether most infamy attached to the iniquitous power which, without provocation or pretext, attacked and destroyed that ancient state, or to the sovereign who sanctioned and guaranteed the villainous usurpation, by consenting to share the spoils. By the secret articles of the same treaty the emperor ceded to France all the imperial territories beyond the Rhine, with the towns and fortresses of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburg, Manheim, Kunigstein, Ulm, and Ingolstadt; and for the house of Austria, the Frickthal, with all the territory which it possessed on the left bank of the Rhine. For these heavy sacrifices he was to receive the archbishoprick of Saltzburg and part of Bavaria,—possessions which, like those of the Venetian republic, honour and the law of nations, if either had been regarded, would have forbidden him to accept. Into this treaty Austria had been frightened by Buonaparte, just at the time when it had the fairest opportunity of retrieving its disasters. Into that of Luneville it was beaten by Moreau. This differed little from the former, except that the emperor submitted to see his brother deprived of Tuscany. Tuscany was the only part of Italy which had flourished under a mild and equitable government, and thus the attachment and the loyalty of its inhabitants were signed away.

During the four years of peace which ensued, Buonaparte, who had now established a military despotism in France, pursued his plans of aggression and aggrandizement in Germany. For more than a century past, it had been usual, in the many wars which took place between Austria and France, that the circles situated along the Rhine should confederate for their mutual defence. This policy was turned against the house of Austria, and Francis II. could no longer conceal from himself that the Holy Empire,—the Empire, as by a prouder and exclusive title it claimed to be called,—that venerable and mighty body, of which the complicated confusion had hitherto, so it was boasted, been

divinely preserved,—was on the point of dissolution. He felt that it was impossible to prevent this, and, in order that Vienna might still remain an imperial court, he had recourse to the expedient of creating himself Emperor of Austria. The hereditary dominions of that house, if he could preserve them, with what had been added by the infamous partition of Poland, and the no less unprincipled annexation of the Venetian states, were of such extent and importance, that Austria would still remain among the first-rate powers. There was pride in this measure; but it was not of an ennobling nature, not such as would have been displayed by Maria Theresa. A third war followed. Prussia, pursuing that vile policy of which she was soon to receive the righteous reward, stood neutral; Baden, Wirtemberg, and Bavaria joined with France. Sixty thousand Austrians, commanded by a coward and a traitor, laid down their arms at Ulm. They themselves cannot be excused for submitting to such a capitulation. As soon as Mack's intentions were declared, the second in command ought to have discharged his duty to his prince and his country, by putting him to death, and then bidding defiance to the enemy. The conqueror marched to Vienna, which made no resistance. Francis witnessed the battle of Austerlitz himself, and, dismayed at the defeat, sent the next morning to solicit peace. He purchased it by the cession of the Venetian states to Buonaparte, and by ceding part of his own lawful territories to the traitorous German powers, whom he was compelled to pay for serving against him. The Tyrol and Voralberg, in particular, were ceded to Bavaria, and the humbled Austrian acknowledged the electors of that country and of Wirtemberg as kings, which it had pleased the Corsican to make them.

This peace was signed at Presburg in December 1805;—at Presburg, where Maria Theresa, in the midst of her distresses, rode up the Royal Mount, and in the old Hungarian form, and the old Hungarian spirit, brandishing the sword of St Stephen, defied the four corners of the world. In the July of the following year the Confederation of the Rhine was formed, under the protection of the Emperor of France. The German powers who thus formally renounced the laws and titles of the empire were the newly-created Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the Archbishop of Ratisbon, as Prince Primate, the Grand Dukes, as they were now denominated, of Baden, Berg, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau-Weilbourg, and Nassau-Usingen; the Princes of Hohenzollern-Hechingen and Seigmaringen, Salm-Salm, Salm-Kyrburg, Isenburg Birstein and Lichtenstein, the Duke of Ahremberg, and the Prince of Leyn. They contracted, federatively and individually, an alliance with the Emperor of France, by virtue of which every continental war in which either was engaged was to be common to all. The contingent of the confederates was determined at 200,000 men for France, 30,000 for Bavaria, Wirtemberg 12,000, Baden 8000, Berg 5000; the others 4000 each. This was in fact rendering these German states so many feuds of France. The German empire was thus virtually destroyed; and a few days after the articles of the confederacy had been ratified, Francis II. formally abdicated the empire, which he no longer held, remaining, however, an emperor still, by virtue of his own creation, and, no doubt, congratulating

himself upon the foresight which had thus secured him from any loss of rank.

It was now expected that a similar confederation would be formed, under the protection of Prussia, on the north of the Mayne. The hopes of some such aggrandizement, perhaps of erecting an empire in the north of Germany, had long been the mainspring of Prussian policy; with this view Frederick had insolently seized on Hanover, and complacently beheld the distress and humiliation of Austria and of the German people. His old hereditary enmity was now gratified; the empire had been wrested from the house of Hapsburg, and he came forward to contest it with France. The prize deserved a struggle; but Prussia had for fourteen years pursued the system of what certain English politicians call *husbanding* her resources, and the necessary effects of that system were now demonstrated. An army, of which the far greater part had never seen service, and the rest had forgotten it, was brought into the field, against men who for fourteen years had known scarcely any intermission of war. The wreck was complete. The veteran General Blucher made a retreat which his great master might have approved. The Duke of Brunswick received his mortal wound; he died in a good cause, but his death could neither remedy the consequences nor efface the shame of that execrable manifesto, which maddened the people of Paris, and led the way to the worst horrors of the revolution. It would aggravate the sufferings of old Frederick in that purgatory, to which the most charitable faith must consign him, if he beheld the battle of Jena and the events which followed. His successor, indeed, was not beaten into immediate submission; but Buonaparte proceeded to Berlin, and fortresses, which might have held out months and years, were surrendered, by cowardice or by corruption, without resistance. The czar, in conjunction with his unfortunate ally, still however bravely continued the war: two battles were fought of which the event was doubtful, and Austria or England might have delivered Europe. But England pursued the husbanding system, and Austria looked on while the house of Brandenburg was destroyed, with as much satisfaction as that house had felt in witnessing the humiliation of Austria. A third battle took place, which would not have been more decisive than the former, if Buonaparte had not subdued the weak mind of Alexander. A treaty was the consequence, which is one of the most scandalous instances of political perfidy;—the czar had sworn friendship upon the tomb of Frederick the Great to his ally the King of Prussia, and by this treaty he consented to receive part of the territories of that ally, from Buonaparte, as the price of entering into an alliance with France! Other territories, of which Prussia and the weaker states were despoiled, were now formed into the kingdom of Westphalia, for Jerome Buonaparte; Saxony was made a kingdom for having deserted Prussia; and the Confederation of the Rhine, by the accession of new members, was extended to the banks of the Elbe.

In all the states which were newly erected, or newly modelled by these arrangements, the conscription was introduced. This curse is an invention of Prussian tyranny; but its universal extension over the continent is the work of France,—a country which has propagated its moral and political, as well as physical evils, wherever its

influence extends. Louis XIV. compelled the German princes first to distress their subjects, by raising and maintaining large armies; and the conscription system, which carries the miseries of war into every family, destroying the virtues as well as the enjoyments of domestic life, was now extended over the whole of Germany by the tyrant who has succeeded to the throne and to the ambition of the Bourbons; for Austria was compelled, in defence, to make use of the same means for increasing her armies. The fate of Charles IV. and of Ferdinand, had given fresh warning to the emperor what reward was prepared for those who trusted to the friendship and the faith of Napoleon Buonaparte; so well indeed was he previously aware of this, that the last peace had no sooner been concluded, than he began cautiously to provide against a renewal of the war, certain that it must be renewed at no long interval; and when the usurpation of Spain had quickened his fears, and the glorious insurrection of the Spaniards gave him a new ground of hope, he made the most vigorous preparations for taking the field. Yet he issued a proclamation against those persons who propagated reports that war was about to be re-commenced, and established a commission for trying and punishing them,—a measure which unquestionably was understood in France, as well as in England, to prove the very intentions that it was designed to conceal. For the words of the Emperor Francis were contradicted by his deeds. All persons in Austria, who were not liable to the conscription, were ordered to enroll their names for the militia, and to be taught the use of arms on Sundays and holidays: in a Catholic country these are so numerous that the men might soon be trained. Those engaged in trade were to form a distinct corps. The states of Lower Austria provided at their own expence 300,000 regimentals for such of the militia as were too poor to clothe themselves. The pay of the inferior officers was increased one-half. Peasants were every where employed upon the fortresses, and a conscription of old women was raised for the army, every district being required to provide a certain number, who were to be distributed in the several hospitals as laundresses and nurses.

The purport of such preparations could not be mistaken by Buonaparte; and after his return from Bayonne, in the summer of 1808, he chose the levee on his birth-day for one of those theatrical scenes with an ambassador, in which he seems peculiarly gratified by displaying himself. *Aug. 15.* "Austria," said he to Count Von Metternich, "means to make war upon us, or she means to frighten us?" The count protested that the intentions of his government were pacific; and when he was asked, if so, why such enormous preparations? he replied, that they were merely for defence. "But who attacks you," pursued Buonaparte, "that you provide for your defence in such a way? Who threatens you, that you should think of being attacked? Is not all around you quiet? Has there been the least dispute between us since the peace of Presburg? Have I asked any thing of you? Has not the whole of our intercourse been friendly? And yet on a sudden you have set up a cry of war! You have put your whole population in motion! You have added 1300 men to each of your regiments! Your militia will supply you with

400,000 men, whom you can dispose of as you please, you have put them into regiments, you have clothed part of them! You have stored your fortresses! You have purchased horses,—already you have 14,000 for the artillery! Such things can never be done in the bosom of peace; such things cannot be done but at great expence; and yet you yourselves confess the sad state of your finances. Is it then without an object that you have bid defiance to all financial difficulties? Do not say you are forced to think of your own security. You know that I ask for nothing and want nothing; that I even consider the maintenance of your power, under present circumstances, as necessary to the European system and the prosperity of France. I have put my troops in camp, to keep them in good discipline and activity. They do not encamp in France, because it costs too much; in foreign countries it is not so dear. My camps are scattered about, not one of them threatens you. I should have had none if I had projects against you, and I should have had none if I had thought they would have given you any uneasiness. A single word from you would have been enough, and I am ready to break up all of them, if it is necessary for your quiet."

Here the ambassador observed, that there had been no movements of troops in Austria. Buonaparte replied, "You deceive yourselves; your whole army is collected together, and has taken a military position. In the mean while, what do you want? Do you think to alarm me? You will not succeed in that. Do you think the circumstances are favourable to you? You deceive yourselves. My policy lies open, because it is honest, and because I feel my own strength. I shall take 100,000 of my troops from Germany, in order to send them into Spain, and still have enough remaining to oppose you. You arm. I will arm too; and if it is necessary I can spare 200,000 men. You will not have a single power on the continent in your favour. The Emperor of Russia,—I can almost venture to speak for him,—will urge you to remain quiet; he is already little pleased with your connections with the Servians. He, as well as I, may feel offended by your preparations. He knows that you have designs upon Turkey. You pretend that I have such. This I declare is false; I declare that I want nothing from Austria or Turkey. Your emperor does not wish for war; your government does not desire it; the principal men of your country do not seek it; and yet the movements which you have occasioned are such, that war will take place in spite of you and myself. You have caused it to be believed that I have demanded provinces of you, and you have roused in your people a national and generous feeling, which I am far from depreciating; they ran into extravagancies and flew to arms, and then you issued a proclamation, with a command not to talk about war. Even the language of that was equivocal; people said it was merely a politic act; your measures were opposed to your proclamations, and they believed your measures, not your words. Hence the insults offered by a troop of your new militia to my consul at Trieste; hence the murder of three of my couriers on their way to Dalmatia. It is thus that the authors of the troubles of all Europe incessantly excite war. It was thus that they provoked a former war, by the insult offered to General Bernadotte. The English

and their partizans induce you to all these false measures. Already they rejoice in the expectation of once more lighting up the flames of Europe. Their funds have risen 50 per cent. in consequence of the impulse which they have communicated to Europe. It is they whom I blame for all this; they are the cause that no Frenchman can go to the baths of Bohemia without subjecting himself to insult. You are hurried along in spite of yourselves; the ferment which has been imprudently excited in the minds of your people, the intrigues of the English partisans, and of certain members of an order of knighthood, who have carried with them into the midst of you all the bitterness of vexation and revenge, all tend to involve you in a war. The Emperor of Russia will perhaps prevent this result, by positively declaring to you that he is averse to it, and that he will be against you; but if it is to his interposition only that Europe is indebted for the continuance of peace, neither Europe nor I shall owe that obligation to you; we can by no means consider you as friends, and I shall consider myself completely at liberty to call upon you to make those arrangements which the state of Europe demands.

"What," he pursued, "may in the mean time happen? You have levied a force of 400,000, and I will levy 200,000. The Confederacy of the Rhine, which had disbanded their troops, will reassemble them, and arm the mass of their population. Germany, now beginning to breathe after so many destructive wars, will find her wounds bleeding afresh. Instead of evacuating, as was my intention, the provinces of Silesia and the Prussian states, I shall again put the Silesian fortresses in a state of defence. All Europe will be in arms: the armies will be drawn up in the presence of each other, and the slightest occurrence will occasion the commencement of hostilities. You say that you have a more considerable force than you possessed at any period of your monarchy. You intend to double it. If your example were to be followed, even the very women would soon be made to take up arms. In such a state of things, when every spring is on the stretch, war will become desirable for the mere purpose of unbending them. Thus it is, that in the physical world the state of suffering which nature experiences at the approach of a tempest, excites a wish that the thunder should burst forth, in order to unbend and give relief to the contracted * sinews, and to restore the sweets of a pleasing calm to heaven and earth. A violent but short illness is better than a long period of suffering. Meanwhile all hope of a maritime peace disappears; the efficient means of attaining it are rendered of no avail. The English smile with satisfaction at the prospect of discord being revived on the continent. Such are the evils which you have produced, and that too, were I to credit your professions, altogether unintentionally. But if your intentions are as pacific as you pretend, you must give proofs that they are so; you must recall the measures which have produced so dangerous a ferment; this impulse, involuntarily impressed, must be opposed by a direct contrary impulse; and whereas from Petersburgh to Naples nothing

* Buonaparte, or his reporter, M. de Champagny, is answerable for this simile,—not the annalist.

has been talked of but the war that Austria was on the point of commencing, and which all your merchants represented as inevitable, all Europe must, I say, be completely convinced that peace requires that your pacific intentions should be universally talked of and confirmed by your actions as well as your professions. On my side you shall receive every assurance that you can desire."

The ambassador, Von Metternich, is represented as not having discovered the slightest embarrassment while he was thus addressed; on the contrary, he said to the French courtiers how greatly he felicitated himself on being employed at a court, where the sovereign deigned thus explicitly to communicate with a foreign minister. He repeated to Buonaparte his protestations of the pacific intentions of Austria, and the emperor himself, in a letter to the French ruler, repeated the same protestations. He was not ready for war, and it did not suit with the immediate projects of Buonaparte to drive him to it. The conference with the czar at Erfurth he thought would overawe the emperor; and from Erfurth he addressed a letter to him, in a tone of superiority not the less galling, because the victories which he had gained enabled him to use it. "There is at Vienna," he said, "a faction, which affects fear in order to precipitate your cabinet into violent measures, which would be the origin of calamities more great than those which have gone before. I had it in my power to dismember the monarchy of your Majesty, or at least to render it less powerful. I have not desired this. What it is, it is with my full assent. This is the most evident proof that I have settled all accounts with you, and that I want nothing from you. I am always ready to guarantee the integrity of your monarchy. I shall never do any thing contrary to the principal interests of your states. But your Majesty ought not to revive the discussion of what fifteen years of war have terminated. You ought to prohibit every proclamation or step which excites to war. The last levy in mass would have produced war, if I could have feared that that levy and those preparations were combined with Russia. I have just discharged the camps of the confederation. One hundred thousand of my troops are going to Boulogne, to renew my projects against England. Your Majesty will abstain from every armament which can give disquietude, and cause a diversion in favour of England. I believed, when I had the happiness of seeing your Majesty, and had concluded the treaty of Presburg, that our affairs were settled for ever, and that I might, without uneasiness or interruption, devote myself to the maritime war. Let your Majesty beware of those who, speaking of the dangers of your monarchy, trouble your repose, and that of your family and people. These alone are dangerous; these alone invite the perils which they affect to fear. By a conduct upright, simple, and open, your Majesty will render your people happy: you will yourself enjoy that felicity of which you stand in need after so many troubles; and will be sure of finding in me a man determined to do nothing against your principal interests. Let your measures evince confidence; they will inspire it. The best policy at the present moment is simplicity and truth. Intrust to me your disquietude; should I occasion it, I will dissipate it at once." It is not unworthy of remark, that in the very letter wherein

the Corsican thus recommended openness and truth to the emperor, he himself was guilty of his usual falsehood. "One hundred thousand men," he said, "were going to Boulogne to renew his projects against England." And so impudently does this man bid defiance to all feelings of shame and all laws of honour, that he himself published this letter six months afterwards, when it was not possible to doubt that this part of it was a direct and intentional falsehood. The subserviency of the Czar to his views seemed at this time sufficiently to secure him on the side of Austria; he therefore withdrew the French troops from Silesia, and 200,000 left Germany, to be marched into Spain, from whence so few of these wretched men, at once the instruments and the victims of their remorseless tyrant, were ever to return.

That tyrant expected to finish the Spanish war in a few weeks; he calculated solely upon military force, and if there had been nothing else to take into the account, his expectations would not have been disappointed. Every thing seemed to succeed to his wishes. Blake's army, after a series of desperate battles, was overpowered by numbers and dispersed; the army of Estremadura was beaten, and that gallant band of students, the flower of the surrounding provinces, who had embodied themselves at Salamanca, fell bravely in the field. The army of the centre, after its total defeat at Tudela, mouldered during a long and difficult retreat, and even disappeared from the scene of action. The pass of Somosierra was forced, Madrid was betrayed, and the English fled before their vaunting enemy. In the midst of this triumphant career, his suspicions of Austria, which he had never laid aside, were freshened by the discovery, as it is said, of some negociations between the Spanish junta and the court of Vienna, in which the latter promised to assist the patriots with 100,000 men; a promise, says the French minister for foreign affairs, made undoubtedly with no intention to fulfil it, and merely to feed the courage of the insurgents with deceitful hopes. If it were made, the comment of Champagny would be well-founded; but such an agreement was neither consistent with the policy of Spain nor of Austria. Some vague hope may perhaps have been expressed to this effect in an intercepted letter written by one unacquainted with public affairs, or, more probably, the pretext was invented to give some colour to the manifesto of the French against the emperor. Other causes of suspicion and complaint were, that Spanish emigrants were received at Trieste, that the Austrian newspapers published false intelligence respecting the affairs of Spain, and that the exposition of Cevallos was circulated in the Austrian states. Finally, it was said in the French report, "as if Providence, which so visibly watches over the Emperor Napoleon, or rather over France, which has conducted him through so many dangers, and in so wonderful a way every where attended him in his progress, were itself desirous to unveil the disloyalty and treachery of those who did not yet dare to avow themselves his enemies, the declaration of the King of England fell into his hands. Therein his Majesty read these remarkable expressions:—"And if among the nations which groan under the tyranny of French alliance, or among those which maintain against France

a doubtful and precarious independence, there should be any which even now are balancing between the certain ruin of a prolonged inactivity, and the contingent dangers of an effort to save themselves from that ruin; to nations so situated, the delusive prospect of a peace between Great Britain and France could not fail to be peculiarly injurious. Their preparations might be relaxed by the vain hope of returning tranquillity, or their purpose shaken by the apprehension of being left to contend alone."

This passage, by which the French minister asserts that England herself warned her enemy of the preparations of Austria, affords in reality the strongest proof that there was no concert between the two countries. Buonaparte returned from Astorga to Valladolid, wrote from thence to the members of the Confederation of the Rhine, calling upon them to hold themselves in readiness with their contingents, and shortly afterwards recrossed the Pyrenees, and hastened to Paris. Upon this subject, the French ministry, in the shape of flattery to their master, betrayed their feelings respecting the battle of Coruna. "With grief," said Champagny, "you abandoned the pursuit of the English. May your Majesty's minister, who is now the interpreter of the common sentiment and that mode of thinking which is founded on the victories of fifteen years with which nothing can be compared, be permitted to add, that however great the successes of your Majesty's lieutenants may have been, and whatever abilities they may have displayed, your Majesty, had you in person been able to lead your armies, might have expected still greater success; not one Englishman would then have returned to England."

It appears that Buonaparte, after his return to Paris, would willingly have delayed the war. He had been disappointed in Spain. The loss sustained before Zaragoza crippled his armies in that part of the peninsula. Portugal was still unsubdued, and new armies were forming in La Mancha and Estremadura. He wished not to be involved with Austria till he had effected the conquest of Spain, and for that purpose instructed the Russian ambassador, Romanzoff, to interfere. That minister accordingly proposed a triple guarantee between Russia, Austria, and France, by which each of those powers in turn should guarantee another against the interference of the third. This proposal had no effect, and the remonstrances to the Austrian ministers were now met by counter remonstrances,—the order to the Confederacy of the Rhine to hold their contingents ready, and the return of Buonaparte to France, were alleged as sufficient reasons for putting the troops of the emperor upon the war establishment.

After the battle of Austerlitz, and the armistice which followed it, Mr Pitt (at that time nearly at the point of death) is said to have contemplated the map of Europe mournfully, and then turned away, saying, "now shut that book for twenty years." Had he lived to these times, he would have seen that it was time to open it again. The military establishment of Austria had never at any former period been so formidable. The regular army consisted of 300,000 men, of whom 50,000 were cavalry. Besides these, there was an army of reserve of 50,000, and a militia of 250,000, and the Hungarian insurrection as it is called. But the temper and character of an army are of more import-

ance than its numerical force; and in these essential points the improvement of the Austrian troops was such as to afford the strongest ground of hope. They were no longer those machines in whom the fear of the stick * took place of all love of their country, all good humour, all sense of honour, all hope of advancement, and every other feeling. That race was gone; and the Austrian and French soldiers, in their relative moral feelings, seemed to have changed character since the commencement of the anti-jacobin war. Then the republican armies were filled with striplings; and oftentimes when the allied armies closed with the enemy, it was observed that the English soldier, finding himself opposed to a poor frightened boy, took him by the collar, and kicked him back among his own ranks, too generous and too humane to inflict any worse hurt upon such antagonists; but the Austrians regularly bayonetted them on their knees. Things were reversed now; the soldiers of Buonaparte, serving a wicked and ferocious tyrant, had acquired that brutality which no longer disgraced the Austrians, because they were now engaged in a good cause, and the knowledge that their cause was good, humanized and ennobled them. They were now in arms for their hearths and altars, and they took the field with a spirit worthy to have had another Arminius for their leader.

To encourage this spirit, the press was brought into action,—that engine which is above all things the dread of Buonaparte. The proclamation of the Spanish patriots, and the events of the peninsular war, were circulated through Germany. Even the house of Hapsburgh, so strangely were the times changed, could talk to its subjects of oppression, and independence, and the deliverance of Germany. "When all endeavours," said the Archduke Charles, "to procure independence from the insatiable ambition of a foreign conqueror prove fruitless, when nations are falling around us, when lawful sovereigns are torn from their subjects, when, in fine, the danger of universal subjugation threatens even the happy states of Austria and their inhabitants, then does our country demand deliverance from us, and we stand forth in its defence. On you, (thus he addressed the army) on you, my brother soldiers, are fixed the eyes of all who still feel for national honour and national prosperity. You shall not share the disgrace of becoming the tools of oppression; you shall not carry on the endless wars of ambition under distant climes; your blood shall never flow for foreign interests and foreign covetousness; nor on yon shall the curse alight of annihilating innocent nations, and paving the way for a stranger to an usurped throne, over the bodies of the slaughtered defenders of their country. You are engaged in a just cause,—the liberty of Europe has taken refuge under our banners, your victories will loose its bonds; and your German brothers, who are now in the ranks of the enemy, long for their deliverance."

April 6.

The emperor in his manifesto recapitulated the various provocations which Austria had endured since the peace of Presburg,—"a treaty, he said, which bore, in all its essential articles, the stamp of those unhappy circumstances which imposed upon him the duty of rendering every other consi-

* Riesbeck.

deration subordinate to the momentary necessities of his monarchy, but of which every article had on his part been conscientiously fulfilled. In that treaty, the former constitution of the empire was expressly confirmed. The title of Emperor of Germany was, without any scruple or objection, admitted; and in the recognition of the royal title in the houses of Bavaria and Wirtemburgh, it was expressly provided that the bonds by which those princes were united to the German imperial confederation should not be considered as broken by the new prerogatives then granted to them. Meantime, a plan for utterly annihilating that imperial constitution was matured at Paris, and without giving the slightest previous intimation of so important an event to the legal head of the empire. The princes who were under French influence at once burst the bond to which so many of the most sacred rights of the sovereign and the subject were joined, and constituted the Emperor Napoleon their chief, under the title of Protector. At the moment of a public notification of this proceeding, the head of the empire was informed, that thenceforth the Emperor Napoleon would know nothing of the existence of an emperor of Germany and a German constitution. To give the greater effect to this declaration, all those menacing expressions were used which had uniformly accompanied every measure of the French cabinet. The emperor was aware of the lamentable fate prepared for all Germany,—he was aware of the augmented and pressing danger to the Austrian heditary dominions from a system which placed all the adjoining countries in immediate dependence upon France: but to have set the existence of Austria upon a throw by an insulated and untimely resistance, would have destroyed all the hopes and prospects of redemption entertained by all fellow-sufferers with himself. Other powers were silent upon this violent revolution. The unqualified subserviency and subjection which appeared on all sides, and especially the marked indifference with which a considerable part of Germany beheld the destruction of the ancient institutions, induced him to submit without remonstrance to this grievous wrong. He laid down the crown of Germany; but even this did not improve his situation with respect to France; the conditions of peace on her part were not performed, and every attempt to procure their execution was answered with reproaches and threats. This constant provocation might even then perhaps have forced the emperor to hostilities, if the breaking out of a war with Prussia had not compelled the French government to suspend their system of insults."

In this part of the subject, the manifesto was less ingenuous than in its former fair confession of helplessness. The conduct of Austria during the Prussian war was imputed to the emperor as a merit. "The fate which befel the Prussian monarchy," it said, "and the royal house of its sovereign, was in itself severe enough to awaken the liveliest sympathy, and the easily-calculated consequences of this event affected Austria in so many and such critical points, that the gloomiest apprehensions for the future appeared to be justified on all sides. At any other time, it would have been the duty of the emperor to have taken a share in such a conflict; but motives, to which all others were forced to yield, imposed the necessity of following a contrary system, and, with the same firmness with which

he had been able to yield up his own prerogatives and advantages, he now renounced that higher satisfaction which the application of his resources in behalf of his neighbours would have afforded him." Is it possible that the Emperor Francis could be so self-deceived as to fancy his conduct upon this occasion proceeded from firmness! In the remaining part of the manifesto he had better ground. "The peace of Tilsit (it continued) was made, and Buonaparte resolved that his war with England should be the concern of the whole continent, his hatred of the British government the concern of all sovereigns and nations, and the oppression which, in order to injure England, he had laid upon the industry and trade of every country which his troops or his decrees could reach, should be imposed upon all states. Under the pretence of not having sufficiently conformed to this monstrous system, the house of Braganza was driven from Portugal. At the same time, a distinct proposal was made to the emperor, that he should utterly abandon all connection with England; and the threat that he must chuse between such a resolution and an immediate war with France accompanied this proposal, without any modification or mitigation. The commerce of the Austrian dominions was already crippled and well nigh destroyed by the exclusion of the British flag from his ports, to which he had been forced to consent, and by the entire blockade which Buonaparte had ordered of the continental harbours. The step which was now required gave the evil its full extension, and the effects became too soon visible to their full extent. The sacrifice now made by the emperor broke the bonds which had hitherto connected the common interests of the European states; it impeded every reciprocal communication; it lessened the means of defence possessed by the greater states, and completed the abject condition of the smaller; and, in as far as motives of personal hostility, with which Austria had nothing in common co-operated, it could not but be more sensibly felt by the emperor, and when this sacrifice was to be offered up, he felt still more acutely than before how difficult it would be to fix any limit to submission."

"Soon afterwards, the restless ambition of the French ruler manifested itself in a new shape. Proposals were made to the emperor for the dissolution and partition of Turkey. The palpable injustice of such an enterprize made a stronger impression upon him, because the very cabinet which now proposed it had hitherto suffered no opportunity to pass without declaring, that the preservation and integrity of that empire was one of the fundamental maxims of its political system; this injustice would have formed a sufficient reason for refusal,—besides the proffered increase of territory would have been at best but an illusive bait, and the only sure consequence of his consent would have been the introduction of a French army into the interior of his states. Of the effects of such a measure, a fearful example was exhibited on another theatre of French policy! For twelve years had the Spanish court, in order to purchase from a formidable neighbour, if not friendship, at least forbearance, sacrificed its treasure, its troops, its ships, and its colonies. The will of Buonaparte was as omnipotent in Spain as in France,—but in the excess of subserviency, the court of Madrid found the immediate cause of

its ruin, and a dynasty closely connected by family-bonds with the Austrian house was robbed of the throne and of freedom. The emperor also had declined no sacrifices for the maintenance and assurance of peace. Only one boundary he had not overstepped; he had at all times carefully maintained the dignity of his throne, and the right of leaving no means unemployed for its defence. The fate of Spain has afforded a new example, that when the latter is neglected, and the former trifled with, nothing can save the state from ruin. Here was a fearful warning! 200,000 men at that time environed Austria, and waited but the signal of attack. The conquest of the western states being thus completed by that of the peninsula; and the principle, that every thing is just and lawful which the interests of the Emperor of France required, being openly avowed in this act of outrageous violence, and openly proclaimed in the official papers of the French government,—what was to be expected, but that the next mortal blow would be aimed at Austria!

"If there were any means of averting the manifest and impending danger, it could only be by adopting a perfect system of defence, which might preclude all expectation of conquering the monarchy with ease. With this design alone did the emperor adopt those measures, which were to lay a broader foundation for the reinforcement and completion of his army. The patriotism of his faithful subjects promoted the success of those measures; they were every where carried into effect with a confidence honourable alike to the government and to the people; and their true character could neither be mistaken nor misinterpreted by foreign powers, unless those powers were predetermined to deny to Austria the right of self-preservation, for every thing remained within the strictest limits of a just system of self-defence. Yet these measures were treated as hostile movements against France, and the most anxious endeavours of the Austrian government to set them in their true light were ineffectual. At the end of July, 1808, the French cabinet declared in an official note, that war was inevitable, unless the military movements made throughout the Austrian monarchy were succeeded by measures of a directly contrary tendency; yet the same note which held out this threat had immediately before asserted, that the French army in Germany, as well as in Italy, was twice as strong as it was in 1805, independently of the troops of the confederation. From that day war was to be considered as declared; the language then held was never retracted. The French troops were indeed withdrawn from the closely-environed frontiers of Austria, to a somewhat more remote, but not less dangerous position; in return for which the immediate and unconditional recognition of Joseph Buonaparte as King of Spain was demanded from Austria. But the emperor knew that the French troops were removed, because it was necessary to employ them elsewhere; the recognition required of him was therefore not indispensable, and, as there were the most weighty objections to such a measure, he thought himself justified in not carrying it into effect. But even in negociating upon this proposal, he evinced the utmost care to avoid whatever might give the French government just cause for dissatisfaction. The conference at Erfurth cast a new, but

no joyous light, over the real state of things. What was then required of the emperor with the most vehement threats could be considered as nothing but a commentary upon the declaration of the 30th of July; and the Emperor Napoleon boasted, that, as a proof of extraordinary forbearance, and at the same time as an especial condescension to the interference of an independent sovereign, he had *hitherto* spared Austria. The campaign in Spain occasioned a respite of a few months; but no sooner did the French ruler believe that he had secured the conquest of that unhappy country, than the storm burst forth against Austria with renewed violence. From the interior of Spain, he issued his commands for the armament in Germany; his return to Paris was the signal for the most detestable libels, in which the pretended designs, the past calamities, the present condition, and even the most illustrious persons of the Austrian house, were treated one time with derision, at another with bitterness, and no means were left unemployed to alienate the confidence of the Austrian people from their sovereign, his servants, and his system of government.

"During three long years the Emperor had submitted to many severe and unjust demands of France, without uttering a single complaint; but when it was insisted upon that he should desist from those measures which were essential for the defence of the country, it was impossible that he should purchase the continuance of peace at that price. He has recourse to arms, said the manifesto, because the duty of self-preservation does not permit him to comply with the condition which France insists on;—because he dares no longer delay the protection of the countries which God has entrusted to him, against an invasion long planned, more than once clearly announced, and now ripe for execution;—because he is sufficiently acquainted with the thoughts and wishes of his people to know that there is not one who would not prefer the utmost exertions and sacrifices on his part, to an ignoble self-annihilation by voluntary subjection. The designs of the enemy are so little concealed, and the motives which have called for this final resolution are so decisive, that truth and justice must be banished from the earth, if all free judgements were not unanimous concerning the origin of this war. The immediate object of the Emperor is, to put an end to that uncertain and unnatural state in which Austria has for three years been vacillating,—a state which, under the vain denomination of peace, has involved it in all the sacrifices, burthens, and dangers of the most oppressive war. His people can never enjoy a secure and honourable repose, while foreign armies, it matters not under what pretence, are allowed to hold the monarchy in a state of perpetual siege; while the political and military relations of the states which surround Austria are of such a nature, that it needs only a single order, a hint from a foreign country, to spread over his whole frontier the apprehension of invasion. The security of Austria cannot be sought in an insulated state; she can attain a perfect guarantee of her independence only in that degree of independence in the powers surrounding her, which the claim of universal dominion, from whatever quarter it proceeds, would render impossible. Next to the duty of providing for the welfare of his subjects and the support of his throne, the emperor will at all times consi-

der those as the most sacred which spring from a sincere regard for the repose, prosperity, and lawful freedom of his neighbours. He will never deem himself authorised to interfere with the internal relations of foreign states, nor assume to be the judge of them, or of their systems of government, nor of the developement of their power. He demands a just reciprocity. Far removed from ambition and jealousy, he will envy no other sovereign his power, his fame, or his just influence; it is only in the exclusive claim to their prerogative that the object of general apprehension lies, and the root of everlasting war. It is not France which has caused the present conflict,—for the prosperity of France the emperor will always feel interested,—the present conflict arises from the progressive extension of a system which, under the indefinite title of the French empire, allows Europe no other laws than what it chuses to impose. That conflict will cease, and every wish of the emperor will be fulfilled, when the reign of moderation and forbearance, the reciprocal independence of every state, respect for the rights of each, the inviolability of treaties, and the preponderance of pacific counsels, shall assume the place of an arrogant system of solid exclusive dominion. By what means, and to what extent these just wishes may be realized, he leaves in the hands of Providence. Only thus much he ventures confidently to promise, that he will never adopt or require measures which can encroach on the well-acquired rights, independence, and security of other states, and that if the success of his arms should correspond with the justice of his views, the same results of the war, from which Austria expects an adequate guarantee of her own independence and repose, will be in perfect accord with the true interest of her neighbours, and the common welfare of Europe."

Certainly no government was ever under a stronger necessity of taking up arms than the court of Vienna at this time, and the manifesto, where it confined itself to the relations between Austria and France, was in all points unanswerable; but when the writer of that manifesto protested that Austria would never deem herself authorized to interfere with the internal concerns of other states, and when he spoke of the injustice of partitioning Turkey, he acted most unwisely, in thus reminding the world of the commencement of the anti-jacobin war, of the partition of Poland, and of the treaty of Campo Formio. With as little propriety could the house of Hapsburgh boast of its respect for the rights and independence and security of other states. "We pass the frontiers," said the Archduke Charles, "not as conquerors, not as enemies of Germany, not to destroy German institutions, laws, customs, and manners, and impose foreign ones; not to appropriate to ourselves the property of Germany, or to sacrifice her children in distant wars, carried on to destroy and subjugate foreign nations; we fight to assert the independence of the Austrian monarchy, and to restore to Germany the independence and national honours which are due to her. The same pretensions which now threaten us have already proved fatal to Germany; our assistance is the last effort for her salvation, our cause is that of Germany. United with Austria, Germany was independent and happy; it is only through the assistance of Austria that Germany can receive happiness and independence."—Alas!

Germany was but an empty name, and had there been indeed a German people, instead of so many disunited jarring states, those states would neither have suffered from the tyranny of the house of Austria formerly, nor from the new Corsican emperor now. What country had ever received happiness and independence from Austria? Was it Bohemia or Hungary? free and flourishing kingdoms till they had fallen under its iron sceptre. Had the Polish provinces derived happiness and independence from their annexation to Austria, or had Venice become independent and happy since the treaty of Campo Formio,—that gloriouscity, whose wealth and prosperity and power were once the wonder of Europe, but where, beneath the usurpation of Austria, the heads of noble families were seen begging in public, and women of illustrious birth, veiling their faces, and disguised by the wretched rags to which they were reduced, knelt at the corners of the streets and upon the bridges, beseeching charity of the passers-by for the love of God, or went singing through the streets and squares to collect money for their starving children! If blind and bedarkening bigotry, inhuman persecution, usurpation, tyranny, and the groans and curses of oppressed nations, call down the vengeance of Heaven, the house of Austria will surely suffer as heavy a penalty of retribution as has been exacted from the house of Bourbon.

Those persons, therefore, who look to the great and permanent springs of action, regarded the mighty conflict which was about to take place in Germany with far less hope, than that in which the people of Spain persevered after so many defeats, and under so many disadvantages. In Germany, revolutions had taken place which ultimately must lead to good, but of which the immediate effect had only been to produce a change of evil. The destruction of the German empire had been effected by substituting another system of confederacy, under the present circumstances, more prejudicial to Europe, and, under all circumstances, more unnatural than the former, worse also in every thing, except that it was less likely to endure. The destruction of the old system, and of many of the petty states, were in themselves desirable events for Germany, and necessary before any great and extensive amelioration could take place in the state of Europe. It was necessary that the ground should be cleared for a new structure, but what a structure was this which had been erected! Once it was the boast of Germany, that all the sovereign princes of Europe were of German blood,—Germany itself had now a low-born Corsican for one of its princes, while the greater part of the rest, traitors to their country as they had been tyrants to their people, were the obedient lackies of a Corsican lord and master. But till the whole race of these petty despots, native or imported, should be swept from the face of the land, there could be no deliverance for Germany. While the contest lay between Prussia and France, the Germans had something to hope for,—for, execrable as the principles of the Prussian government were, its practice for the last half century had been liberal and tolerant, and they who could be content to live under a benignant despotism, might have enjoyed the perfection of such a system under the latter years of Frederick, and the reigns of his successors.

But when Austria contended with Buonaparte for the mastery of the empire, the lovers of liberty and knowledge, the patriots and the philosophers of Germany looked hopelessly to the issue of a war, in which one deadly and detestable tyranny was opposed to another. The feelings of the people in those provinces, which, forming part of the confederacy, were subjected to the conscription, were equally hopeless, and they began to emigrate in such numbers in search of a resting place, that the Baden government, by desire of the French minister, issued orders that no individual should be permitted to cross the Rhine without a passport. This was done to prevent emigration to the Crimea. It was no new thing for the industrious and oppressed Germans to wander into foreign countries. The Hessians used to *desert*, as it was called, in this manner, into Hungary, Poland, and even into Turkey; and no inconsiderable portion of the subjects of the United States of America, at this day, speak German as their mother tongue.

The paper credit of Vienna sunk lower and lower at the prospect of war, and rich men who held stock in Austria endeavoured as fast as possible to sell out. On the 8th of March, the Archduke Charles, who was appointed generalissimo, entered Vienna at the head of a regiment which had been raised in 1618, and was the oldest in the service. Wherever he went he was received with the loudest acclamations by the inhabitants; now that his talents were unshackled, they had the greatest confidence in him, and, believing that the emperor had set the existence of his throne and of his house upon the chance, they confided in the strength and resources of the Austrian dominions for a successful issue. A requisition of 10,000 horses was made in the capital. The Archdukes Lewis and Rainer were disciplining the levy in mass in Hungary. About 15,000 men were collected in Bohemia, near Eger, Tapel and Slan, to protect that quarter. The archduke had the command of the army destined to enter Italy by the Friaul. The French meantime were rapidly mustering in Franconia, Saxony, and Swabia, and the vassal states of the confederacy were collecting their contingents, and marshalling Germans to shed the blood of Germans for the service of France. The Saxon and Hanoverian conscripts were assembled in Saxony under Bernadotte. Dresden was thought insecure, and the treasures were therefore removed from thence to Konigstein, a fortress standing on an insulated rock, where there is a well nine hundred Dresden ells deep, which it was the work of forty years to sink. The magazines and artillery were embarked on the Elbe for Magdeburgh, and the iron guns which were not worth removing were spiked. The fortifications of Weissenfels were strengthened, that it might be better able to sustain a siege. Of all the vassal princes who followed the standard of their Corsican lord and master, the King of Saxony was the most to be pitied; he had been rewarded with the royal dignity for his former services; but those services, like the present, were performed under the influence of fear, and equally in violation of his true interest, his inclination, and his duty. The Saxons used to regret, that, in the wars between Frederick and the house of Austria, they had chosen the worser part; they had now deeper cause of regret; they are distinguished from all the other Germans

by their warm attachment to their native land, and they were the only people of that great and ill-compacted empire who spoke of their country with a manly and honourable pride: from them the light of reformation had gone forth, and among them the light of knowledge was burning; what then must they have felt, when forced to fight the battles of a barbarian, who, while he pretended to follow the steps of Charlemagne, exceeded him in his cruelties, and persecuted with mortal hatred, literature and knowledge, by the encouragement of which Charlemagne in some degree atoned for his offences!

Among the Saxons there was probably only one feeling; they had gained the empty name of a kingdom, and for this their independence and their happiness had been sacrificed. It was otherwise with part of the motley population who were now subjects of Jerome Buonaparte. Among these the Prussians, the Brunswickers, and the Hanoverians had reason to regret the mild and benignant administration under which they had lived, while the Hessians and other of the smaller states would have been materially benefited by the revolution which released them from their petty tyrants, and abolished the abominable system of vassalage, had not those evils been supplied by the sweeping curse of the conscription. Bavaria was the only state of the confederacy which was attached to France, and even there, in spite of the old enmity between the Austrians and Bavarians, the wiser and better part of the nation retained that opinion of the French, which, forty years ago, was almost universal through Germany: the Germans then regarded the French government as the excess of despotism, and the French themselves as a tricking and treacherous people; they were not likely to form a better opinion of them now, when the government was become at once far more oppressive and more faithless. But the court of Bavaria was thoroughly French.

April 9.

The Archduke Charles, when he put his army in motion, addressed a letter to the king, Maximilian Joseph. He told him, that, having received orders to enter Bavaria, he ardently wished his majesty would listen to the wishes of the Bavarian people, who saw in the Austrians their deliverers. "The severest commands," said he, "have been given that no hostilities be committed, except against the enemy of all political independence in Europe, till your majesty makes known your intentions. It would be very painful to me to turn my arms against the troops of your majesty, and to involve your subjects in the miseries of a war undertaken for general liberty, and which, in its first principle, excludes all plan of conquest. But if the force of circumstances should compel your majesty to a condescension incompatible with your dignity and the happiness of your people, I beg you, nevertheless, to be convinced that my soldiers will pay every possible respect to the safety of your majesty, and I invite you, sire, to confide yourself to the honour of my sovereign, and the protection of his arms." This was more courteous language than that arch-traitor to Germany and to the liberties of Europe deserved. He withdrew from Munich to Dilligen, taking with him his treasures and jewels. The Austrians past the Inn on the 9th of April, and intelligence was conveyed by the telegraph to Buonaparte at Paris that the war was begun.

The French and allied armies were at this time thus situated. D'Avoust's (Duke of Auerstadt) corps at Ratisbon; Massena's (Duke of Rivoli) at Ulm; Oudinot's at Augsburgh; the head quarters at Strauberg. The Bavarians were in three divisions; one under the Prince Royal at Munich, the second under Duroy at Landshut, the third under Wrede at Straubing; Lefebvre (Duke of Dantzic) had the command in chief of these auxiliaries. The Wirtemberg division was at Heydenheim; the Saxons under the walls of Dresden; the Poles, or, as they were now called, the corps of the duchy of Warsaw, near that city which had once been their own capital, under Prince Poniatowsky. The Austrians advanced towards Munich, from whence Maximilian Joseph retired more precipitately than his troops; they withdrew in good order. Lefebvre, with about 12,000 Bavarians, collected from the neighbourhood of Munich and Fraysengen, attempted to stop the Austrians near Landshut. It was a strong position which he defended on the Iser. The bridges were broken down, the approach to them was difficult, and the houses on the opposite bank occupied by the enemy's riflemen, so that it was necessary to batter them down. This whole part of the town was destroyed, and many of the inhabitants perished under the ruins of their houses. This being effected, the passage was won, and the Austrians advanced to Munich. Their successes on the side of the Tyrol were more splendid and more important, but the war of the Tyrol must be related separately, in reverence to the only people upon the continent who have done their duty against the common enemy.

On the evening of the 12th, the telegraph summoned Buonaparte from Paris to take the command of his armies. He set out almost immediately, arrived at Louisburg at three in the morning of the 16th; and in the evening of the same day, met the King of Bavaria at Dillingen, and promised to restore him within twelve days to his capital, to revenge the insults which had been offered to his house, and to make him greater than any of his ancestors had been. Encouraged by the presence of his protector, Maximilian Joseph addressed a proclamation the next day to the people, telling them that his territory had been invaded, and he had been driven from his capital, without a declaration of war, or any previous explanation, but that this attack on the rights of nations would now be punished. "People and soldiers of Bavaria," said he, "Austria seeks to annihilate your independence, reduce your strength, and diminish your possessions, under the pretext of freeing you. The people of the allied states are not, however, ignorant of the new and dangerous influence which it has endeavoured to establish, the obvious consequence of which would be the restoration of the arbitrary power which the archdukedom of Austria had assumed under the title of head of the German empire. It is our throne which is threatened to be overthrown; it is the Bavarian name which is to be extinguished among nations. Your territory is destined to be the reward of your enemies—for in their ostentation they do not conceal their object. They wish to dismember your country, and to establish in it barons dependent on the court of Vienna. Their base and senseless purposes shall be defeated: for this we have the pledge of the fidelity of our people, of the courage

of our soldiers, of the genius and protection of our mighty ally. At the sight of the illustrious protector of our confederacy, our enemies will fade away, and the war, which they now again commence, shall, like that in 1805, be carried into their own territories; but measures shall then be taken to prevent their any longer disturbing the continent, and making their neighbours the victims of the intrigues of their cabinets."

On the 17th Buonaparte reached Donauworth, and issued one of his characteristic addresses to the army. "Soldiers, the territory of the Confederation of the Rhine is violated. The Austrian general hoped that we should take to flight on the first appearance of his army, and abandon our allies to his disposal. I come with the rapidity of the eagle. Soldiers, you were around me when the sovereign of Austria came to visit me in my camp-hut in Moravia; you saw him experience my bounty, and swear eternal friendship to me. We have been victorious in three wars; Austria owes every thing to our generosity; thrice has she broken her engagements. Our past success is the sure pledge of the victory which now awaits us. Let us advance, and let the enemy at the sight of us again recognize their conquerors." The Archduke Charles at this time, after passing the Iser, advanced by forced marches, with the 3d, 4th, and 5th corps of his army, and the 1st of the reserve, towards the Danube, in the direction of Kohlheim and Ratisbon. He crossed the Labar, and proceeded, on the 19th, through Echmuhl, Rotenberg, and Cloisterrock. His object was to cut off D'Avoust's corps before it could form a junction with Oudinot, who was advancing from Augsburgh, and with Massena, who had reached Augsburgh. The movements of the French were too rapid for him. At break of day, on the 19th, Oudinot defeated a body of Austrians at Pfaffenhoffen, and Massena joined him there on the 20th. D'Avoust left Ratisbon to advance to Neustadt, and draw near to Ingolstadt. His left, under General St Hillaire and Friant, met the Austrians at a village called Peissing, and defeated them. In this action the French boast that their 57th regiment, which at the commencement of the revolutionary war acquired the name of the Terrible, attacked singly six Austrian regiments in succession, and routed them. The right wing, under General Moraud, was engaged at the same time with an Austrian division, which Lefebvre and the Bavarians (having marched from Abensberg with that intent) attacked in the rear. The Austrians, thus outnumbered and out-generalled, suffered considerable loss; several regiments lost all their staff officers; Field-Marshal Lusignan, and the Princes Lewis and Maurice of Lichtenstein were wounded. This action was called the battle of Tann. Lefebvre formed a junction with D'Avoust at sun-set. The archduke kept his army in order of battle; but the immediate intentions of the French were not against him.

These were but preliminary movements to an attack upon the left wing of the Austrians, under the Archduke Lewis and General Hiller. On the 20th Buonaparte took post at Abensberg. D'Avoust kept the corps of Hohenzollern, Rosenberg, and Lichtenstein in check; Massena passed by Freyberg, and getting in the rear of the Austrians, cut off their communication with the Tyrol. The main attack was to be made upon

their front, by the divisions of Moraud and Guden, under Lasnes, and the Bavarians and Wirtembergers, at whose head Buonaparte placed himself, following the example of greater and better men, who, by appearing to confide in the bravery of untried troops, have made them what they wished them to be. He ordered the officers of these two armies to form a circle, and addressed them in a speech, which the Prince-Royal of Bavaria translated into German. To the Bavarians he spoke of the old enmity between their forefathers and the house of Hapsburgh, against whom the Bavarian standard had been for more than two centuries displayed, and he promised that he would now render them powerful enough to contend single-handed with Austria. To the men of Wirtemberg he spoke of their exploits in the service of Prussia. The signal was then given. Wrede, with the Bavarians, attacked the enemy at Siegenburg; Vandamme, with the Wirtembergers, on the right flank; Lasnes turned their left. By their own confession the Austrians lost eight standards, twelve pieces of cannon, and 8000 prisoners; the French say they took 18,000. On the same day the archduke made an ineffectual attempt to prevent the junction of D'Avoust with Lefebvre and the Bavarians. The Prince of Hohenzollern and Prince Lewis of Lichtenstein seized the colours, and advanced at the head of their troops to animate them; their object was to gain possession of the heights of Abach: in this they were defeated, and the enemy accomplished their junction along the Danube.

The battle of Abensberg laid open the flank of the Austrian army, and exposed their magazines at Landshut. Buonaparte marched against this place at break of day on the following morning. The Austrian cavalry made some resistance in the plain before the city, and were defeated by Bessieres (Duke of Istria). General Mouten advanced, with a column of grenadiers, to force the bridge: it was of wood, and the enemy set fire to it; but that, says Buonaparte's bulletin, was not an obstacle to the French infantry, who forced it, and penetrated into the city. The possible truth to be extracted from this extravagant language is, that fire is the worst means by which a wooden bridge could be attempted to be destroyed under such circumstances, and that the fuel and fire-brands, hastily heaped together for the purpose, were thrown into the water by the assailants, who had leisure to clear their way: part of one Austrian regiment, which they drove before them, and forced through the flames, suffered severely. The Austrians, thus driven to the right bank of the river, were there attacked and routed by Massena. Landshut was taken, and with it 30 pieces of cannon, 9000 prisoners, 600 ammunition waggons, 3000 baggage waggons, the hospitals and magazines. At this time the Archduke Charles, forming a junction with the Bohemian army, under Kollowreth, surprised a thousand French, who had been left to guard the bridge at Ratisbon. Enraged at this, Buonaparte swore that within four-and-twenty hours Austrian blood should flow in Ratisbon, to efface the insult which had been offered to his arms. Some little apprehension perhaps mingled with, and aggravated this burst of rage; for, by his own admission, there was no time to be lost. D'Avoust and Lefebvre were holding three Austrian corps in check,

April 21.

and if the archduke had rapidly moved against them, he might not only have defeated them, but have taken the French at Landshut in the rear. Aware of this, and more rapid in his movements than his antagonist, Buonaparte made a forced march from Landshut, with the two divisions of Lasnes, the corps of Massena, the cuirassiers of Nansoutz and St Sulpice, and the Wirtemberg division. At the same time he sent Bessieres against General Hiller, who, with the remains of the army which had been beaten at Abensberg and Landshut, was on the Inn.

Prince Charles had effected a junction with the third and fourth corps of reserve, and had determined to attack the French on the 23d. This was a day too late. He had with him 110,000 men, and had taken a position at Echmuhl. Buonaparte arrived opposite that town at two in the afternoon of the 22d, and attacked them on all points; their left wing was turned; they were driven successively from all their positions; their infantry, forced from the woods which cover the town of Ratisbon into the plain, were there cut off by the enemy's horse; their cavalry, which was strong and numerous, attempted to cover the retreat, but were attacked by the division of St Sulpice on the right, and by that of Nansoutz on the left. The latter compelled a whole column to surrender, consisting of three Hungarian battalions of 1500 men. The Archduke Charles is said to have narrowly escaped, owing to the fleetness of his horse. During the whole of the night the Austrians continued to defile in small divisions, and in great confusion. All their wounded, the greater part of their artillery, 15 standards, and 20,000 prisoners, according to the French accounts, were taken. At day-break on the following morning, the French advanced in pursuit towards Ratisbon, and after three successive charges, in which they say 8000 of the Austrians were cut to pieces, drove them over the Danube. Meantime the French light infantry attempted to get possession of the city, which the archduke had garrisoned with six regiments. For this he has been censured by the enemy; for the city was surrounded with a bad wall, a bad ditch, and a bad counterscarp, and the assailants were so perfectly aware of its weak parts, that they knew a place where it was practicable to descend into the ditch by a ladder, and pass on the other side through a breach in the wall. Lasnes ordered a battalion upon this service; they effected it in safety, and got into the city: 8000 prisoners were taken here, and the French crossed the bridge in close pursuit of the fugitives. Ratisbon was set on fire in the conflict.

Here Buonaparte issued another proclamation to his army, in these words:—"Soldiers, you have justified my expectations. You have made up for numbers by your bravery. You have gloriously marked the difference that exists between the soldiers of Cæsar and the armed cohorts of Xerxes. In a few days we have triumphed in the three battles of Tann, Abensberg, and Echmuhl, and in the actions of Peising, Landshut, and Ratisbon. One hundred pieces of cannon, 40 standards, 50,000 prisoners, 3000 waggons, full of baggage, all the chests of the regiments—Such is the result of the rapidity of your march and your courage. The enemy, besotted by a perjured cabinet, seemed no longer to preserve any recollec-

April 24.

tion of us. They have been promptly awakened: You have appeared to them more terrible than ever. Lately they crossed the Inn, and invaded the territory of our allies. Lately they presumed to carry the war into the heart of our country. Now, defeated and dismayed, they fly in disorder. Already my advanced-guard has passed the Inn—before a month is elapsed we shall be at Vienna." At Ratisbon also he issued a decree *April* 24. for sequestrating the estates of those princes and counts of the empire, and members of the equestrian order, who ought, by virtue of the act of the Confederation of the Rhine, to have renounced the service of other powers than the confederated states and their allies, and to have established their residence within the confederated or allied states, but had not conformed to these provisions. One half of the estates thus confiscated was to be applied to the princes of the confederation, as an indemnity for the expences of the war, and to indemnify their subjects, on account of requisitions, expences, and other incidental losses; the other half was for Buonaparte, in aid of the war expences, and to reward the officers and soldiers of his army.

The Austrian loss, according to their own accounts, was not a fifth part of what the French represented it. The whole, they said, amounted to about 9600 prisoners, 6000 killed and wounded, and about 38 pieces of cannon. On the other hand, they estimated the loss of the French at four eagles, four pieces of cannon, and 10,000 men, killed, wounded, or taken. The French affirmed that they had lost only 1200 killed, and 4000 wounded. Here both accounts may be sufficiently accurate, if, as is probable, the Austrians include the troops of the confederacy; their own loss they no doubt diminished, nearly as much as the French bulletins exaggerated it. Unquestionably they had suffered severely. They were driven out of Bavaria; the French were enabled to detach Wrede and Lefebvre against the Tyrol and the Palatinate; and Prince Charles was cut off from his communication with the Inn and Vienna. "This battle," said Buonaparte, after the action of Echmuhl, "will have the same consequences as that of Jena: we shall be in the enemy's capital before his own army." During this, which may be called the first act of the campaign, he exerted himself with indefatigable activity, being for several days continually on horseback, with only the interval of two hours at night, all that he allowed himself for sleep. He did not expose himself in battle, and in this he acted wisely, knowing of how much more importance his safety was than his personal example in the field. There was a report one day that his leg was broken; the fact was, that a spent ball grazed the heel of his boot, but without injuring him.

Successful, however, as the Corsican had been thus far, even to the extent of his wishes, he betrayed his apprehension at the altered system of the Austrians, by the manner in which he gave his insolent anger vent. "Austria," said he in his bulletin, "has raised numerous armies, divided into corps like the French; her troops are moving by forced marches, to imitate the French; her generals are publishing bulletins, proclamations, general orders, all in imitation of the French. But the ass is not ennobled to a lion because he is covered with a lion's skin; the long ears betray the ignobler beast." Then, after calling the Austrian manifesto, which

he said was drawn up by Gentz, a ridiculous performance, he indulged the natural vulgarity of his mind in personal insults towards the emperor. "From Vienna," said he, "he went to Schaerding, a position extremely well adapted for a sovereign who neither wishes to be in his capital to govern his dominions, nor in the field, where he is known to be merely an incumbrance and a dead weight. When he was informed of the result of the battle of Echmuhl, he judged it prudent to leave the banks of the Inn, and return into the interior of his dominions." The Austrians had magazines at Schaerding, and Hiller, with three corps, had taken up a position at Old Otling, to protect that place and Brannau, and keep up the communication with the Tyrol. Bessieres attacked him on the day of the battle of Ratisbon, but was repulsed. On the same day Massena was detached from Ratisbon to the same point. He passed Strauling and Passau, re-established the bridge over the Inn, which the Austrians had destroyed, and winning a passage which was feebly defended, took possession of Schaerding, where the Austrians had previously set fire to the magazines, and in consequence burnt half the town. Bessieres also crossed the Inn, and advanced to Burghausen, where he was joined by Lasnes the same day. Oudinot, with his corps, entered Ried on the 1st of May, where he found eight sets of military ovens, and 200,000 rations of flour: half as much was found at Wels. Buonaparte passed through Ried on the 2d, and reached Lambach the same evening, where the bridge, which had been destroyed, was speedily restored. On the 3d Massena arrived at Lintz. The Archduke Lewis and Hiller were at this time before Traun, and being threatened in the rear by Lasnes, retreated to Ebersberg. There they had other enemies to encounter, for Bessieres and Oudinot had formed a junction with Massena in that quarter.

April 28.

May 3.

The French came up with the Austrian rear-guard as they were crossing the bridge, pursued them, drove cannon, waggons, and some hundred men into the river, and made prisoners some three thousand men, who had been left to defend the town. Claparede, who commanded the advanced guard, continuing the pursuit, halted when he found the enemy occupying a strong position. Bessieres passed the bridge with the cavalry, of which he had the command, and Massena ordered the main body of the army to support them. The archduke and Hiller, now on the point of being attacked by superior numbers, set fire to the town. It was built of wood, and the flames spread in all directions; they reached the bridge also, and Claparede was cut off from the support of the main body. The Austrians attempted to profit by this advantage, but with little effect; continued disasters seem to have disheartened them, and their efforts must have been feeble or ill directed to have proved so unsuccessful; for Claparede is said, with only four pieces of cannon and 7000 men, to have withstood 30,000 men for three hours, and three times to have repulsed them with the bayonet. Allowing for French exaggeration, it is beyond a doubt that his situation was extremely perilous, and that the Austrians, if they had acted well, must have destroyed his whole corps. News of his danger was communicated to Buonaparte, who immediately dis-

patched the divisions of Nansoutz and Molitor to his assistance, but they did not arrive till after the action was over. After three hours the fire was so far got under that a passage was opened, and Claparede was reinforced both with horse and foot. The Austrians retreated with the utmost rapidity. They lost 7500 prisoners; 800 of their troops were burnt in the castle: their whole loss is estimated at 12,000. They reached Enns that night, burnt the bridge there, and continued their retreat, or rather their flight, on the road to Vienna. The French say that 300 of Claparede's corps were killed, and 700 wounded; the Austrian account makes their own loss 4000, that of the enemy 3000.

Buonaparte slept at Enns on the 4th, and employed the next day in re-establishing the bridge. Lasnes, who crossed at Steyer, arrived at Molck on the 6th, and found in the cellars of the abbey there several thousand bottles of wine, which were served out to the army: great magazines of every kind had been found since the passage of the Inn. Prince Lewis and Hiller were at this time at St Polten. Two-thirds of the remains of their army crossed the Danube at Crems, and were pursued to Mantein, where they obtained a respite by breaking the bridge; the other third made for Vienna. On the 8th Buonaparte's head-quarters were at St Polten. On the 10th, at nine in the morning, he appeared, with the corps of Marshal Lasnes, before Vienna,—at the same hour, on the same day, and exactly one month after the Austrians had commenced their deplorable compaign, by crossing the river Inn.

CHAP. XXV.

Capture of Vienna. Passage of the Danube by the French. Battle of Aspern.

FORTY years ago, Vienna was considered to be well fortified, having a rampart, twelve strong bastions, ten ravelins, deep and wide square ditches, and outworks of proportionate strength. Maria Theresa was advised by her son to dismantle it: "I am an old woman," that great empress used to say, "and I almost remember when this city was besieged by the Turks; unless the capital had then been capable of withstanding a blockade till it was relieved by John Sobieski, the Ottoman hordes would have ravaged our hereditary dominions, and overrun the empire. Twice I have myself seen this capital almost the frontier of my dominions. Let Joseph act as he will when I am dead, but while I live Vienna shall not be dismantled."

The older works are said to have been built with the money obtained from England as the ransom of Richard Cœur de Lion, so villainously made prisoner. Those which existed at this time, were supposed to be kept up only for the sake of keeping the city itself in subjection, at a time when all fear of the Turks was past, and Austria had no apprehensions from any European power. The circumference was about four miles, for it was the work of an hour to walk round the ramparts. By the enumeration of 1796, there were found to be 1397 houses within the walls; the suburbs at the same time contained 5102. The markets and shops were in the city. The whole population is estimated at 270,000. Between the suburbs and the walls, a space had been left all round of five or six hundred paces, that the works might command an open range; this interval gave great advantage to a besieging army. Intrenchments had been thrown up to cover the suburbs. An old inscription on one of the towers said, "Happy is that city which, amid the tranquillity of peace, holds itself in readiness for war:—God's protection and the courage of the emperor and the people defend the walls of Vienna." Alas, the age was over in which Vienna could boast the courage either of its prince or its inhabitants!

Four days before the appearance of the French, the Archduke Maximilian arrived to take the command of the city. He had collected ten battalions of militia, and as many of regular troops, amounting together

to 15,000, and he ordered registers to be opened for inscribing the names of those who were willing to defend the capital. Buonaparte affirms that only thirty persons delivered in their names, all the rest refused with indignation; and then he praises the people of Vienna for their good sense. The Austrians, with far greater probability, say that a great number enrolled themselves. After the capitulation it is not unlikely that the list was destroyed, lest those whose names appeared there should be fixed upon to pay heavier contributions. Be this as it may, the French bulletin affords sufficient proof of the hostile disposition of the people. General Couroux traversed the suburbs without opposition, but when General Tharreau appeared upon the esplanade before the walls, he was received by a discharge of cannon and musketry, which slightly wounded him. Buonaparte had now taken up his head-quarters at Schoenbrunn, the favourite palace of the emperor, of which he had once before made himself master; from hence he sent a summons to the archduke, telling him, that if he ventured to defend the city longer, it should be reduced by a bombardment in six-and-thirty hours. The officer who entered the city with the flag of truce was maltreated, and even wounded, by the mob; this outrage is said in the bulletin, (forgetful of its former assertion, that only thirty persons had enrolled themselves for the defence of Vienna,) to have been committed by some butchers and a few hundred satellites of the archduke. It is added, that the archduke himself ordered the fellow who had wounded the French officer to be mounted on the officer's horse, and led through the city in triumph surrounded by the militia. The archduke is represented as a hot-headed presumptuous young man, who declared that he would bury himself under the ruins of the city, and distributed all the arms which were in the arsenal among the rabble. He is said also to have ordered bombs and howitzers to be fired upon the suburbs, when none but the inhabitants could be injured; and the bulletins asserted, that, in consequence of his determination to prolong a hopeless resistance, those who were for surrendering attacked his partisans, and Vienna presented the dreadful spectacle of an intestine war. So much of this is palpably false, that it may well be doubted whether there is the slightest foundation in truth for any part; nor would it be here repeated, but as another specimen of the official falsehoods circulated by the French government, and of the mean malignity with which Buonaparte, in the true spirit of a savage, reviles all who resist him.

General Andreossy, who had been made governor of Vienna on its former capture, was reappointed to that station. He established in each of the eight districts or wards into which the suburbs are divided, a municipality, a national guard, and a committee of provisions, and he ordered a deputation to wait upon the Emperor of France, to represent to him the state of the city, and solicit his generosity. Buonaparte replied, by assuring them of his protection, and reproaching the Emperor Francis for what he styled his inhuman conduct in delivering up his capital to all the calamities of war. "That emperor," he said, "instead of being the king and father of his subjects, had evinced himself their enemy and tyrant. Nevertheless, Vienna should be treated with the same indulgence and fa-

vour which it had experienced in 1805." Berthier then, by his orders, wrote a second letter to the archduke, requesting him to respect the flag of truce, to consider the lives of the citizens, and to hold out no longer. He warned him also against continuing to fire upon the suburbs, saying, that if a single one of the inhabitants perished by the Austrian arms, such an act of frenzy, such a crime against the people, would for ever break the bonds which attach subjects to their sovereign. This summons was carried by the deputies, and the answer returned was a double fire from the ramparts.

Upon this Buonaparte proceeded with Massena's corps to the arm of the Danube, which separates the city from the Prater, an island which is the fashionable summer promenade of Vienna. Two companies of voltigeurs were ordered to occupy a small position on the bank: by them and by the fire of 15 pieces of artillery, a battalion of grenadiers which defended the passage were dispersed. The French cavalry swam the river, and seized boats from the opposite side: with these a bridge was constructed, and a battery of twenty mortars was erected at the distance of only 200 yards from the city. The bombardment began at nine on the evening of the 11th. It was directed by Andreossy, and the people imputed it to his skill, that the only houses which were destroyed belonged to those persons who had been the most active promoters of the war. The utmost consternation now prevailed in the city; universal lamentations and cries were heard in all quarters, and the archduke himself partook of the general alarm, for he perceived that it was the intention of the enemy to cross the river, and cut off his retreat. At midnight, he sent two battalions to retake the position which covered the French while making their bridge. They advanced in close column, but the position was too strongly defended; they were repulsed, and Maximilian then giving up all hopes of farther resistance, made his escape while it was yet practicable over the bridge of Tabor, which was then demolished to prevent the passage of the enemy.

The command devolved upon General O'Reilly, for the archduke left the city in such haste that he did not transfer it to any person. At day-break, the new governor hung out a flag of surrender, and a deputation, composed of the archbishop and all the chief persons of the state, waited upon Buonaparte at Schoenbrunn, to accept such terms of capitulation as he might be pleased to grant. The garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war, they were then to become prisoners of war. The inhabitants were to be protected in their property and privileges, rights and liberties, and in the free exercise of their professions and religion; the military pensions to continue to be paid, the military academy and institution for the education of children of both sexes to be maintained in their existing footing under Buonaparte's protection; the military chests, magazines, and property of the magistrates of Vienna, of the states of Lower Austria, and of the hospitals, to be preserved inviolate.

May 13. On the following day, the French took possession of the city. Upon this occasion, Buonaparte addressed another proclamation to his army. "Soldiers," said he, "a month after the enemy passed the Inn, on the same

day, at the same hour, we have entered Vienna. His militia, his levies-in-mass, his ramparts, raised by the impotent rage of the princes of the house of Lorraine, have not been able to withstand your presence. The princes of that house have abandoned their capital; not as warriors of honour, but as selfish men pursued by their self-reproaches. While they were flying from Vienna, their farewell to its inhabitants has been flames and murder. Like Medea, with their own hands they have massacred their own children. Soldiers! the people of Vienna, according to the expression of the deputation of its suburbs, abandoned, deserted, widowed, shall be the objects of your regard. I take its good inhabitants under my especial protection; as to turbulent and wicked men, I will inflict exemplary justice upon them. Soldiers! be good towards the poor peasants and this good people, who have so many rights to our esteem. Let us not be proud of our success: let us rather see in it a proof of that divine justice which punishes the ingrate and the perjured." It appears by the language of this proclamation. and still more by that of the bulletins, that Buonaparte at this time intended to destroy the Austrian monarchy. The fate of the house of Lorraine,* as he affected to call it, was foreseen, he said, by all intelligent persons. Manfredini had obtained an audience of the emperor, to warn him that the war would weigh heavy upon his conscience, and bring about the downfall of his house: Count Cobentzel had addressed a dying speech to him to the same effect; and the Prince de Ligne had been heard to say, "he thought he was old enough not to have outlived the Austrian monarchy." A proclamation issued from Schoenbrunn to the Hungarians, expresses unequivocally the determination which is here implied. *May* 15. After reproaching the emperor for faithlessness and ingratitude, and observing that it was the Emperor of Austria, not the King of Hungary, who had declared war, for, according to the constitution of Hungary, he could not declare it without the consent of the people, Buonaparte thus addressed the nation: "Hungarians! the moment for recovering your independence is arrived. I offer you the inviolability of your territory, of your freedom, and of your constitution, whether the latter shall remain as it now subsists, or whether it shall be modified by yourselves, in such a manner as the spirit of the times and the interest of your fellow-citizens may appear to you to require. I want nothing from you; I desire only to see you a free and independent nation. Your connection with Austria has been for you most unfortunate. For that connection your blood has often flowed in distant lands; and your dearest interests have constantly been sacrificed to those of the hereditary Austrian states. You form the most interesting part of that empire, and yet you have been regarded only as a conquered province, and made the victim of passions, which to you were altogether foreign. You possess the distinction of national manners, and a national language. You are justly proud of your ancient and illustrious origin. Resume then your existence as a nation. Have a king of your own chusing, who shall go-

* His edict was dated from "our Imperial Palace at Schoenbrunn," as if he was now the lawful sovereign of Austria.

vern for you only—who shall reside in the midst of you—who shall be surrounded only by your own citizens and soldiers. This, Hungarians, is what all Europe, whose eyes are now turned towards you, expects from you. This also is required of you by me. An eternal peace, commercial relations, a confirmed independence; such is the high reward that awaits you, if you be worthy of your ancestors and of yourselves. You will not reject this frank and generous offer. You will no longer shed your blood for weak princes, constantly the puppets of ministers, sold to England, to the eternal enemy of the continent, whose prosperity is founded on monopoly and our dissensions. Assemble then in a national diet, according to the custom of your forefathers, on the plains of Racos, and let me know your decision."

Too much of this language was justified by the persecution, oppression, and degradation, which Hungary had suffered under the house of Hapsburg, and had this address proceeded from a Timoleon, having the will as well as the power to restore the people to those rights of which they had been deprived, all friends of knowledge and of liberty might have looked on with joyful hope to the promised revolution. But coming as it did from a tyrant, who, for his flagrant perfidy and remorseless cruelties, was cursed from one end of Europe to the other, the Hungarians themselves were not deceived. The promises of Buonaparte, they well knew, would only end in subjecting them to the conscription, and transferring to one of his rapacious generals, the ruffian Lasnes, or the savage Massena, the "sacred, angelic, and apostolic" crown of St Stephen. At the very time when this barbarian talked to the Hungarians of freedom and independence and nationality, he was violating all freedom, all independence, all nationality, all principles of public law, all feelings of common humanity. He ordered the Austrian militia to be disbanded, and, treating them as criminals, because they had taken arms in obedience to their own government and in defence of their own country, promised an amnesty to all who returned to their home within fourteen days,—the officers who should continue after that term in the Austrian service were to have their houses burnt and their property confiscated. The Austrian prisoners, born in the provinces which he had now conquered, he ordered to be incorporated with the Bavarian army; thus compelling them to march to battle against their former comrades, their countrymen, friends and kin, and exposing them to be punished with death as rebels and traitors. This atrocious measure implied, that the conquered provinces would be either retained by France, or annexed to Bavaria. The prisoners who had been marched into France, were placed at the disposition of the prefects, who were to allot them in divisions of fifty, to be sent into the departments, and distributed among the farmers and manufacturers. This measure was designed to supply the waste which had been made by the conscription, and unquestionably the immediate condition of the prisoners was bettered by it, for who would not prefer labouring in the fields, or at his trade, to confinement in a prison? but the direct tendency was to introduce a system of helotry, and to bring back into Europe the accursed system of domestic slavery, which Christianity itself could not abolish there in the course of a thousand years.

The error of the Austrians in this campaign was the same which they had committed in the former war. Instead of collecting their whole force, army behind army, one ready to support the other, to follow up its advantages, or repair its losses, the Archduke Ferdinand, with 45,000 men, went into Poland, and the Archduke John, with 80,000 into Italy; both were at first successful, but their successes were of no avail, and the latter was recalled, as Prince Charles had been in the last war, to the defence of Vienna,—which, as in the former instance, making no resistance, fell long before he could accomplish so long a retreat. But the invincible obstinacy which thus persisted in its system after experience had demonstrated its impolicy, was a light evil compared to the wretched pusillanimity which had now again infected the Austrian councils. Four days after the battle of Echmuhl, the Archduke Charles wrote to Buonaparte requesting an armistice. The fact is certain, though the letter itself was never made public. Buonaparte's reason for refusing is not known; he acted in a manner contrary to his usual conduct, and it is probable that he felt himself strong enough at that time to take every advantage which an armistice could yield him, and that he pushed on his conquests with the resolution of effecting the ruin of Austria. The time was now approaching, when the archduke and the emperor were to rejoice that their offer of submission had been rejected:—but their joy was only for a season; for they knew as little how to profit by good fortune as how to sustain adversity.

The French remained several days at the capital, collecting their army, and resting and refreshing the men, where they had good quarters and abundant provisions. On the 19th, the imperial guards, with the corps of Massena, Lasnes, and Oudinot, were at Vienna, D'Avoust's between that city and St Polten, and Bernadotte, with the Saxons and Wurtemburghers, at Lintz. Lefebvre was with the Bavarians in the Tyrol, perpetrating cruelties there, which to the latest ages will be remembered with horror and execrations upon France and Bavaria. The French had asserted, that Prince Charles, being cut off from his communication with the Inn and Vienna, had no other resource than that of retiring into the mountains of Bohemia, and that, by pursuing him, they might have taken his artillery and baggage; but this advantage would not have counterbalanced the hardships to which the army would have been exposed, during a march of fourteen days, through a miserable, mountainous, and desolate country. Buonaparte also would not procrastinate his appearance at Vienna for a single day, because, he said, in the prevailing state of public excitement, it would be attempted to impede him by defending the town, which had a very good breast-work, provided with bastions. Here he clearly discovered his opinion, that Vienna was defensible, and that it ought to have been defended; but the inhabitants of Vienna were not like the Zaragozans,—there is no national feeling among the Germans, and, for a government so cowardly and so dead to all sense of honour, more sacrifices were made than it deserved.

Prince Charles was not, however, so weak as the enemy imagined him to be, though he was already so sub-

dued in spirit as to have solicited an armistice. After his defeat at Ratisbon, he retreated through Cham to Waldmunchen. Bellegarde joined him with the army of Bohemia. They proceeded by Klentsch and Newmarkt to Budweis, halted one day at Lindau, hoping there to form a junction with the remains of Hiller's army, then endeavouring to reach Vienna before the French, advanced to Neupolla, Horn, Wickendorf, and Stokerau. To come up with Buonaparte in front of the capital was now, he well perceived, impossible, the enemy having taken the direct road; still he hoped to gain the bridges across the Danube, and save it by a battle under its walls; and if it could hold out only five days, then he expected to relieve it. Assuredly no field of battle could have been chosen where he was more likely to be victorious, nor where, if it was his fortune to be vanquished, he could have died more honourably. He also, as well as Buonaparte, expected that Vienna would have not so easily opened its gates. Even now, he said, from the solidity of its ramparts, the strong profile of its works, and its extensive mines, it was capable of making a protracted resistance, had not all thoughts of military defence for more than a century back been forgotten in ease, security, and luxury. Palaces had been built upon its ramparts, its casemates and ditches had been converted into workshops, its counterscarps were planted, and avenues of trees crossing its plains, united the suburbs to the body of the place: yet it might have served to cover the passage of the river for a few days. Thus much Prince Charles expected from the loyalty of the inhabitants, but he was deceived; they, like their governors, had no high and heroic sense of honour, no principle of religious duty to support their courage, and therefore they were found wanting in the hour of need. Between Horn and Meissan, the Archduke Maximilian joined him with those troops which had escaped from the capital. Too late for his great object, he assembled his collected forces at the foot of the hill of Bisamberg, where they rested awhile after so many forced marches. He had still 75,000 effective troops, and 288 pieces of cannon. His cavalry was posted along the Russ, a little rivulet, which is concealed by ground covered with bushes; the advanced guard was pushed to the Danube, to observe the movements of the enemy, and prevent their passage: this the French attempted from Nussdorf to the Black Lacke; but they were repelled, and a battalion of their advanced guard taken. His chain of outposts extended on the left as far as the Marsh, and on the right to Krams: that place was still in his possession: he sent a small corps to secure Presburg, and the space along the river between these two towns was occupied by forts. On the 16th, his head-quarters were at Ebersdorf, near the high road leading to Brunn. On the 19th, the outposts reported that the enemy had taken possession of the isle of Lobau, that their numbers were increasing there, and that they seemed to be throwing a bridge across the great arm of the Danube behind the island. From the top of the Bisamberg the whole of the opposite country was covered with dust as with a rising mist; a general movement of troops could be perceived by the glitter of arms, beyond Summering towards Kaiser Ebersdorf, where Buonaparte had remo-

ved his head-quarters, that he might, by his presence, hasten and encourage the troops in preparing for the passage of the river.

Opposite to Kaiser Ebersdorf, about a league and a half from Vienna, by the right bank, and three leagues by the left, (the river making an arm which served at both its angles for a support to the developement of the French army,) the Danube is divided into three branches by its islands. The distance from the right bank to the first of these islands is about 480 yards, the isle itself something less than 300 in circumference. The second island, called In-der-Lobau is of considerable magnitude, not less than six miles long, and four and a half broad. The channel which separates it from the islet is 240 yards in breadth, and here the current runs with the greatest force. That which divides it from the large plain of Marchfield, on the left bank, is 140 yards across, the narrowest channel of the river; and here the passage may be made good by force of arms, because the extent of the island is such that troops and ordnance may be sent from many points. Molitor's division was conveyed in boats to the great island on the 18th: being in possession of this station, nothing could prevent the French from throwing bridges to the islet, and from thence to the right bank. They were constructed of the largest boats which are used upon the Danube, fastened together with cables, and moored together with double anchors. This work was completed on the 19th, and on the 20th, Buonaparte crossed in person to Inder-Lobau to superintend the construction of the third bridge; for this fifteen pontoons were sufficient, and they were fixed by Colonel Aubrey of the artillery within three hours.

At day-break that morning, Prince Charles reconnoitred the island with part of his advanced guard and some regiments of cavalry. It was soon perceived, by the strength of the French columns which advanced upon Lobau, and placed their cannon so as to support the passage, that a serious attack was intended. The advanced guard sustained a warm action with a party of the enemy, who, late in the evening, debouched from the low grounds on the edge of the river; and the Archduke, whose intention it was, not to defend the passage, but to attack the enemy in the Marchfield, retreated with his cavalry to Anderklaa, and ordered the advanced troops to fall back in masses, according as the enemy might extend themselves. Lassalles' cavalry, with the divisions of Molitor and Boudet, passed during the night.

May 21.

Early on the following morning, Buonaparte, accompanied by Berthier, Massena, and Lasnes, examined the left bank, and fixed upon the field of battle: they posted their right on the village of Esling, and their left on the village of Aspern, both villages were garrisoned. At the same time, Prince Charles ordered his army under arms, and formed it in two lines on the rising ground behind Gerasdorf, and between the hill of Bisamberg and the Russ. Hiller's corps formed the right wing near Hammersdorf; Bellegarde's was on its left, and Hohenzollern's next in a line with Deutsch Wagram. Prince Rosenberg's corps, posted by battalions in columns on the Russ, kept Wagram strongly occupied, having a division in reserve posted on the heights beyond that

place, for the support of the left wing. The whole of the cavalry under Prince Lichtenstein occupied the space intervening between Hohenzollern's left and Rosenberg's right. The grenadiers remained near Severing as a body of reserve, and part of the corps of Reuss, the general of artillery (which had been broken up by having many of its divisions detached to Krams) occupied the Bisam hill, and the low bushy ground along the river. The great open plain of the Marchfield was in front of the line,—a fit theatre for the bloody drama which was about to commence.

At nine in the forenoon, the archduke ordered the arms to be piled, and the soldiers to take their dinner. The picquet of observation on the Bisam hill reported, that the bridge on the right bank was now completely finished, and that troops were filing over without intermission, while others were crossing in boats to the island. The outposts brought in word, that the number of French was continually increasing in the town of Entzersdorf, and in Esling and Aspern, and advancing towards Herschstadten. Massena's corps occupied Aspern, and reached almost to Esling. Lasnes was posted at Esling, and Bessieres, with the light cavalry, and D'Espagne's division of cuirassiers, protected Entzersdorf, and, in the language of the French, covered the plain. The ground was favourable to the French, and they had well availed themselves of all its advantages. Esling and Aspern are both extensive villages, composed mostly of brick houses, and surrounded by mounds of earth, resembling bastions, between which a double line of trenches, made for carrying off the water, served as the curtain, and offered every possible security to the columns passing from the island. Esling had a granary furnished with loop-holes, and three stories high, so that it would hold several hundred men. The church-yard at Aspern served as another fortress. The left side of this village borders on one of the arms of the Danube. Both villages had a safe communication with the bushy ground near the river, from which the French had it always in their power to dispatch reinforcements unseen. The great island served at once as a place of arms in the rear, and a bridge-head to protect the main arm of the river.

The archduke's plan was to attack the enemy on their march between Esling and Aspern towards Herschstadten. The attack was to be made in five columns. Hiller's corps, forming the first, was ordered to advance between Spitz and Leopaldau, towards Stadelau and Aspern, keeping constantly near the Danube, and the meadows which bordered it. His instructions were to repulse the French, who would most probably meet him on the same road, drive them from the left bank, and not suffer himself to be impeded by the batteries which might be mounted on the islands, but endeavour to silence them, and continue resolutely to advance. Bellegarde, with the second column, leaving Gerarsdorf to the left, and marching towards Leopaldau, was to endeavour to join Hiller on the right, advance toward Kagrau, and then, conjointly with the third column on his left, push forward for Herschstadten. The third column, under Hohenzollern, was to march by Sussenbrunn and Breitenlehe towards Aspern, endeavouring to join the second column on its right, and the fourth on its left. Prince Rosenberg, with the fourth,

consisting of that part of his corps which was posted on the right bank of the Russ, was to advance by Anderklaa and Rasendorf toward Esling. The other part of his corps, which was stationed between Deutsch Wagram and Baumersdorf, formed the fifth column. It was directed to cross the Russ near Baumersdorf, endeavour to pass round the town of Enzendorf on the left, and secure its left flank by the Archduke Ferdinand's regiment of hussars. The reserve cavalry, under Prince Lichtenstein, was to march by way of Anderklaa, (taking care not to come in contact with the fourth column) between Raschdorf and Breitenlehe, and straight to New Werks Inn, keeping continually at such a distance from the heads of the third and fourth columns, as to be near at hand in case of necessity, and repel the main body of the enemy's horse. The grenadier corps of reserve was to march from Seiering, and occupy that position behind Gerarsdorf, which would be evacuated by the advance of Bellegarde's columns. A brigade of cavalry was attached to the second column, and a regiment to the third. The whole were to march by half divisions. General Klenau was to form the advanced guard of the fourth and fifth columns, and he was directed to suffer the heads of those columns to come quite up to him before he advanced, in order that he might have a sufficient support of infantry at hand. Prince Charles's station was with the second column. The objects which he proposed were to drive back the enemy entirely over the first arm of the Danube, destroy his bridges, and occupy the bank of the Isle of Lobau with a numerous body, consisting especially of artillery.

The day was remarkably fine. Just at noon the columns began their march, singing war songs to the sound of Turkish music, and at times shouting out acclamations of Long live the Emperor, long live the Archduke Charles! The outposts of the first column met within cannon shot of Stadelau, the enemy's picquets, who fell back upon their respective divisions. General Nordman, who commanded the advanced guard, ordered two battalions to draw up in *echellon*, to favour the advance of the column. The French stood directly before Aspern, drawn up in large divisions, having, to cover their front, occupied all the ditches, which served as excellent breast works. Their right was covered by a battery, their left by one of those broad and deep ditches which serve to carry off the water when the Danube overflows. On this side also they were covered by a piece of bushy ground, which they occupied with several bodies of men in close order. In addition to these advantages of situation, they could only be approached by a small bridge over the freshes, against which they kept up a vigorous fire from behind the ditches, both with artillery and musquetry. The second battalion of Gyulay effected the passage of this bridge, formed in line, charged the enemy with bayonets, drove them into the village of Aspern, and after a vigorous, but not very obstinate resistance, forced them out of it. This was Massena's post. Reinforcements came up to the French, and they retook the place; by this time more of the Austrians arrived, Gyulay formed again, a second time forced the French to the lower end of the village, and a second time the ground was recovered. Both parties were fully sensible of the importance of this position, and the contest was maintain-

ed for seven hours, with a resolution of which the Austrians had given no example from the commencement of the war, the volunteers of Vienna rivalling the veteran troops in steadiness and exertions. Every street and house was repeatedly lost and won; every wall served as a rampart, alternately attacked and defended by French or Germans, as each endeavoured to acquire or to maintain possession. Meantime the vanguard of the second column having, as it advanced, discovered the position of the enemy from the neighbouring heights of Herschstadten, detached General Winzingerode's brigades to assist the first column in its attack upon Aspern, while General Vecsey, with an equal detachment, went against Esling. The main body of the column deployed before Herschstadten in two lines, in order to support the advanced guard, and leaving Aspern to the right, followed at a proper distance on the plain. But Winzingerode met with such resistance at Aspern, that the Austrians perceived they could not succeed by attacking in front alone, and, therefore, the cavalry of this advanced guard was pushed forward on the left, to support the attack on the flank, with two batteries of horse artillery, and to facilitate a junction with the third column, which was advancing to Breitenlehe. At the same time the regiment of Reuss Plauen was ordered to the right of Aspern, with a view to an attack on that quarter, and the rest of the corps were formed into close columns of battalions. The left wing of the French, under Massena, made every effort to maintain this important post. They advanced on the main army with columns both of horse and foot, supported by a heavy cannonade. Twelve regiments of cuirassiers formed the centre of their second line. The battalion of Reuss Plauen was repulsed, and, having lost its commander, was thrown into disorder; it immediately rallied, and Bellegarde ordered General Bacquart, with the regiment of Vogelsang, to renew the attack, and carry the village at all hazards; he was assisted by a battalion of the Archduke Rainer, and by the brigade of Majer from the third column. To frustrate this attack, Massena advanced with two columns of infantry, supported by heavy cavalry, drove back the Austrian horse, and fell upon the foot, who awaited the charge, and kept up their fire so steadily, within ten paces, that the French were totally disordered. General Vecsey, with Klenau's division, pushed forward and attacked their cuirassiers, and compelled them to fall back; they were followed in their retreat by the infantry, and the enemy, contenting themselves with keeping up a cannonade, attempted no farther attack. Bacquart, meantime, finally carried Aspern by storm, though it was defended by 12,000 of the best French troops. The contest on the right of the village had not been less severe. The enemy's left flank was secured in that quarter by an arm of the Danube; thick underwood, only intersected by foot paths, covered his front, and a broad ditch and palisades served him for an entrenchment; but there also he was defeated. Aspern remained in possession of the Austrians; the whole extent of their line was disengaged from the French, and their communication was opened with Prince Hohenzollern.

The third column, under that general, met the left wing of the enemy, which consisted chiefly of cavalry,

under Lassalle, near Herschstadten. The first line formed in close columns of battalions and advanced upon them, but the French charged in such force and with such celerity, that there was scarce time to save the artillery which had been brought up. The battalions were broken on both wings and penetrated; O'Reilly's light horse attempting to support them was repulsed, and the French felt so assured of victory on this part of the field, that they summoned their antagonists to lay down their arms. The troops who stood in this perilous situation, were the regiments of Zach, Joseph Colleredo, Lettwitz, Froon, a battalion of Stein's, and another of the Archduke Charles's legion, under Generals Brady, Buresch, Majer, and Koller. Broken as they were, they were of good heart; they replied to the summons by a well-directed and destructive fire; their firmness disconcerted the enemy, who, when they fancied themselves conquerors, found they had yet to win the fight, and after a desperate action, here also the Austrians remained masters of the field.

The fourth column moved through Raschdorf straight for Esling; the fifth which was to attack the same place, made a circuit on the left in order to drive the French out of Entzendorf; but that little town was evacuated on their approach. Both then advanced upon Esling. The fourth was twice attacked by the enemy's heavy horse, and twice repulsed them. Of the fifth, two battalions marched directly upon the village, two more were ordered to penetrate its left flank and the little wood adjoining, while a force of horse and foot were in readiness on the plain to support them. These united assaults were twice repeated, the village was set on fire, and the enemy repulsed at all points and driven into it; but the safety of their retreat depended upon the possession of this point; fresh reinforcements were poured in as fast as they were required: the Austrians at the close of the evening were driven out, and the French remained masters of this contested position, the most important in the field.

Prince Lichtenstein, with the reserved cavalry, made his first movement against Nansoutz, and St Germain, who, with a squadron of from 4 to 5000 horse, threatened the fourth column; while he prepared to avert the danger by ordering troops to the left, the remainder of the French horse charged his right, but they were received with unexpected spirit, and completely repulsed. Buonaparte's aid-de-camp, General Durosnel, was taken prisoner a few paces only from Buonaparte himself.—Oh, that there had been a party of English cavalry then near him!—Prince Lichtenstein ordered a general advance; it straitened the enemy in his alignement between Esling and Aspern, but the flanking fire from the former place effectually protected him. The French made another charge with 3000 horse about seven in the evening, and were again beaten back. When the day closed, the Austrians had been successful upon three points, but they had failed at Esling. They passed the night under arms upon the field of battle, awaiting the return of day, when this desperate struggle was again to be renewed. As yet, neither party knew its own loss nor that of the enemy. During the night, Oudinot's corps, St Hillaire's division, two brigades of light cavalry, and more artillery, past over by the bridges to reinforce the French, and all the disposable troops

from Vienna and the upper Danube crost in boats as fast they could arrive. Prince Charles, on his part, ordered the grenadier corps of reserve from its position behind Gerarsdorf to Breitenlehe.

The few hours of night were scarce sufficient for these preparations. At four in the morning, Massena renewed the battle on the side of Aspern; Wacquant's troops, who were stationed there, were exhausted with the incessant fire which had been kept up in that quarter during the night, and their ammunition both for artillery and musketry began to fail. They were driven out. The regiment of Klebeck then attacked the French, and forced their way into the burning village; they also, after an hour's severe action, were compelled to fall back. The regiment of Benyowsky succeeded, and gained possession of the church-yard at the first onset. Hiller immediately ordered the walls to be demolished, and burnt the church and parsonage. Some battalions, commanded by General Bianchi, supported this regiment, and they were at length enabled to maintain their position at the entrance of the place. In the bushy ground on the left of Aspern, the French were in like manner successful at first, and finally driven back. During this contest, Bellegarde was about to reinforce Hiller's corps, when he perceived the French in heavy columns of horse and foot, supported by a numerous artillery, beginning to advance upon the centre of the Austrian corps in the plain. They had observed a wide space between the right and left wing of the Austrians, and there they had resolved to break the line. Lasnes led the attack; Oudinot was on the left, Boudet on the right, St Hillaire in the centre. Bessieres commanded the cavalry. Their infantry were drawn up in large divisions, and the whole of the heavy horse formed in masses between them. But Hiller's success at Aspern enabled Bellegarde to leave the defence of that post entirely to him, and act against the main body of the French. Leaving, therefore, his right wing upon the village, the possession of which had been so obstinately contested, he formed his left and centre in the direction of Esling and gained the right flank, while the whole force of the Austrian artillery was brought to bear upon the enemy's left. The main attack of the French was made upon the point where Lichtenstein's corps communicated with the left wing of Hohenzollern's. The French affirm that their attack was completely successful; that columns of infantry were cut down by their cuirassiers; that every thing was borne down before them in a moment; and that the Austrian army was on the point of being destroyed, when, at seven in the morning, just at this important moment, an aid-de-camp of Buonaparte came to him with information, that the bridges between the two islands, and between the lesser one and the right bank, were destroyed. According to the French bulletin, this dreadful accident, as it is termed, was occasioned by the sudden rise of the Danube; the melting of the snows had happened about three weeks earlier than usual, and the fresh had set afloat a great number of trees which were cut down during the operations before Vienna, and forced them against the bridges. The Austrians, on the other hand, say that they sent fire-ships down the river, and their account unquestionably is the true one.

Buonaparte says that this unexpected evil induced him to check his troops in the moment of their victory, because, in pursuing the enemy, they would have exhausted their ammunition which it was now impossible to replace, for the artillery and infantry cartridges were in the reserve park, and could not be brought across the river. He, therefore, ordered Lasnes to keep the field of battle which had been won, and take a position with his right wing at Esling, and his left resting on a curtain work, which Massena covered. The Austrians, with far greater probability, assert, that the most vigorous efforts of the French were made precisely at this time, and that, according to the report of the prisoners, Buonaparte rode through his ranks, told them that he had himself ordered the bridges to be broken down, and that there was no alternative but victory or death. The engagement now became general. Prince Charles himself seized the colours of one battalion, and gave new courage to those who had begun to give way. Most of those who surrounded him were wounded; Count Colloredo received a ball in his head so near him, that the prince took him by the hand, supposing him to be mortally hurt. The French at length fell back at all points. Hohenzollern took an advantageous position on his left near Esling, the reserve came up from Breitenlehe, and continued the attack upon the centre, relieving the exhausted battalions. Four battalions advanced up to the enemy's cannon, when they were flanked by so destructive a fire from Esling, that nothing but Prince Charles's presence could have made them maintain their ground.

Rosenberg, with the fourth and fifth columns, after resisting five charges of cavalry, attacked the village of Esling about eleven in the morning and made his way into it. But the salvation of the French depended upon maintaining this place till they could accomplish their retreat to the island. To this, therefore, their utmost efforts were directed. They drove out the Princes Hohenloe and Rohan, and Rosenberg was compelled to content himself with maintaining his own position for the security of the left flank of the army. The Archduke Charles was not more successful in his attempts upon this momentous post. Five times his troops rushed up to the very walls of the burning houses, and some of the grenadiers, in the heat of their fury, thrust their bayonets into the enemy's loop holes; but it was of no avail, and the Archduke ordered them at length to retire to their former station. They volunteered again to renew the assault, he felt it was hopeless and would not permit them, and at this time the French were in full retreat. The possession of this village enabled them to effect it in perfect order and safety during the night, and at three in the ensuing morning, their rear-guard evacuated Esling, and all the positions which they held on the left bank. Only 2,300 of the French were made prisoners. Of the Austrians, Field Marshal Weber, 8 officers, and 829 men were taken.

The Austrians denominate this dreadful engagement the battle of Aspern, the French call it the battle of Esling, each naming it from that point on which they were successful. Of all the actions which have been fought since the commencement of the French revolution, it was the most obstinate and the most bloody.

The carnage was indeed unexampled in modern history. The Austrians lost 87 superior officers, 4199 subalterns and privates in killed alone. 12 generals were wounded, 668 superior officers, 15,651 subalterns and privates, an aggregate of 20,612. That of the French cannot possibly have been less, and according to all reasonable calculation must have been considerably greater. They confessed only to 1100 killed, and 3000 wounded,—a proportion which is palpably and ridiculously false. The Austrian official account asserts that more than 7000 French were buried in the field, and that 5600 wounded were left there; that in Vienna and the suburbs there were 29,000 of the wounded; that many were carried to St Polten and as far as Lintz, and that dead bodies were daily thrown up by the Danube, and left exposed in the smaller arms of the river as the waters subsided. General D'Espagne was killed; and St Hillaire, who was mentioned in the bulletins as one of the first generals of France, was mortally wounded. Lasnes had his thigh broken by a cannon ball towards the close of the second day's action. He was carried on a hand-barrow to Buonaparte, with whom he had ever been a favourite, and who represents himself as saying at sight of him, "My heart required such a painful stroke as this to make me occupy myself on this day with any other care than that of my army." Lasnes was at this time senseless; he recovered himself, (so the bulletin pretends) and embraced Buonaparte, telling him, that within an hour he would lose one who died with the glory and the consolation of being his best friend. Amputation was performed, and he was supposed to be out of danger, but a fever supervened, perhaps induced, certainly aggravated, by the fears and horrors with which, far more than by any possible bodily suffering, he was now tormented; for now, when death and judgement were at hand, he remembered Zaragoza. The lamentations of this miserable man for the bloody services in which he had been employed became so public, that Buonaparte, whose withers were unwrung, is said to have sent him an angry message of reproach, adding, that if he continued thus to disgrace himself, he must no longer expect to be honoured with the emperor's visits. He died, after lingering nine days in this most dreadful of all conceivable states. His body was embalmed, and sent with all possible pomp to France, there to be interred with the honours due to his rank as Duke of Montebello. The poor wretch who was gone to his reward, had lived long enough to feel the worthlessness of such honours, and to curse the rank which he had so dearly purchased.

The Austrians asserted in their official account of this memorable battle, that the most complete victory had crowned their efforts. "For the first time," they said, "Buonaparte had sustained a defeat in Germany; from this moment he is placed on a level with many other bold and successful generals, who, like himself, after a long series of destructive achievements, have experienced the vicissitudes of fate. The charm of his invincibleness is dissolved. No longer the spoiled child of fortune,—he will be characterized by posterity as the sport of the fickle goddess. New hopes begin to animate the oppressed nations. This conflict, which will ever be memorable in the annals of the world, was decisive for the glory of the Austrian arms, for the preser-

vation of the monarchy, aad for the correction of public opinion." The emperor, delighted at the important and almost unhoped for advantage which had been gained, came himself to the army. Not satisfied with the personal expressions of his joyful gratitude to the archduke, he thanked him and his army again in a letter, which was inserted in the general orders. "Dear brother Charles," it said, "I did, it is true, yesterday express to you in person, my warmest thanks for the glorious victory you have gained; but this is not sufficient for my heart. I say it now, and I shall repeat it on every occasion, because I, whom divine Providence made the sovereign of a great monarchy, am utterly unable to reward you, my dear brother, your companions in arms, and my brave army, according to your deserts. It was reserved for you, the brother of my heart, the prime support of my throne, to interrupt, for the first time these fifteen years, the good fortune of the adversary. You are the saviour of the country, which, as well as the monarch, will eternally thank and bless you.

"With deep sensibility I yesterday observed the elevated courage and enthusiasm of the troops, and their manly resolution to assure by victory the independence of the monarchy. It was the sweetest moment of my life; a rare and heart-enlivening spectacle, and one which can never be eradicated from my mind. I beg you, dear brother, to declare this to my brave army, and to do every thing to preserve this rare spirit among them."

The men who fought at Aspern, and the general who commanded them, deserved these expressions of gratitude from their sovereign. They had checked Buonaparte in his career, and beaten him for the first time that he had ever been defeated in the open field. Nothing was wanting to the archduke's glory—but to have died before he sullied it. But high as this memorable battle raised his reputation and the character of the Austrian arms, the defeated army displayed a skill and resolution which perhaps were more remarkable. They had to effect their retreat over a single bridge to the island, and this they accomplished in perfect order, with scarcely any loss either of artillery or prisoners. Could the Austrians have broken down this bridge also, or could they have carried the village of Esling and crossed with the enemy in close pursuit, the destruction of the French would have been complete. Nothing could be more perilous than their situation, cooped up with all their wounded in this swampy island, their ammunition on the right bank, and no other way of reaching or receiving it than by the slow and hazardous means of boats. But when it was perceived that they were suffered to remain there unmolested, to effect their passage at leisure to the opposite shore, and begin again to throw their bridges over the Danube, the high hopes which had been entertained of happy consequences from this the first defeat of the arch-tyrant, gradually gave way to apprehensions of a different nature. Russia also had now entered the field. An army under Prince Gallitzin entered the Polish provinces, which had been seized by Austria at the partition; the Austrians had made no preparations for defence on this side, and the enemy therefore occupied the country without opposition. "Russia," he stated in his proclamation, "was bound by the most solemn trea-

ties to take part with France; she had done every thing in her power to prevent the war, and could now no longer hesitate to perform her engagement. The views of the Czar Alexander, however, were not hostile to the peaceable inhabitants of Gallicia, and amid all military operations, the security and safety both of their persons and property should be strictly respected." If these promises were performed, it is the first time that the Russians ever observed humanity in the seat of war.

CHAP. XXVI.

Schill's Insurrection and Death. Proceedings of the Duke of Brunswick. He is checked in his career by the recall of the Austrians. Battle of Wagram. Armistice between France and Austria. Brunswick fights his way to the Weser, and escapes to Heligoland.

The battle of Aspern was followed by a long interval of suspense, during which both parties collected all their force for a second and more decisive trial. Meantime a prospect of brighter hope than the victory of Austria could promise, opened for a moment upon Germany.

A Prussian officer, by name Schill, during the campaign of 1806 in Poland, when so many of his countrymen were displaying the foulest treason or the rankest cowardice, distinguished himself most honourably, and in particular by a number of sallies from Colberg. He was promoted for his good conduct to the command of a regiment, and became so popular in consequence, that the milliners at Berlin had their fashionable articles, *a la Schill*, for the ladies, and Schill snuff-boxes were manufactured for the men. Throughout the north of Germany, Sehill was the idol of the people,—tales of his courage, of his generosity, and of his famous exploits, were in the mouth of every one. Such a man could not bear to remain in inaction, while the fate of Germany was upon the hazard. His own unfortunate court was kept passive by its weakness and its fears. But the history of Germany had shown him that individuals, neither greater nor braver than himself, had raised armies and shaken empires to their foundation, and in such times, he might well hope to become another Wallenstein in a better cause. One evening, in the middle of April, having taken his regiment a little way out of Berlin to exercise as usual, he told them of his purpose, and asked who were willing to follow him. About 400 declared themselves ready for any service to which he would lead them, and they took the road for Saxony, scattering proclamations over the country.

April 16.

" Germans," said this heroic Prussian, " brethren who are groaning under a foreign yoke, the moment is arrived to break your chains, and again to establish a constitution, under which you have for centuries lived happy, till the boundless ambition of a conqueror has spread these

immeasurable miseries among us. Listen to me, and we shall be what once we were. Sound the alarm bells, and let the terrible sign of conflagration kindle the pure fire of patriotism in your hearts. To arms! to arms! the pike and the scythe will become deadly weapons in a brave man's grasp, till English weapons can supply their place. Let every one share in the glory of delivering his country, and win in battle repose and happiness for himself and his children. Let the coward who shrinks from this honourable call, be branded with extreme shame and detestation! to such a traitor, no German woman will ever give her hand! God is with us and our cause. The prayers of the aged will call down blessings on us. Austria is advancing; the Tyrolese have delivered themselves; the Hessians are in arms; —I too am hastening towards you, at the head of tried and determined soldiers. The just cause will soon be triumphant, and the former renown of our country will be restored. To arms! hasten to arms!" He was soon joined by considerable numbers, partly consisting of deserters from the different armies, wretches caring for nothing but plunder, and well pleased to follow a commander who must necessarily subsist by plunder, and whom they could at any time abandon when it suited their own safety; but his other followers were conscripts who fled to his standard, that they might shed their blood for the deliverance of Germany, rather than in fighting the battles of her enemy, and volunteers, high-minded youths and resolute men, some desperate because they had been deprived of all, others who abandoned all from a sense of duty.

The people of Saxony were in that state of mind, that upon the slightest success great numbers would have joined him: their king, who from pusillanimity rather than inclination, had betrayed the cause of Germany, had taken up his abode at Leipsic, lest Dresden should be attacked, though he hoped and imagined that his country would not become the seat of war. The city was illuminated in honour of the victory of the French at Echmuhl, and so little were these rejoicings in accord with the popular feeling, that the windows of the palace in which he resided were broken that night. But it was among the inhabitants of the new kingdom of Westphalia, that Schill expected to find most adherents;—even the Hessians, though they had been sold by their former princes like bullocks, were indignant at the manner in which their government had been usurped, and Colonel Van Dorenberg, following Schill's example, raised the standard of insurrection among them.

The seizure of the electorate of Hesse, by Buonaparte, has past almost without notice among the more extensive usurpations of that atrocious Corsican;—it was, however, an act of consummate perfidy and injustice. Immediately after the battle of Jena, the French government demanded of the elector, whether he would remain neutral in the Prussian war, and required as a pledge of neutrality that he should disband his army, which at that time consisted of 40,000 men. The elector being in no condition to refuse, complied, notwithstanding his attachment to Prussia, and retained only an establishment of 4000, who were dispersed through the country. A few weeks afterwards, 30,000 French and Dutch under Mortier and Louis Buonaparte, entered Hesse, proceeded towards Cassel, and

requested permission of the elector to pass through the town on their way to Hanover. No danger was apprehended; the next day was appointed for their passage, and their appearance was expected as a spectacle. They advanced in great numbers, the people high and low, and the elector himself among them, went out to see them march. Farther leave was requested, that they might encamp before the town that night; this also could not be denied, and the inhabitants were ordered to furnish the soldiers with whatever they wanted. Nothing which could in the slightest degree excite suspicion had occurred, and the astonishment of the people may be conceived, when day broke, and they perceived that the French had spent the night in erecting batteries and planting artillery against the town. An officer was soon sent to the elector, commanding him to disarm his soldiers immediately and surrender his capital. It was in vain that he protested against this infamous usurpation. Mortier replied, he had received orders from his sovereign to take possession of Hesse, and disarm the Hessian troops; that on the least demurral, he should proceed to enforce his orders; that the elector himself had seen how well able he was to execute the service on which he was sent; that three hours were allowed him to form his resolution, and that the French general expected he would leave Cassel before that term should elapse. What could be done? there were only 1800 troops in the city,—the elector left his capital and took the road towards Holstein, where his brother was governor, and the French entered as conquerors. But the indignation of the Hessian soldiers was excessive; they ran through the streets weeping for rage and shame, and exclaiming, that their prince did not think them worth being shot for him. The greater part of the cavalry mounted their horses, and resolutely left the city, determined to cut their way through the French, or die in the attempt, rather than submit to be disarmed. At this time, the French themselves had not yet lost all sense of honour or humanity;—it was the first service of impudent and naked villainy upon which they had been employed; they seemed ashamed of the vile business on which they were employed, and made scarcely any attempt to impede the passage of men, whose honourable feelings they could not but regard with envy. The foot soldiers could not escape in like manner; most of them, however, destroyed their arms. When the French came to the castle gate, to dismiss the guard and occupy their post, the subaltern officer of the guard, who was a venerable old man, stept forward,—"I have ventured my life for my prince," said he, and the tears burst from him as he spoke, "and I never yet surrendered my arms. You are the last who should have them." With that he dashed his sword upon the stones and broke it in pieces, and in a moment every soldier of the guard did the same. About a week afterwards, four millions of dollars were levied upon the town, the pictures and the museum were transported to Paris, the elector's palace gutted, and all effects that were not thought worth sending into France sold by auction.

The character of the puppet King of Westphalia, was not such as would reconcile an indignant people to their change of masters. Without virtue to resist the will of his brother like Lucien, and without ambition to

make him heartily co-operate in the nefarious career wherein he was engaged, Jerome Buonaparte abandoned himself to every species of licentiousness. This course of life had so wasted his constitution, that it was currently reported, he was ordered by his physician to bathe every morning in a tub of claret. The Brunswickers compared this wretch with their late prince, (a man excellent in all things, and void of blame, if his wretched manifesto could be blotted from remembrance)—they hated him for the contrast, and even the very peasants of those provinces where vassalage had been abolished by the revolution, despised the upstart. Dorenberg laid a plan for surprising and carrying him off; it failed, and Dorenberg finding that the people did not join him, and that the English, who were expected and earnestly hoped for in the north of Germany, did not appear, consulted his own safety by escaping as quietly as he could.

The accounts which have yet appeared of these important transactions are exceedingly defective. It is only known that Schill entered Wirtemberg, Dessau, Halberstadt and Halle, and many other places, seizing the public chests, stores, and arms whereever he could find them; that he traversed Saxony, Hesse, and Hanover, reached Lunenberg, and then hoisted the arms of Great Britain. But his hopes that a British force would land were disappointed. Buonaparte, fully aware how dangerous such an enemy might prove, ordered 60,000 troops to march against him from all quarters; and Jerome issued a proclamation, declaring that as he acted without any authority from his own sovereign, he was in the situation of a pirate at sea, and setting a price upon his head. From all quarters the troops of the various states of the confederacy, Dutch and Danes, the vassals and the more degraded people who cloaked their vassalage under the term of alliance, pressed upon him. After keeping the whole north of Germany in alarm, he was at length, with about 4000 men, compelled to recross the Elbe; he then overran Mecklenburg, took possession of Wiomar and Rostock, and at those places embarked his sick and wounded, meaning, as it appears, to put to sea, and secure himself in some island of the Baltic till the English should relieve him. But he was now closely pursued by a superior force of Dutch, under Gen. Gratien, and of Danes,—a brave and noble-minded people, doomed thus again to disgrace themselves, and serve the cause of the arch tyrant. After many skirmishes, in all of which he displayed his great military talents, he appeared before Stralsund, and *May 25.* overcoming the French and Mecklenburgers who were in garrison there, forced his way into the town. He has been reproached by the enemy with cruelty toward some of these men; the fact is, that a body of four or five score artillerymen, who had entrenched themselves behind their cannon, offered to parley on his advance. Accordingly he sent two officers to them: when these officers were half way up the street, they were treacherously fired upon and killed. Upon this Schill rushed to the cannons' mouth, and put every one of the party to the sword.

The fortifications of Stralsund, towards the formation of which considerable sums were contributed by Great Britain but a few years since, had been totally demolished by Buonaparte: six thousand labourers were

employed for several months in destroying them. The place had not been defended by Sweden as it ought to have been, and the evil of abandoning any defensible hold to the enemy was now severely experienced. Schill had little time to fortify himself, but he made the greatest exertions in what little was afforded him. There remained a deep ditch, and the ordinary walls and gates, such as served rather for the purpose of police than of defence. He cut trenches, planted batteries, and prepared to make as resolute a stand as the glorious Palafox. The combined Dutch and Danish troops arrived on the 31st, and forced an entrance through the Knieper gate. Schill's excellent companions formed in the town, and defended every street, fighting with a courage worthy of their cause against overpowering numbers: those numbers perhaps would not have been successful, if Schill had not fallen. Part of his corps escaped, some to the Isle of Rugen, others to the Isle of Usedam. An English frigate, had there been one at hand, might have saved them; but the English flag was not in sight, and they were pursued to their places of refuge and made prisoners. All the officers who were taken were delivered over to Buonaparte's bloody military tribunals, notwithstanding they had surrendered upon capitulation,—not at discretion. Not one was spared. Buonaparte knows that no new murders can heap additional damnation upon his head, and he never spares. Eleven of these brave men, some of them the flower of the Prussian nobility, were put to death as robbers at Wesel. They met their fate with an intrepidity worthy of the cause for which they suffered, waving their hats as they went to the place of martyrdom, and dying with exclamations of devoted and passionate patriotism. About twenty were in like manner murdered before the gates of Brunswick. During the night sandhills were heaped over their graves, and oftentimes, at morning, garlands were found lying there, and epitaphs expressing love and admiration of the dead, and invoking the vengeance of God and man upon the detested Corsican, and that degraded nation, which, submitting to slavery itself, became the willing and guilty instrument of enslaving others.

By the death of Schill, who, in the present ignominious state of Germany, might almost be called the last of the Germans, Buonaparte was delivered from the most formidable of his enemies. If only ten thousand English had arrived in the Elbe while Schill was in arms, the whole of Hanover, Hesse, and Brunswick would have risen upon their oppressors. The French well know how soon recruits may be made good soldiers, even when torn from their homes by violence, and marched in chains to the army: a month's discipline, with a man like Schill at their head, would have enabled men whose hearts were in the cause to have met the best troops in the field. Great Britain had let one favourable hour go by; another presented itself, and that also was lost. The Duke of Brunswick Oels had made a convention with Vienna when that court was preparing for hostilities, according to which he was to raise a corps of 1000 foot, as many horse, and 125 horse-artillery, at his own expence, as a prince of the German empire, while the court of Vienna pledged itself to support him as an ally. He was offered rank in the Austrian army; but this he declined, in order that he might main-

tain his independence, and on the first favourable opportunity enter the north of Germany. It is a proof how little the imperial court understood the real strength of their cause, that they should have wished to have the duke in their service, instead of leaving him at liberty, with all the influence of his name and his father's memory. In raising even the trifling force which had been stipulated, unforeseen obstacles occurred, and from a quarter where they ought not to have been expected. The Prussians impeded him by every means in their power; they represented the duke's designs in the most gloomy and hateful light; both in Silesia and on the frontiers of Bohemia, they stopped all the articles for arming and clothing the troops, which the duke had previously collected in Oels; they refused to let any of the horses pass, which he had bought on the frontiers of Poland, and they placed strong parties at the passes of their frontiers to prevent recruits from joining him. Measures so opposite to the true interest, and to all the feelings of the king, could not possibly have proceeded from him; fallen as he was, there was a dishonourableness in this conduct towards the son of a prince who had died in his service, to which even fear, the passion that of all others degrades man the most, could never have subdued him. These measures must be imputed to men who had sold themselves to France.

In consequence of these obstacles the duke could not take the *May* 12. field till the day on which Vienna capitulated, and then without his full number. He broke up from Brawnau and Nachod, in Bohemia, and marched to Turnau; having remained four days there to unite his corps, he proceeded to occupy the cantonments between the Riesen-gebirge, or Giant-Mountains, and the Elbe, from Neustadt to Rumburg, partly in order to cover the frontier of Bohemia on that side, partly because there he hoped to be able to complete his corps. He had given strict orders to commit no hostilities against the Saxons; but a body of Saxon troops, under Colonel Thieleman, which entered Bohemia, surprized ten of his hussars, and crossed the Elbe at Pirna to proceed against him. In consequence of this, and of the ill treatment which the prisoners received, the duke sent a detachment to enter Zittau, levy provisions at the enemy's expence, and watch the roads leading to Plauen and Dresden; but he gave orders that private property should be held sacred, and that every means should be used of alleviating the evils of war in favour of a brave and generous German people, who were compelled to act in a manner equally repugnant to their interest and their inclination. Several skirmishes of out-posts took place before the 30th of May, when the Saxons attacked the detachment at Zittau with very superior numbers, and forced it back to the pass of Grafenstein; then took possession of Zittau, where they quartered themselves comfortably, neglecting all due precautions, as if they had completely rid themselves of the enemy. The duke took advantage of this, surprised them in the night, forced the gates of the town, and drove them out of it.

Unfortunately the Duke of Brunswick was scarcely enabled to take the field before Schill was cut off, or their united corps might have formed a force which every success, however inconsiderable, would have augmented. But the duke singly was, as Schill had been, too weak for any

enterprize of moment; and after driving the Saxons from Zittau, ten precious days were lost while he waited to form a junction with the Austrian General Am Ende. This took place on the 10th, at Dippoldswalde: to deceive the enemy they sent a strong detachment to Pirna by Peterswolde, while they prepared to march at once to the capital. The Saxon commander, Thieleman, who, by commencing hostilities, had drawn the war into Saxony, was stationed with about 3000 men in and around that city: he retired to Altenburg as soon as he learned the real intentions of his antagonists, and on the evening of the 11th the combined corps entered Dresden. The Austrians took up their quarters in the city; Brunswick, who was more wary, took his station in the suburbs, ready for whatever might happen. Thieleman, recovering from his first panic, turned back towards the capital, and attacked the outposts of the enemy about seven miles off. At day-break the duke, with a reinforcement of 300 Austrian Uhlans and 150 Tyrolese Jägers,* advanced against him, attacked him in the position which he had taken, beat him from it, drove him from the defile of Wilsdruff, where he again attempted to make a stand, and pursued him about ten miles beyond that city, when, lest his troops should be exhausted by fatigue, he was compelled to halt. The action had lasted from five in the morning till two in the afternoon. Am Ende followed with the greater part of his army, but no representations or remonstrances on the duke's part could induce him to follow up the advantage which had been gained. Thieleman had all his reinforcements at Weissenfels, where he was to form a corps of 12,000 men, and his recruits, horses, and equipments of every kind were there. There the combined force ought to have advanced; at that time they might have made themselves masters of the town, and taken possession of these resources. But Am Ende protested that his instructions did not permit him to proceed farther; the duke was too weak to advance alone; and thus the Saxons had leisure to collect and equip fresh forces.

Crippled by his own weakness and the incapacity of the general upon whom it was his evil destiny to be dependent, the duke went into quarters in the neighbourhood of Meissen; there, and at Dresden, his force received an addition of 1200 men: it cannot indeed be doubted, that upon one signal success the Germans would have flocked by thousands to his standard. After seven precious days had been lost, he succeeded at last in persuading the imbecile Austrian to advance to Leipzig. They broke up on the evening of the 19th, and on the 22d fell in with the enemy, who had come out from Leipzig to meet them. The Saxons were driven back upon the city, which they immediately evacuated, and retreated to Lützen; their rear-guard was overtaken at the gates of Lützen; another battle was fought, they sustained another defeat, and were pursued about ten miles beyond Lindenau. They made a stand between Lützen and Weissenfels: here it was resolved to attack them. Brunswick had bivaqued before Lindenau, Am Ende behind Leipzig, and the former, in pursuance of their concerted plan of operations, advanced on the following morning. Thieleman, how-

* This word is equivalent to the *Chasseurs* of the French, and the *Caçadores* of the Portugueze.

ever, not waiting to be attacked, retired to Weissenfels, and barricaded the bridge of the Saale, which he occupied with a strong force. Finding this, the duke halted till Am Ende should come up, proposing, in conjunction with him, either immediately to force the bridge, or, crossing the river at Merseburg, to make a circuit from thence, and attack the enemy's position. Am Ende would do nothing but return to Leipzig, and the duke, in the bitterness of his heart, had no resource but to fall back also upon Lindenau.

The cowardice, or incapacity, or treason of this vile Austrian, enabled the Saxons to form a junction with Jerome Buonaparte's troops, under General D'Albignac, and to advance beyond Lutzen. Upon this the duke stationed his little army near Lindenau, behind the Elster, broke down the bridges, and sent to beseech Am Ende to hasten and support him, that they might wait for the enemy and give him battle in that advantageous position. Again this Austrian, who was worthy to have been aid-de-camp to General Mack, refused, and informed the brave Brunswick that he would immediately break up and retire to Dresden. However indignant, he was constrained to follow, and commenced his *June 24.* retreat that night. The enemy did not dare pursue him, weak as he was. Thieleman contented himself with entering Leipzig, and there dictating a lying account of the campaign to the editor of the newspaper, who was compelled to publish what he knew to be false, in order to serve a cause which every true German and every honest man held in abhorrence. On the 26th, the duke continuing his retreat arrived at Stauchwitz, and there he had the joy of meeting General Kienmayer, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the troops in Saxony and Franconia.

The first object of this new commander was to form a closer combination with the corps under General Radewojewich, which was stationed in the environs of Ober Mayn, to the end that by this means a force might be collected capable of destroying one of the enemy's corps either in Saxony or Franconia. With this view they broke up in four divisions on the 27th. One went to Meissen, to take possession of the bridge over the Elbe and of the defiles of Zaehren; another to reinforce the garrison of Dresden; both these were ordered in case of danger to retire to Bohemia. Kienmayer himself went to Bohemia to procure a reinforcement to be sent by way of Eger; the third and fourth divisions proceeded towards Nossen; Brunswick's corps was attached to these, and formed the rear guard. Just as the duke began his march, his spies brought word that the enemy having broken up from Leipzig, had already advanced to Waldheim, meaning, as was supposed, to prevent the junction with Radewojewich. They proceeded however to Nossen without interruption, but when the duke gained the heights of Kloster Zella, some of the Saxon patroles appeared, and presently after he was attacked. The action commenced about two in the afternoon, and continued eight hours, when the enemy after many skillful manœuvres being repulsed at all points, retired behind Ober Marbach, as if they intended to wait there for the morning. It was necessary to drive them from thence, in order to maintain a communication with the corps in Fran-

conia. The duke therefore marched to attack them at midnight; the watch-fires at their bivaque post were burning, but when the troops arrived, they found only some soldiers who had been left sleeping by the fire, so hastily had the army retreated.

After this victory, they drew nearer to the frontiers of Franconia. Kienmayer, who was now returned from Bohemia, received advice from Radewojewich, who was still at Baireuth, that a body of the enemy, from 10 to 12,000 strong, were advancing against him. This detachment was commanded by Junot, whom the convention of Cintra had saved from the vengeance of the Portugueze that he might amuse himself by playing tennis amid the ruins of Zaragoza, and perpetrate crimes of the same nature in Germany as in Spain. Punishment had nearly overtaken this wretch. Two Germans attempted to put him to death at Bamberg; he had debauched the sister of one, and violated the wife of the other: they failed, and were executed for the attempt. Kienmayer, whose whole force was scarcely equal to that of Junot, hastened to attack him before he could form a junction with the combined Saxon and Westphalian army, of which Jerome Buonaparte was the nominal commander. Being joined by Brunswick, he proceeded to Gefrus, when Radewojewich fell back upon them, fighting against a superior enemy as he retreated. Both parties now prepared for battle. The French drew up behind the defiles of Boaseneck, upon such favourable ground, that from every point in their whole position they could observe, at a distance of from two to three miles, every movement of their opponents. The duke commanded the right wing, Radewojewich the left, Kienmayer the centre. The enemy defended the defile till part of the Brunswick corps turned his left flank, and stormed a height which commanded it; they then discovered marks of irresolution, and, being pressed on all sides, gave way, leaving great part of their baggage and some hundred prisoners. The Brunswickers were in no condition to pursue; they had been marching incessantly from four o'clock in the preceding afternoon till mid day, and fighting for seven hours, under so oppressive a sun, that several men died in consequence of the heat. A violent storm, accompanied with heavy rain, favoured the French in their retreat. They crossed the Upper Mayn, fled to Baireuth, and not waiting to be attacked there, left that place in the night, and continued their retreat towards Amberg.

By this victory the Austrians recovered Baireuth, and became masters of a considerable part of Franconia; they were also enabled to march against Jerome Buonaparte, who was advancing in the hope of forming a junction with Junot. His force amounted to about 12,000 men,—which the bulletins, in their usual style of exaggerated language, multiplied five-fold; but he had 50 pieces of cannon, which were nearly four times as many as Kienmayer's united train. They fell in with his vanguard between Hoff and Plauen: from the rapidity of his march thus far, it was inferred that he was desirous of coming to action, and the allied troops, who wished for nothing more, quickened their steps to meet him. But Jerome, who regretted his capital, and his claret-bath, had no inclination for battle; perhaps the name of Brunswick struck him with some compunction as well as fear; he fell back

upon Schleitz, and began to throw up intrenchments. The duke advanced to drive him from this position, while the main body of the Austrians were posted in a situation to cover his retreat, if the attempt should prove unsuccessful. The attack was to have been made at one in the morning; bad and broken roads impeded the march of the Brunswickers, and when they reached Schleitz they found that Jerome had decamped: he continued to retreat from Neustadt by Kohla and Jena towards Erfurth, and thus the allies became masters of the provinces of the Upper Mayn and of the Middle Elbe, having baffled the operations of two corps of the hostile army, driving one back towards the Danube, and the other into the forests of Thuringia. Such was the situation of the war in this quarter, when the hopes of the duke were blasted by the unexpected cowardice of the imperial court.

Buonaparte knew better how to repair a defeat, than the archduke knew how to improve a victory. No sooner had he effected his retreat into the island, than he began to restore the bridges; this important work he was suffered to complete without molestation, and on the second *May* 25. day after the battle, the wounded, and whatever was not needful upon the island, were removed to the right bank. These bridges were hastily constructed, and on the night of the 26th the fresh carried them away. The work was immediately renewed, and the most effectual means were taken to secure its stability. General Bertrand had the direction of this great undertaking. He threw three bridges over to the right bank; the first of these, built upon sixty arches, was wide enough for three carriages to pass abreast; another eight feet broad, for the passage of infantry, was raised upon piles, and the third was a bridge of boats,—so that the French could now pass to the great island in three columns at once. Stoccadoes raised on piles between the islands, and in different directions, secured them against fire-ships, or any thing which might be floated down. They were defended by bridge-heads, each 1600 fathoms in extent, formed of redoubts and surrounded by palisades, frizes, and wet ditches. The works on the great island were strengthened with the utmost care, so that it was made a complete fortress, only to be approached by trenches; the ramparts being furnished not only with 18 and 24 pounders, but also with 30 and 60 pounders, and with ten-inch mortars. These precautions, while they reproached the Austrians for their ruinous inactivity in not pursuing the victory which they had gained, and following the French to the island, rendered any future attempt upon it hopeless. From thence to the left bank opposite Esling Massena constructed another bridge, covered by the bridge head which had originally been formed to secure the passage, and which the Austrians had not ventured to attack. General Le Grand occupied the woods in front of this.

Meantime both parties collected all the force they could for the approaching contest. The Archduke John, recalled from Italy, where he had commenced a campaign successfully, made himself master of Padua and Vicenza, and threatened Venice, was closely pursued on his retreat by Eugene Beauharnois, the viceroy of Italy,

and worsted in several actions. The most severe was fought *June.* 15. near Raab, where, through the unsteadiness of his raw levies, he lost above 3000 men. Raab was then invested, and fell in eight days. Important as this place was, the Austrians had left only an insufficient garrison of 1800 men to protect it, and a large entrenched camp, where they had constructed immense works, meaning there to collect and discipline the Hungarian levy in mass. The Italian army now formed its junction with Buonaparte. Presburg was next attacked by the French; but, perceiving that it did not surrender upon the first bombardment, they desisted; Buonaparte, according to his constant system, neglecting all inferior things for the purpose of accomplishing the main object. The Archduke John, who was retreating after his defeat at Raab towards Comorn, advanced now to Presburg. The enemy had at this time made themselves completely masters of the Danube, having taken possession of all the islands which could impede their passage, or assist their operations. As if sure of victory, they new-named these important positions, which the Austrians by their negligence or incapacity had abandoned to them. The island of Lobau was called Isle Napoleon. Buonaparte removed his head-quarters to this place on the first of July, encamping there in his splendid tents, which were made after the Egyptian fashion. Sixty-two pieces of battering cannon were mounted upon these islands, all destined to bear upon the little town of Entzendorf. One of these islands was called D'Espagne, the other Montebello, after the two generals who had fallen in the battle of Aspern. Eighteen pieces were planted upon Isle Alexander (so called in honour of the czar) to the right of Lobau; these were to bear upon the March-field, and protect the operation of the bridges. On the 2d St Croix, Massena's aid-de-camp, took possession of another islet called the Mill Island, which was connected with the left bank by a little bridge: here he threw up works, for the purpose of deceiving the Austrians, and making them suppose that Esling would be attacked from this point; the stratagem succeeded,—their attention was diverted to this place from the real point of danger, and the redoubts at Esling kept up a vigorous fire here.

Prince Charles, imagining that the second battle would be fought upon the same ground as the first, had thrown up lines, of which the right was protected by Aspern, the left by Entzendorf: they were covered by redoubts, surrounded by palisades and frizes, and defended by more than 150 pieces of cannon. Perceiving, however, on the evening of the fourth, that his left wing was in danger of being surrounded, so many of the French had crost the river, he sent orders to the Archduke John to join at Marcheck with his corps, and act in concert with the wing which was endangered. There appeared no impediment to this. The order was delivered on the morning of the fifth of July, and the general expected that the battle would begin on the morrow. For the second time in this campaign he was a day too late in his calculation. At ten on the night of the fourth, 1500 French crossed in gun-boats from the right bank, silenced the Austrian batteries, and drove their troops from the woods of Muhllenten. At eleven the batteries from the three islets opened on Entzendorf, and that place was soon

in flames. St Croix crossed with 2500 in barges from the great island, to the left also of the enemy's works, to cover the construction of the bridges which Dessales and the engineer of the marine had prepared. One eighty toises long, of a single piece, the first of the kind which had ever been made, was fixed in five minutes; a bridge of boats was fixed in an hour and a half; one of rafts in two hours. They now possessed four bridges, three of which were unknown to the Austrians; the night being utterly dark and the rain falling in torrents, favoured their movements, and when morning opened, to the utter astonishment of Prince Charles, Buonaparte had arranged his whole army in order of battle at the extremity of his left wing, having turned all his entrenched camps and rendered all his works useless. By six o'clock all his fortifications between Esling and Entzendorf were taken, and almost the whole of the garrisons killed or wounded. One battalion repulsed the French at Entzendorf in two assaults, but it exhausted all its ammunition, and at the moment that a supply arrived, the enemy entered the place.

The Archduke Charles, having recovered from the unavoidable dismay which he felt at finding the whole labour of forty days rendered useless, and himself thus completely out-generalled, endeavoured to outflank the right of the French. Buonaparte, on the other hand, attempted to break through the centre of the Austrians, behind the Russbach near Wagram. They mutually failed; yet one column of the enemy, which made its attack through a hollow pass leading from Baumersdorf, charged with such well-directed vigour, that the battle must then have been decided, had not Bellegarde and Prince Charles rallied the retreating troops, and encouraging them by personal exertions, brought them again to the charge. When the day was nearly at a close, it became of great importance to the French to take possession of the village of Wagram,—they succeeded in winning the entrance from Anderklaa; but a column of Saxons and of French mistook each other in the darkness, and the loss and confusion which this occasioned enabled the Austrians to recover the post. The place, however, had been burnt down in the contest. One house escaped the flames, and from this Prince Charles issued his instructions for the action which was on the morrow to decide the war; they were sent forth so late that the distant corps could not receive them in time to fulfil their appointed parts.

The Austrian army was thus posted on the night of the 5th. The left wing, under Prince Rosenberg, occupied Markgraf, Neusiedel, and the heights to the right; he was charged to secure a communication with the Archduke John near Siebenbrunn; to this wing Field Marshal Nordman united the vanguard, which was placed near Entzendorf. Close to this, Hohenzollern with the second corps, occupied Baumersdorf and reached behind that village; the space between that place and Wagram was taken up by the first corps, under Bellegarde. Prince Charles was with this part of the army. These three corps were formed in two lines fronting towards Russbach, the banks of which were filled with riflemen; at the other side there was a chain of field-posts. The reserve cavalry, under Lichtenstein, were placed between Wagram and Gerarsdorf; four regi-

ments, commanded by General Noslitz, were stationed behind the right of Markgraf and Neusiedel, to support Nordman. General Baron Frelich was near Ober Siebenbrunn with some divisions of hussars, to observe the motions of the left flank. The corps of grenadiers bivaqued before Sauring, and Kollowrath, with the third corps, near Hagenbrunn. Neither of these corps had been engaged, the former having been intended as a reserve in case of any unexpected reverse, the latter having been kept inactive by a feint of the enemy, who were in some strength at Nussdorf, as if they designed an attack upon the hill of Bisamberg. The first day's battle was over before it was discovered that this was only a feint, and this, therefore, in some degree contributed to the ill success of the Austrians. Klenau, with the sixth corps, was on the heights of Stammersdorf, having his outpost toward Gerarsdorf and Leopaldau. Prince Reuss, with the fifth, was placed as a corps of observation on the Bisamberg hill, the Black Lake, and the Upper Danube as far as Krems. Exclusive of this latter corps which was not engaged, the Austrians were 100,000 men, with 410 pieces of cannon, even after the loss of their lines, and the dreadful slaughter which had been made in the first day's battle.

At four in the morning of the 6th, Rosenberg's corps moved on in three columns, two destined to take the villages Grosshofen and Glinzendorf, the third, consisting of cavalry, was to cover their left flank. They fell in with D'Avoust's division, which was marching from the right of the French to the centre. Buonaparte, immediately upon hearing the signal of battle, repaired to this point, ordered Arighi (Duke of Padua) to reinforce D'Avoust with his division of cuirassiers, and attacked Rosenberg in flank by a battery of 12 guns belonging to the division of Nansoutz. A strong column of the French passed the Russbach near Lorbersdorf, and advanced to Ober Siebenbrunn. This was so important a movement that it prevented the cavalry from keeping on a line with the other two columns, yet it had been so little foreseen, that no means of preventing it had been arranged, and the French effected it without opposition. Just, therefore, as Rosenberg was preparing to storm the two villages, he received orders from the Archduke Charles to halt, because the corps which was to aid in the attack was not yet arrived: there was no appearance of the Archduke John, and in this situation he was in danger of being overpowered. The French took advantage of the evident confusion of the enemy, redoubled their fire, silenced some of the batteries before Neusiedel, and Rosenberg, after sustaining a heavy loss, returned under protection of the vanguard to his old position.

The French reproach the archduke with having weakened his centre to extend his extremities. It seemed, they say, as if he had not the victory to fight for, but was looking only to the means of improving it; and the disposition which he made appeared so absurd, that Buonaparte apprehended some snare, and delayed some time before he ordered the easy dispositions which were required to disconcert all the plans of his rival, and render them fatal to him. But when he heard that the Austrians were outflanking his left, and making their main attack upon the line between Aspern and Wagram, he considered this as an enormous

fault, which gave him all the advantage he could desire. The Austrians themselves seem to admit the errors with which they are charged. He ordered Macdonald to form two divisions in columns of attack. Lauriston preceded them with 100 pieces of artillery, brought them to within half gun-shot of the enemy's centre, and then opened a tremendous fire, which silenced his guns and broke his ranks. Macdonald immediately charged,—he was supported by a brigade of fuseliers and sharp-shooters,—and the Austrians, completely broken by this tremendous charge, fell back. The right wing of the Austrians, alarmed at this, fell back also, and was as rapidly pursued by Massena. D'Avoust, at the same time, having carried the position of Neusiedel, attacked the left, outflanked it, and from that moment the coming up of the Archduke John became unavailing.

That Prince arrived near Ober Siebenbrunn at four in the afternoon, when the fate of the day and of the war was decided; he took some prisoners in the rear of the enemy, and was glad to retreat unperceived by the Marchfield. The loss of the battle was imputed by the Austrians to his delay, the cause of which has never been explained; there seems, however, ample reason to believe that his presence would have made no material difference in the result. For it is evident that Prince Charles was completely out-generalled, and deceived both as to the time and the place of attack which he expected. We have the testimony of the enemy's statement, and it appears to be admitted by the Austrian accounts, that in the battle he committed the grievous error of weakening his centre, in spite of repeated experience, and we have his own testimony that his troops behaved ill. They were in great part, probably not less than half of them, raw levies, who were naturally enough panic-stricken at the very commencement of the action, when they saw that all the works upon which they had been employed for six weeks were rendered useless at once by a manœuvre of the French. Some regiments marched too soon, some too late, some did nothing but wander here and there;—one line fired on another;—several regiments were so crowded that they galled each other with their fire;—some cried forward, where there was no enemy, and some even cried out with fear. The Archduke Charles declared on the day after the battle, that every regiment which should conduct itself as the left wing had done should be decimated and broken-up, the commanding officers cashiered, and the rest dismissed, and that cries of alarm should be punished with death. But these orders came too late; the evil was done, and the want of courage, of principle, and of honour, on the part of the imperial court, rendered it irreparable. A dreadful circumstance took place after this day's battle; between 2 and 3000 wounded men, mostly Austrians, were lying in a field of rye, which took fire, and most of them being unable to move were thus miserably burnt to death.

The French asserted that they took 20,000 prisoners, and that their own loss was only 1500 killed, and from 3 to 4000 wounded. Bessieres had a horse shot under him, Lasalle was killed: it was by this general's division that the sixteen stragglers from General Hope's army were butchered in Spain, and it is to be regretted that he died before an opportunity offered of inflicting vengeance upon

him for their murder. As early as ten in the forenoon, the Austrians began to retreat; by twelve they were in disorder; and before night, they were out of sight. The left of the victorious army, at the close of the day, was posted at Jefelsee and Ebersdorf, their centre upon Obersdorff, and the cavalry of the right extended their posts as far as Schonkerchen: The defeated troops, now hourly reduced by desertion, were cut off from Hungary and Moravia, and had only to fall back upon Bohemia. At day-break, on the 7th, the French were in motion. Massena pursuing the enemy by Stokerau, reached Hollabrunn. Marmont (Duke of Ragusa) took the road of Znaim, whither the emperor had fled; he was at Erensbrunn on the day of the last battle, retired to Hollabrunn the next, and escaped from thence before Massena arrived. On the tenth, Marmont reached the heights of Znaim, and saw the Austrian baggage and artillery filing off toward Bohemia; Bellegarde wrote to him, saying, that Prince John of Lichtenstein would repair to Buonaparte on a mission from the emperor, and requesting, therefore, a suspension of arms. Marmont replied, he would make this known, but to grant a suspension was not in his power; then suffering no opportunity of advantage to be lost, he attacked Bellegarde, and drove him from a strong position. Massena joined Marmont here, and the next day they made a combined attack upon Znaim. Buonaparte arrived during the action, and hearing Lichtenstein was arrived at the French posts, ordered the firing to cease. The Austrian prince was empowered to conclude an armistice, by which Buonaparte gained, as usual, more than a victory could have given him; it stipulated that the citadels of Brunn and Gratz should immediately be evacuated, that the Austrians should withdraw from the Tyrol and Vorarlberg, and that the Fort of Sachzenbourg should be given up to the French. The line of demarcation was to be the frontier which separates Austria from Bohemia, the circle of Znaim, that of Brunn; a line drawn from the frontier of Moravia towards Raab, beginning where the circle of Brunn ends, near the Marsh, following the Marsh to its conflux with the Taja, and from thence to St Johann on the road to Presburg, and a league round the town; the great Danube to the mouth of the Raab, and the Raab to the frontiers of Stiria, Carniola, Istria, and Fiume. The armistice was to continue for a month, and fifteen days notice were to be given before the recommencement of hostilities.

In the various actions, from the fifth, when Buonaparte crossed the Danube till the armistice, the Austrians stated their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners to be 17 generals, 847 officers, 30,471 men, and 4100 horses; that of the French they computed to be one third less. The war proved fatal in its consequences to one of the most philanthropic and excellent men of the age, Leopold Count Berchtold,* foster brother to the Emperor Joseph, a man, of whose earnest desire to mitigate the evils of poor humanity, al-

* Some account of this extraordinary man is to be found in "Southey's Letters from Spain and Portugal." vol. ii. p. 132. It is to be hoped a more ample memorial will appear of one who has deserved to be called the Howard of Germany.

most every language in Europe, and some of those of the east, bear witness. He converted his fine castle of Buchlowitz in Moravia into an hospital for the sick and wounded Austrians, and contracted an epidemic fever in attending them, which terminated his earthly existence. Count Leopold lived to see the disasters of that imperial house, to which he must have felt something more than a loyal attachment; it was happy for him that he did not live to witness its debasement.

It is recorded of the Emperor Maximilian I., that when he renewed the treaty of Cambray with the French king, he destroyed a book in which he had registered all the injuries and insults sustained by his family, or by the empire, from France. His representatives followed the convenient precedent; immediate safety and probable aggrandizement were held out to them in a secret lure by Buonaparte, at the price of dishonour, and dishonour was an easy price to minds like theirs. Courtesies and compliments were exchanged between Buonaparte and the house of Hapsburgh; and while Europe expected that the severest terms would be imposed upon the vanquished, an arrangement was made more infamous than any person ventured to surmise. This, however, was not yet to be made known. Meantime, Buonaparte and his vassal-princes proceeded to crush those insurrections, which were far more dangerous than the enmity of the Emperor of Austria.

When the news of the armistice reached Saxony, a report prevailed that the English had landed between the Elbe and the Weser in considerable force. This report originated in an attack made by a squadron of our small craft upon the battery at Cuxhaven; they succeeded in storming it, and then blew it up, and having hoisted English colours on the French flag-staff, aud those of Hamburgh on the castle of Ritzbuttel, gave the town in trust to the civil governor, and re-embarked. This event was easily magnified among a people ready to believe every light rumour of what they hoped, and so reasonably expected. The Duke of Brunswick hearing the report, determined to march towards the North-Sea, and form a junction with the English; the armistice left him no alternative but that of sinking into dependence upon the Austrian court, or fighting his way to some place from whence, if he could not join the English, he might embark for England. It was stipulated between Buonaparte and the emperor, that the Austrian troops should evacuate Saxony by the 27th. On the 21st, the duke began his march from Schleitz, in Voigtland, to Zwiakaw; this deceived the enemy as to his real intention, for Zwiakaw was in the road to Bohemia, and they therefore imagined that he was about to follow the movement of the Austrian army, with which he had acted. Some detachments of Jagers and Uhlans which had remained at Eger joined him at this place, from whence his purpose was to take the road through Leipzig to Halle.

But before the duke left Zwiakaw, he learned that some of his officers appeared discontented; upon which, on the day of his departure, when the whole troops were drawn up under arms, he called the officers together, told them of his intentions, that there was reason to hope the English had landed in the north, and reason also to calculate upon the co-operation of the people in that

quarter. This was the best, perhaps the only way of serving the Austrian army and the common cause; undoubtedly it was a difficult march, many obstacles would be opposed to them by an active enemy, but courage and perseverance might overcome them; and he did not doubt that from their principles of honour, and their zeal for their country, they would follow him. To his shame and astonishment, all the officers of cavalry, except ten of the youngest, declared their determination of quitting him, and they attempted to persuade the hussars also to desert their leader. Brunswick appearing not to notice what he had not in his power to punish or prevent, ordered the troops to march, leaving these officers behind. After they had been two hours on the road, he bade them halt, explained to them the reason of the officers' desertion, promoted others in their places, and dismissed those soldiers who desired to leave him. Enough availed themselves of this dismissal to leave him uniforms for 300 recruits, who were immediately added to the corps.

They marched by Altenburg and Berna towards Leipzig. A troop of Saxon cavalry were stationed before that city to impede them, but the Brunswickers attacked and routed them, and proceeded without farther interruption through Merseburg, Halle, Heltstadt, Ermsleben and Quedlinburg. Here they learned, that General Reubell's corps were advancing against them from Bremen, and that the fifth Westphalian regiment of infantry had been ordered from Magdeburg to reinforce him. Upon this, they quickened their march to overtake this regiment before it could effect its junction with Reubell. They came up with it at Halberstadt, and found the gates shut. Reluctant as Brunswick was to commit hostilities against a German city, it was impossible to suffer 3000 enemies, a force superior to his own, to remain in his rear, and he was compelled to force an entrance. Ladders were laid to the walls, and the men, not disheartened by the failure of their first attempt, persevered in mounting; the gates, themselves strong and iron-bound, had been barricaded with strong beams; one was forced with howitzers,—a second hewn down with hatchets,—a third burnt. Even when this was done, a perilous service was yet to be performed before they could enter the town. The vaulted passages had been filled with laden dung-carts, and other obstructions, all which were to be cleared under a constant fire of small-arms;—and when this was effected, the enemy threw themselves into the houses, and fired from the windows. The Brunswickers pursued them with cries of Long live our Duke—long live the black Jagers!—they broke into the houses and bayonetted them. Several houses could only be taken by entering from above, and the assailants crawled one by one over the roofs of the adjoining buildings to force an entrance. About six in the evening the action began, and it was not concluded till five in the morning, when all the surviving enemies were made prisoners, amounting to 1600, besides officers. Ten of the duke's officers, and several hundreds of his bravest men were killed and wounded. The commander of the Westphalians was the French captain who brought Jerome Buonaparte from America; he had been rewarded for escaping the English with a German title, and was at this time

Count Wellingerode, and marshal of the upstart's palace. The duke secured this prisoner as a hostage for the safety of his own wounded men, whom he was compelled to leave behind; the other officers were released upon binding themselves in writing, not to serve against the duke or his allies till they had been exchanged.

July 31. The day after his victory, he proceeded through Wolfenbuttel, and entered Brunswick,—a mournful entrance both for himself and his loyal people. Welcome him they could not, for he came as a fugitive, hunted by enemies on all sides, but they crowded round him to express with tears and lamentations their affection to that family, which had made their country one of the happiest and most flourishing provinces in Germany. How ardently they were attached to their lawful sovereign, they had strikingly expressed in an address which they presented to him, when first they knew that it was intended to dethrone him, and deliver them over to a stranger. The address is one of the most affecting state papers upon record. "Most illustrious duke," they said, "most gracious prince and lord! It is said—but may the all-bountiful Providence prevent its ever being realized—that the destiny which is now spreading over Europe, threatens us also: They say, what none of us can hear without trembling, and what none of us can express without turning pale, that this threatening destiny is seeking to separate the happiest people on earth from its all-honoured, all-admired, and all-beloved father; that it would give him other subjects who are not his children, and give us another prince who is not our father. If this dreadful fate could be bought off with our blood, oh! how willingly, how joyfully, would we shed it to the last drop, to ensure to our children that enviable situation which we have hitherto enjoyed! But alone, what can our small number effect against the iron hand of that destiny, which has subjugated people an hundred times greater than ourselves, and which seems to threaten as if it would toss about all states like a shuttlecock? We can effect nothing by our arms; but only through God and your grace, our great and good father, can we possibly be saved. Before God, therefore, we shall prostrate ourselves, anxiously crying, Preserve! oh preserve! what thou hast given us—the best, the most gracious, the wisest of all princes. To you we stretch our trembling arms and pray—have mercy upon our children!—Preserve yourself for them as long as Providence, moved by our prayers, shall prolong a life so valuable to the world and us. You can do it, great and good father! for where is the country where the fame and high reputation of your governing virtues have not extended? One word from you, and even that fate which now decides upon the lot of nations shall pay homage to your virtue! One word from you, and your children, your happy, grateful children, shall be saved! Oh, speak this word, and speak it so clearly and intelligibly, that the world and posterity may pay you that deference already due to the many rare examples you have shewn, to which you will add the most precious of all others—that of a prince who has no wish to extend his territory or increase his external greatness, but only desires to preserve the happiness of his legitimate subjects. To us, whom Providence has been

so gracious as to give such a prince, may our great and good father still remain our all—our just pride—our benefactor: the beautifier and the augmenter of our ameliorating situation, and flourishing commerce, our increasing intelligence; our emulative arts and sciences; our improved system of infantine education; our well-regulated public seminaries; our religious belief, and the freedom of the press; our wise laws, and their fatherly application. All these are thy works, dear father of the country! And for their preservation for our children, we shall again thank you while intoxicated with delight, and with weeping eyes, thanking God also from the bottom of our hearts, with our uplifted arms, trembling with joy, we offer you the most free and unsullied homage ever yet offered by man—that of hearts deeply affected, and scarcely able to contain their happiness. For it is our highest pride, our most anxious wish, so long as we live—yea, and if possible, beyond the grave, in our children, and their latest descendants, to pay no allegiance but to you and your princely posterity, and most sensibly to continue to subscribe ourselves, with the most unfeigned devotion, the most happy, grateful, and obedient children of our great and good father,

"ALL THE BRUNSWICKERS."

Even these feelings were in vain; Brunswick was too weak to resist alone, and the Corsican, having abandoned himself to the principle of evil, was insensible to any other motives of conduct, than that of boundless and remorseless ambition. The situation of the duke, now that he had reached the city of his fathers, was perilous in the extreme. He had destroyed one force at Halberstadt, but another from that quarter was close upon his rear. Gratien, with a corps of Dutch, was in pursuit, hoping to accomplish another service, not less desired by the arch tyrant and his vassals, than the death of Schill; and at the moment that he was about to renew his march, tidings arrived that Reubell's troops were approaching from Celle through Ohof. This corps had originally been destined to protect the coast down the Elbe and the Weser from an English disembarkation, but it was now ordered to cut off the duke's retreat, by interposing between him and Cuxhaven. Thus, in danger of being overpowered by superior numbers, the duke had no other means of avoiding destruction, or even of protracting it, than by venturing a battle against Reubell, though he could obtain no accurate information of his strength. At three in the afternoon, therefore, he advanced against him, presenting only an extended line of riflemen, and concealing the greater part of his troops behind the heights. A desultory action was carried on for eight hours, till the darkness put an end to it; the Brunswickers failed in their attempt to dislodge the enemy from the village of Oelpern: and the duke, in leading the attack, had his favourite horse shot under him. Reubell on his part was equally unsuccessful in endeavouring to drive the Black Legion (as it was called) from its position, which was very favourable on account of the numerous hedges and ditches with which it was intersected. During the night, the duke made preparations for storming the village at daybreak; but when he was about to

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move forward with that intent, intelligence arrived that the enemy had returned by Ohof towards Celle. By the accounts of the prisoners, it appeared that their force had consisted of from 4 to 5000 men.

At this moment, when Brunswick was making arrangements for pursuing the enemy and following up his victory to the utmost, sixteen officers, intimidated by the reports of the strength of the enemy in their rear, came to beg their discharge. Some excuse is to be found for them in the hopeless prospect of banishment, which was all that they had before them,—but even if they had so far subdued their own feelings of patriotism and of shame, as to be contented to live under a foreign tyranny in their own country, still they were bound by honour to accompany their prince and leader, till they had seen him embarked in safety. But these men seem to have had no honourable feeling left, so completely had their fears mastered them. They went to their prisoner, Count Wellengerode, and solicited a certificate under his hand, that they had of their own free accord demanded and obtained their discharge, and they endeavoured to persuade the other officers to follow their example. The duke himself they advised to consult his own personal safety by capitulating. Such advice was heard by him with the contempt which it merited. He declared to his assembled officers, that he would rather perish than submit to the disgrace of surrendering, but that he would not detain any one who felt appalled by the impending danger. They who wished to secure themselves by submission, were free to depart, and for those who remained true to him to the last, all he could now promise was, that he would live or die with them, and share with them the last morsel of bread.

It was now known that there was no hope of an English army landing at Cuxhaven; all that had been done in that quarter was, that a party of marines and sailors, in the true English spirit, provoked that the French had come near enough to Cuxhaven to endanger some of the officers who were on shore, marched eight-and-twenty miles to Gessendorf, frightened, rather then beat, about 250 French, horse and foot, out of a town which they might easily have defended; carried off their powder and six waggon loads of confiscated merchandize, and then returned in triumph to their ship without the loss of a single man, and having been only four-and-twenty hours absent. It was, however, poor comfort for the Brunswickers to hear of the bravery of the English, when it was exerted upon no greater scale; they gave up their plan of marching for Cuxhaven, and determined to proceed to the left bank of the Weser, in order to embark at Elsfleth and Bracke. The pursuit of Reubell was abandoned, because it was reported that he was about to receive a reinforcement of Danish troops; because it was not likely that he would suffer himself to be brought to action before his succours joined him; and, above all, because the duke's sole object now was to effect his escape, and if that could be done without a battle, it was well to spare the blood by which an incomplete victory must be purchased. Fifty horse were sent to press on his rear-guard, that they might suppose the whole black legion was in pursuit, and this succeeded so well, that Reubell, flying before those who did not pursue, left ten waggons with his

wounded to their mercy, an officer of the staff recommending them in a letter to the protection of the conqueror.

Every means was now used to expedite their march and to deceive the enemy. They proclaimed every where, that if the landing of the English did not take place immediately, they would repair to Cassel and raise the Hessians; this was done to mislead the enemy, and, with the same intent, they sent orders in opposite directions to provide for the troops. All the carts and horses which they did not employ themselves, were sent several miles out of the way; and they conveyed their own infantry in carriages to save them the fatigue of forced marches. In this manner they hastened on towards Bremen and Delemhorst. At Hanover they took a battalion of Westphalians, several detachments of Dutch and French, four pieces of cannon, a quantity of military stores, and the Dutch and Westphalian magazines. Reubell at this time remained on the Aller, blocking up the road to Cuxhaven. On the fourth, the Brunswickers proceeded to Nienburg and Hoya, at both places they sunk the ferry boats, and destroyed the bridge; the Weser bridge at Hoya was scarcely demolished when Reubell's vanguard, having now recovered the scent, arrived from Verden and Pedam, and found themselves impeded by the Weser. The next day the black legion entered the bailiwick of Syke; Brunswick sent a detachment of 150 men with two pieces of cannon to occupy Bremen and secure the Weser bridge, till the corps should reach the river Hunta. This detachment gave itself out for the vanguard; the French custom-house officers, who had talked so courageously of defending the city, took to flight at their approach, and Bremen, with 600 soldiers, capitulated. To keep up the alarm, quarters were required for the duke, and a report spread that the remainder of his army would arrive that night and bivaque before the walls. The French agents used the same stratagem; they affirmed that General Gratien would be in Bremen that night at ten o'clock, and they ordered the magistrates in his name to take measures for providing for his troops. The Brunswickers were not deceived by this. They were not, however, too secure; but mounted cannon to defend the bridge, set their patroles, and made every possible preparation for holding out till the duke should have accomplished his objeet.

Aug. 3.

He, meantime, marched all night, taking the road through Delmenhorst to Borne and the Hunta, where he arrived early on the sixth. The greater part of his men crossed at the ferry below Borne, the rest at Elsfleth, and arrangements were immediately made for their embarkation. The greater part of the cavalry were to embark at Bracke. An unexpected impediment occurred; there were ships enough, but under the ruinous tyranny of the Corsican's anti-commercial system they were lying idle in the harbour, and their ballast had been taken out. To lay in ballast required a long time in a tide river, and the Brunswickers were in hourly danger of being overtaken by a superior force. They were therefore fain to leave their horses behind, selling them as well as the pressing exigency of the hour admitted, and all hands were employed in ballasting vessels enough to contain the men. Meantime, Reubell had repaired the bridge at Hoya; and, rightly guessing, that the passage over the Hunta had been

destroyed, he took the direct road to Oldenburg to annoy the Brunswickers during their embarkation. The detachment at Bremen learned his movements at noon, and immediately proceeded to join their comrades on the Hunta. Reubell, on his way, forming an erroneous opinion from the many contradictory reports which he heard, conceived that the baggage only had been sent to the Hunta, and that the legion itself was gone to Bremen, he therefore left the Oldenburg road, and advanced towards that city; consequently, he encountered the detachment on their way to the Hunta; and this little body he might easily have destroyed, if his previous misconception of their force had not occasioned a pause before he began the attack. They seized the favourable moment, swam the Linda and the Ochta, and reaching the shore with a trifling loss, left the astonished pursuers gazing on the further bank.

By eleven the next morning ships enough had been got ready, and the troops immediately embarked, put off, and anchored at Tedderwachren, opposite the Danish battery of Bremerlee, waiting for the duke, who, having superintended the embarkation both of men and provisions, was the last to go on board, and could not join that night. The next day the wind was less favourable, and he did not arrive near Bremerlee till the afternoon. One of the ships came to meet him, and said they expected the Danes would fire upon them, for their guns were mounted. This he hardly believed; but even if such were their intention there was no alternative, and he gave orders to pass the batteries whatever the consequence might be. Here too, as in the case of Romana's troops, the Danes disgraced themselves by their zeal in favour of the French. Not content with firing from the batteries, they brought their guns out, and followed the ships a mile along the shore, firing at them whenever the contrary wind compelled them to approach the land in tacking. Luckily their skill was less than their malice, and every ball fell far beyond its mark. The duke, during this perilous passage, encouraged the crew of his ship both by his words, and by assisting himself in working the vessel; and when the enemy had given up all hopes of sinking him, he observed, upon going down to his cabin, that if they were no better marksmen, they might play the same game again.

In the evening he reached the mouth of the Weser, and, to his joy, discovered the English flag at a distance, and a squadron making towards him. An officer had been dispatched from Elsfleth to Heligoland to announce his approach, and Lord George Stuart immediately made sail to take the troops on board his ships, if necessary, and give them every support which they might need. Strangers as the English and Brunswickers were, not merely in person but in language to each other, they met with cordial greeting, like men who were engaged in the same good cause; and amid all the disasters of the continent, it was still a proud reflection for British seamen, that their supremacy upon the ocean had secured an asylum for a brave and injured prince, who was the nephew of their king, the brother of their future queen, and the uncle of that princess who was one day to be the sovereign of Great Britain. Had all the Germans done their duty like Brunswick, and those of his legion, who were found faithful to the last, the deliverance of Germany and of Europe would have been accomplish-

ed. They excuse themselves by arraigning England for neglect. Had 4 or 5000 British, they say, landed on the Elbe, and 10,000 in East Frieseland, that country, part of Holland, Hanover, and all Westphalia would have risen in arms. One Hanoverian general, they affirm, supplied with money and arms from England, might certainly have collected fourscore thousand men; and the failure of all the insurrections which were attempted, they peremptorily ascribe to the want of the sanction and protection of England. True it is, that we must take shame to ourselves for the deplorable manner in which our efforts were so blindly wasted, but Germany will not, on this account, be acquitted by impartial posterity. The Germans were found wanting. Only a handful of men devoted themselves for their country, and they will be remembered with honour. One people, indeed, among its numerous nations, did their duty to the utmost, with a virtue which has never been surpassed. The history of their efforts is now to be recorded.

CHAP. XXVII.

State of the Tyrol. Insurrection planned by Hofer. Cruelties of Lefebvre in that Country. The French and Bavarians twice expelled. The Roman States annexed to France. Buonaparte excommunicated. Peace with Austria concluded. The Tyrolese finally suppressed. Hofer betrayed, and put to Death.

OF all the subjects of Austria, the inhabitants of the Tyrol and Vorarlberg were the least misgoverned, and had therefore been always the most attached to their sovereign. When Frederick, the founder of the Tyrol line of the Austrian family, abjectly yielded up himself and all his possessions to the Emperor Sigismund, even then these mountaineers continued faithful to him; they fortified their passes, set the imperial troops at defiance, and preserved for the house of Hapsburg a country, and a race of people, of which that thankless and unfeeling house was utterly unworthy. Frederick rewarded them by the imposition of heavy taxes, and the only monument which he left among them was the copper roof of his chancery at Inspruck, which he gilded over, as a foolish proof that he no longer deserved the appellation of Frederick the Pennyless. During the war of the Spanish succession, the French entered the Tyrol on one side, and the Bavarians on the other, at a time when there were no troops in the country to defend it; but the inhabitants blocked up their passes, broke down bridges, and prevented their junction; nor was there a single man among them who could be bribed to carry intelligence from one army to the other, impossible as it was to guard all the paths among the mountains. In those days, a superstition prevailed in Germany that there were certain spells which could render a man invulnerable by fire-arms. The Bavarian General, Berita, was reputed to be one of these frozen men, as they were called; the Tyrolese, despairing of killing him by ordinary means, hammered him to death, and the spot where they accomplished this feat was long pointed out with exultation. In 1744, their country again became the seat of war, and the French, then in alliance with Prussia, invaded it. With their never-failing patriotism, the people rose against them; a chain of fires along the mountains was the signal of insurrection; the women drove away the cattle to the recesses of their Alps; the men took arms, and supplied the want of cannon (like the Catalans in

the present war,) with the trunks of trees, which they hooped with iron. The French were compelled to retire, but before they left the Tyrol, they wracked their vengeance in one district with that cruel spirit which has, in all ages, manifested itself through the deceitful courteousness of the French character. This so enraged the peasantry of all the adjoining parts, that they assembled with scythes, sickles, axes, pitchforks, and clubs, any thing with which vengeance could be inflicted serving as a weapon, and they put to death every Frenchman who fell into their hands. The remembrance of that bloody vengeance, and of the crimes by which it was provoked, were still fresh among them, and their hatred of the French was a rooted and hereditary feeling at the commencement of the revolution, when it appeared so little probable that their peaceful hills and vales were to be made scenes of horror in consequence of that calamitous event.

It was a saying of the Emperor Maximilian, that the Tyrol was like a peasant's frock, coarse indeed, but right warm. In 1780, the revenue which the state derived from it was about three millions of florins; of which 800,000 came from the salt works at Halle. The silver and copper works at Schwass were some of the most productive things in the hereditary dominions. The population was then estimated at 600,000, of which a very small proportion was collected in towns. Inspruck, the capital, contained not more than 14,000 inhabitants. Both this city and Bossen were formerly celebrated for their large fairs, till the customs ruined them. The Tyrolese cursed the customs; but it must have been by their own fault that this vexation was introduced among them, for the peasants of the Tyrol formed the fourth order of the states, without their consent no impost could be levied, and all decrees contained a proviso, signed by the emperor, that what was there enacted should be without prejudicing the privileges of the province. They were a free people, and had remained so under one of the most oppressive dynasties in Christendom. Among their mountains an asylum was found in the worst ages of persecution. Many of the Waldenses took refuge there: In the latter part of the 17th century, the Bishop of Brixen, and the Archbishop of Saltzburg discovered that the posterity of these good men continued in the faith of their fathers, which was neither Lutheran nor Calvinist, and therefore not within the letter of the law, which had been compelled to tolerate these two main sects of the reformers. The prelates ordered them to go to mass, and in the year 1681, 20,000 people left their native country, though the Tyrolese love it with that passionate feeling of local attachment which is peculiar to mountaineers; and went to seek for liberty of conscience in the protestant states of Germany and Switzerland. One whole valley was entirely deserted, not an individual remaining.

These days were past, and there did not exist in Europe a freer and happier people than the Tyrolese. Their industry was unaccompanied with any of those evils, which, in the present state of the manufacturing system, poison the great population of a manufacturing country. In summer, they rear silk-worms, and cultivate hemp, flax, and tobacco. Many of them, like the Irish, in summer, emigrate for the season, they leave their homes with a hurdy-gurdy, a

knapsack, and a stock of oaten bread, and when autumn is closing, return with the profits of their summer's toil. These yearly emigrants were estimated at not less than 30,000. Those who went upon trading speculations, had usually partners at home, and the manner in which their accounts were settled, marks the probity of the nation. As soon as the adventurer returned his partners were summoned, he emptied his bag of money, and the contents were divided according to their respective shares, and this was a final and sufficient settlement. During the winter, while the snow and the torrents block them up in their villages, every house exhibits a scene of delightful industry; the women spin, or knit, or embroider; and men and boys are employed in making boxes, instrument cases, and toys, which find their way not only to most parts of Europe, but even to America. Rude instruments and little skill suffice for these rude works; there are whole villages inhabited by statuaries, whose best production is a clumsy Roman-Catholic idol. They have, however, great practical skill in mechanics, and avail themselves of their rivulets for every purpose to which the powers of water can be applied. Every peasant has a mill, which in some houses serves not merely to grind the corn, but also to rock the cradle.

Before the revolutionary war, the men raised in the Tyrol were thought to be the most wretched of the emperor's troops;—probably they felt like men who had been trained up in principles and habits of freedom, and therefore were ill fitted to submit to the detestable discipline of the Austrian army. Yet it was acknowledged that they defended their country better than any other people, and this was not merely because their country was so defensible, but because they loved it so ardently, the Tyrolese being not less subject to home-sickness than the Swiss. Certain however it is, that since the Emperor Francis in evil hour commenced hostilities against the French republic, they have proved not only his most faithful subjects, but his best soldiers. In 1796, they repelled the enemy; in 1799, drove Massena out of the Vorarlberg with great loss. In 1801, they and all the adjoining mountaineers rose in such numbers upon the French, (provoked almost to madness by their accursed atrocities towards the women) and carried on the war against them with such determined animosity, that had the emperor not been frightened into the preliminaries of Leoben, there is every reason to believe Buonaparte and his army might then have been destroyed. The only complaint they then made against their government was, that they were prevented by this treaty from taking vengeance for themselves, when the means were in their hands.

In the war of 1805, their exertions were not less patriotic, and not less successful. Thrice they defeated Ney, and the Bavarians, now the first open traitors to Germany, were not more fortunate in their invasion of this devoted country. When Buonaparte dictated the peace of Presburg, he demanded the cession of the Tyrol and Vorarlberg; and the Emperor Francis, who ought rather to have laid down his life, consented, making a futile stipulation, that the inhabitants should continue to enjoy their ancient privileges. After stripping them of all the contributions which his rapacious generals could levy, the Corsican transferred them over to his vassal King of Bavaria. That wretch,

whose name will for ever remain infamous in German history, seemed to regard these noble people not as subjects whom he was to govern, but as old enemies, upon whom he was now able to take vengeance for former defeats, with a coward's cruelty, when they could no longer defend themselves. Every month new impositions were laid on, and levied with the most unrelenting rigour. He seized the church property, sold the public buildings, overthrew that free constitution which had been their pride and the source of their happiness during so many centuries, abolished the representative states, and by an express law deprived them of the last poor resource of petitioning against their manifold and grievous wrongs.

Three years the Tyrolese endured this bondage, under which their only consolation was, that Austria would again be engaged in war with France, and that then they should be enabled to deliver themselves, and take vengeance upon their oppressors. In the former wars, Andreas Hofer, a native of Sand, in the valley of Passeyr, had so greatly distinguished himself as to be rewarded by the emperor with a gold medal of honour, and with the order of Maria Theresa. Thrice during these wretched years Hofer went to Vienna to represent the miseries of the Tyrol to the Archdukes Charles and John and to the emperor, and to implore their succour, telling them that his countrymen were still ready to shed their blood for the house of Austria, and that if war were recommenced, he yet trusted the Tyrolese would emancipate themselves. The court of Vienna encouraged him to hope for this happier season, and when they had determined to make one more effort against the tyranny of France, Hofer was apprized of their intentions, and took measures for raising the country.

Hofer was one of those men who have redeemed the age from that ignominy which the imbecility and vileness of its electors, and archdukes, and emperors would else have entailed upon it. He was in his eight-and-thirtieth year. The French represent him as an inn-keeper, as if that, were it true, would diminish the veneration which will always be felt by all good men for this true hero. But an inn in a French city and in the valley of Passeyr, are as different as the characters of the Tyrolese and the Parisians. In mountainous countries like the Tyrol, the innkeeper is * oftentimes the commander of the militia. It does not appear from the authentic relation published by his countrymen, that Hofer followed this way of life. They say, that he had not received a liberal education, but that his sound and excellent judgement, his unassuming conduct, and his virtuous life procured him the esteem of all the inhabitants of his native valley, and that he was appointed to hold an office among them, which is equivalent to that of our justice of the peace. Whenever the country had been attacked, he was at the head of his vales-men, and in every action his talents were as remarkable as his courage. The Tyrolese are all good riflemen; they practise at a mark from their youth, and they keep up in the chace the dexterity which they have thus early acquired. Hofer was accounted one of the best marksmen in the country; and in every battle, whether on foot or on horseback, his favourite weapon was in his hand.

* Lassels, p. 45.

On the 10th of April, the day when Prince Charles entered Bavaria, the Tyrolese rose. The plan of the insurrection was arranged by Hofer, and two of his most intimate friends and companions in arms, whose names have perhaps been withheld, because they may still be within reach of the vengeance of their cowardly enemies. The signal was given by saw-dust thrown into the Inn; there were persons entrusted with the secret in all the places along its banks, they hastened to ring the alarm bells, collected the inhabitants of the remoter vallies, formed them into corps, and fell upon the French and Bavarians, who expected no such danger. At Stergingen, at Inspruck. and at Halle, the enemy were surprised and overpowered; even when they assembled in bodies and thought to conquer a rude peasantry in the field, the peasants rushed upon their troopers, and cut them down. The number of French and Bavarians in the country amounted to 27,000, and of these, all who escaped with their lives were either wounded or taken. Never was any insurrection more general, more wisely conducted, nor more completely successful. The Austrians, under Marshal Chastellar, hastened to support the patriots; but though they advanced by forced marches, they did not enter the country till the work was done, and their march from the frontier to the capital was like a triumph. Every where they were greeted with acclamations of loyalty; bells were ringing in every village, guns firing along the road, old and young crowding round to welcome them with equal enthusiasm:—striplings without a hair on their chin displayed trophies which they had won from the enemy. French prisoners were brought in from all quarters. The French general Bisson, and the Bavarian, Kunkel, had been taken, many of their staff, their cannon, and colours, and military chests, besides public money belonging to the Bavarian usurper.

Buonaparte's indignation at this success of the Tyrolese manifested itself by a decree against the Marquis of Chastellar, ordering that "a person named Chastellar, stiling himself a general in the service of Austria, the mover of the insurrection in the Tyrol, charged with being the author of the massacres committed on the Bavarian and French prisoners by the insurgents, should, upon being made prisoner, be carried immediately before a military commission, and if judged guilty, be shot within four-and-twenty hours." The charge was, that he had surprised and captured 700 French and Flemish conscripts on their way to join their regiments at Augsburg, and after their capitulation had massacred them, together with 1800 Bavarians taken at the same time. The fact is denied by the Tyrolese. Notwithstanding all their provocations (and it will soon appear how grievous those provocations were,) they affirm that they never committed a single instance of retaliation upon their prisoners; for it was their honourable pride to shame their savage enemies, and convince them of the superior generosity of poor German mountaineers. The assertion is confirmed by the language of those journals which were under French controul, and which while they poured out the coarsest invectives against the Tyrolese, calling them ruffians, rebels, and robbers, could bring against them no other accusation than that they pillaged the houses of those Jews who had purchased the plate of their sup-

pressed convents. The Emperor of Austria replied to this decree of Búonaparte's, by declaring that Generals Durosnel and Foulers, who had been taken at the battle of Aspern, should be kept as hostages in case Chastellar might be made prisoner, and that they should be treated precisely in the same manner as he might be. "It was repugnant to his feelings," he said, "to give such an order, but he owed it to his brave subjects, who might be exposed to a similar fate for fulfilling their duty." Upon this Buonaparte seized Prince Colloredo, Prince Metternich, Count Pergett, and Count Hardick, and sent them to France, to answer for the safety of Durosnel and Foulers; and he ordered Berthier to write to the major-general of the Austrian armies, telling him what had been done. "The crime of M. Chastellar," he was instructed to say, "might have caused a terrible reprisal on 40 field-marshal lieutenants, 36 major-generals, more than 300 colonels, or majors, and 1200 officers. But prisoners do not appertain to the power for whom they have fought; they are under the safeguard of the honour and generosity of the nation which has disarmed them, and it is known also that the Austrian officers in the Tyrol have been as indignant at this action as the French. Generals Durosnel and Foulers may die, sir, but they shall not die without being revenged, and this vengeance shall not fall on any prisoners, but on the relations of those who shall order their death. As to M. Chastellar, he is not yet in the power of the French army; but if he should be taken, you may be assured that he will be delivered to a military commission, and that his trial will take place." If the charge against Chastellar had been true, the French were justified in their intention, and ought, whenever it was in their power, to have enforced it; the fact, however, is rendered more than doubtful by the denial of the Tyrolese. The bulletin in which this correspondence was recorded, contained an account of a pretended conference with the Emperor Francis upon the subject, grossly, palpably, and ridiculously false; and when Buonaparte proclaimed that prisoners were under the protection of his faith and honour, he might have been reminded, that in the former war the French government had literally sold their prisoners to work in the American mines,—that at this very time they were portioning them out like Helots over the interior of France; he might have been told also of his own murders, wholesale and retail, of the butchery of the English stragglers, which had furnished a boast for his bulletins, of the massacre at Jaffa, of Toussaint, and of Captain Wright.

The plans of the Austrians were completely deranged by their defeat at Echmuhl, and at Ratisbon, and Buonaparte was then enabled to pour fresh troops into the Tyrol from all sides. Lefebvre with the Bavarian Generals Wrede, Deroy, and Siegbein, were ordered to march through Salzburg with 24,000 men; Rusca with 8000 attacked them from the side of Italy, Ferron from Carinthia, and Marmont from Bavaria and Suabia with 6 or 7000. The three smaller armies were attacked and beaten back. Lefebvre relieved the strong fortress of Kufftstein, which the patriots had blockaded, and his force for a time bore down all before it. His proclamation invited the Tyrolese to have recourse to the clemency of the greatest of emperors, decla-

ring that all the communes in which the militia had not within eight days laid down their arms, should be treated with military rigour. The damnable atrocity with which these threats were executed will render Lefebvre infamous as long as his name shall exist in history. Under the orders of this monster, who had learnt at Zaragoza to make war upon women and children, towns and villages were laid in ashes. In the town of Schwartz 1200 persons, 800 of whom were women and children, perished in the flames; a party of children returning from school were driven by the soldiers into a barn, and then burnt alive. All the Tyrolese or Vorarlbergers taken in arms had their tongues torn out, and in that state were turned loose, that their mutilation and dying agonies might terrify their countrymen. Old men were hung up as marks for the musketeers, children sabred, infants impaled upon the bayonet, and borne about in mockery, pregnant women cut open,—it is impossible to proceed with the detail of these crimes,—suffice it to say, that whatever can be imagined most inhuman, most unnatural, most devilish, was perpetrated by the French and Bavarians in this devoted country. The effect was directly contrary to what they expected; instead of appalling the Tyrolese, it maddened them. They felt that life was no longer worth preserving, and that as now it was become their sweetest and only delight to take vengeance, so was it their most sacred duty to seek it. In this spirit they fell upon their enemies, and made such havoc of them, that when Lefebvre was recalled towards the Danube, after the battle of Aspern, he rather fled than retreated with the relics of his army.

The Tyrol now served as an asylum for all the Austrian prisoners who could effect their escape. About 10,000 found their way there; they came nearly naked, and were clothed and armed by these hospitable mountaineers. Victory did not make them, like the Austrians, wait idly, while the enemy prepared for a second attack without molestation. Some entered Swabia by land and by water. By land they won Kemptan, Isny, and Wangen; by water assaulted and took Constance, and when a far superior force, the more dangerous because of its cavalry, advanced against them in that open country, they retreated in good order, disarming the three first towns, and taking with them from Constance, cannon, ammunition-waggons, prisoners and provisions. Other parties overrun Salzburg and Carinthia,—some entered Italy, and proceeded within a few miles of Verona. The most important of their expeditions had for its object to seize the King of Bavaria and his family, and carry them off. It was admirably planned, and so near its execution that the troops were within five hours march of Munich, when they were stopped on the road by tidings of the armistice. The commanders seem to have been Austrian officers, or they would not have turned back.

The conduct of Austria toward the Tyrolese was base almost beyond belief. The corps of Austrians employed in the country, consisting chiefly of the fugitives whom they had clothed and armed, were recalled, and they took with them all the artillery and ammunition which the patriots had captured. Yet after the emperor had, by the terms of the armistice, again placed them at the mercy of their mortal enemy, and, as far as in him lay, delivered them over

to him, he still held out secret assurances to them, that he was only yielding for a time to necessity, and that hostilities would inevitably be renewed. Thus encouraged, the Tyrolese, though compelled by the withdrawal of the Austrian troops to abandon all their conquests and fall back into their own country, resolved to continue the war, till Austria should again be able to afford them the assistance on which it bade them rely. They elected Hofer commander-in-chief of the whole province. From this time Hofer became the principal object of abuse for those writers whom the French employ to deceive and degrade the people. "The revolutionary fury," they said, "by which the Tyrolese innkeepers distinguished themselves, was occasioned by a Bavarian ordinance affixing a stated price to all their commodities; whereas under the government of Austria they were allowed to fleece travellers as they thought fit. This was the cause which had provoked the infamous character who was now chief of the insurgents! and had taken it into his head to be the William Tell of the Tyrol."

Hofer was worthy of the comparison, and Tell has not left behind him a name which will be held more sacred by posterity. His head-quarters were in the palace of Inspruck, and on the birth-day of the emperor he appeared in public, wearing his gold medal of honour, and the cross of Maria Theresa;—this it became him to do, but he made no alteration in his simple habits of life, nor at other times had he any other badge of distinction than a long heron's feather in his hat. His dress was that of a Tyrolese peasant, with a broad green hat, the neck and part of the breast open, and his beard long. The perilous contest in which he was engaged left him little leisure for any other measures than those of attack or defence, yet enough was done to show what would have been the spirit of his administration in tranquil times. He encouraged the intercourse between Italy and Germany, and provided traders with passports, which enabled them to travel securely with merchandize wherever his authority extended. The Tyrolese women had of late years departed from the dress of their country; and the more serious part of the community complained, that that which had superseded it displayed something of the indecency of French fashions. A religious proclamation was issued, which, treating of the sins of the people, exhorted the women to reform their fashions, otherwise, it said, they would have nobody to blame but themselves, if their uncovered parts should be covered in a manner not very pleasing to them. He struck money, bearing on one side, the Tyrolese eagle crowned with laurels, and on the other, the value of the piece, with the words, "According to the Convention. 1809."

Buonaparte lost no time after the conclusion of the armistice; immediately he directed his efforts to crush all who appealed to the principles of honour, and loyalty, and freedom against him,—the enemies whom he most dreaded. While in the north his vassals, the unwilling Saxons and Westphalians, and the baser Danes, were employed in hunting down the Duke of Brunswick, Lefebvre was sent, with 40,000 Bavarians, Saxons, and Wirtembergers, to subdue the Tyrol. He advanced through the Lower Innthal to Inspruck, and took possession of the capital, which the patriots did not attempt to defend. Ho-

fer, meantime, collected all his force and took a strong position at the Hermitage in the Unterau, where, availing himself of every advantage that the nature of the ground afforded, he entrenched himself. Lefebvre left 10,000 men to garrison Inspruck, directed as many more to march to the Upper Innthal, and with the other 20,000 went to attack Hofer. Three times the Frenchman, with the hereditary Prince of Bavaria, ventured to assault this formidable post, nor did he retreat to Storzing till he had left behind him 10,000 killed, 1500 prisoners, and eight pieces of cannon. Hofer pursued, attacked him on the moor of Storzing, and again defeated him, and Lefebvre having in this fourth action lost 1800 men in killed, 1500 prisoners, many horses and great part of his baggage, was driven back to Innspruck, hoping that his other detachment had been more fortunate, and that he should still be able to maintain the city.

The road by which that detachment had to pass, through Landeck to Prutz, lies for three leagues through a valley overhung with rocks on both sides: the Inn, which is there an impetuous torrent, flows along the bottom. Hofer occupied the heights, and prepared stones and trunks of trees to be rolled down upon the enemy. The advanced guard, consisting of 800 Saxons, was suffered to proceed to Prutz, where they were instantly made prisoners by a very superior force; one of them was then induced to ride back, and report to the general that they had reached Prutz without opposition; accordingly the Bavarians entered the defiles. Some small parties of Tyrolese, stationed there for the sake of preventing suspicion, opposed them. One grey-headed man, full fourscore years of age, had taken post with his back against a rock, and at every shot brought down one of the invaders of his country. He was so placed as to be secure from any enemy in front; some of the Bavarians clambered up the crags, to come down upon him from above; seeing this, and that he could not escape, he set up a shout of defiance, laid the foremost dead at his feet with his last shot, seized hold of the second, and exclaiming "in God's name!" threw himself with him from the precipice.

When the whole army were far advanced in the defile, a voice was heard from above, saying, "Shall I chop it off yet?" which was answered by a loud "Nay," from the other side. Terrified at these ominous words, the Bavarians sent intelligence to the general, but it was too late. Presently the word was given from above—"For the most Holy Trinity!" it was answered—"In the name of the most Holy Trinity, cut all loose!" That instant stones, and trees, and loosened rocks were set in motion along the whole line of the ravine, in which the enemy were inclosed, and six thousand French, Bavarians, and Saxons were crushed or crippled by these tremendous weapons. The Tyrolese then sprung from the covert to complete their victory, and drove the terrified survivors before them through the pass, boys and even girls joining in the pursuit; a handful only of the invaders escaped; about three hundred were taken prisoners. The mountaineers, when their victory was completed, fell upon their knees and returned thanks to Heaven; and so awful and sudden had been the destruction, that the prisoners joined fervently in the act of prayer.

Hofer pursued his success. On

the 15th and 16th of August, he attacked Lefebvre, and drove him beyond Inspruck, with the loss of 7000 killed, 2000 wounded, and 1000 prisoners: the great proportion of killed in all these actions, shows with what animosity the war was carried on. Three days afterward, the Frenchman was attacked at Schwatz, from which he retreated to the strong position of Rattenberg. Hofer did not suffer him to rest here; and after another action of seven hours, in which the enemy lost above 800 in killed and wounded, they retired to Reichenhall and Salzburg with less than 11,000 men, the remains of 40,000 who had entered the Tyrol. During this invasion, the loss of the patriots bore but a trifling proportion to that of the invaders, because they had skilfully availed themselves of their local advantages, but the country suffered dreadfully. Wherever the French and Bavarians passed, they proceeded upon that system of barbarity, which has since been practised by the former people in Portugal, and which, however incredible it might otherwise appear, cannot now be doubted, when so many thousands of our own countrymen have been eye-witnesses of similar horrors. One-and-forty towns and villages in the Upper and Lower Innthal and the Pusterthal, containing above seven thousand houses, were burnt by these ruffians.

At the same time that Lefebvre entered upon this expedition, which he concluded so disgracefully, Rusca, with 18,000 Italian troops, entered on another side from Clagenfurt to the Upper Pusterthal. After a severe engagement he penetrated to the Hermitage of Muhlbach, one of the strong posts of the patriots, which he assaulted five times, and was as often repulsed. Before he made his chief assault, he detached a battalion of about 900 men from the Untersindl to the Taufererthal, to cross the mountain and attack the Tyrolese in the rear of their entrenchment. The women and old men of that part of the country which these invaders occupied, had fled to the Taufererthal to escape death, and those other horrors worse than death, which the generals of Buonaparte systematically perpetrate. Knowing the ground well, they suffered the enemy to proceed till they reached the termination of the vale where they were to commence their ascent, and then, both in front and in rear, they rolled down stones and trees which effectually blocked their way. Unable either to advance or retreat, the whole battalion was compelled to lay down their arms, and surrender literally to a party of women and old men. In the course of eight days, Rusca lost about 3000 of his troops, and thought it best to retreat to Clagenfurth and Villach.

The Tyrolese having a second time expelled the enemy from every part of the country, pursued them into Salzburg, the Pinzgau and Pomgau. Many of the Salzburgers joined them, and the spirit of liberty began to spread on all sides. The King of Saxony had confessed in a proclamation, what were the real feelings of the Saxons in this execrable war, wherein their blood was wasted in fighting against the liberties of Germany. It could not be unknown, he said, that there were in his dominions people, weak, seduced, or wicked, who not only did not approve his system of policy, and the principles upon which he had adopted it, but who dared even avow their sentiments, and act upon them. The King

of Wirtemburg issued an idiotic decree, enacting, that all persons who spoke unbecomingly of his high person, should be considered as mad, and as such be excused from any punishment, farther than that of being declared unfit to fill any public office, lest they should do any mischief to society. At Frankfort, all persons were prohibited from talking in public upon political subjects, spreading any reports concerning the war, or manifesting any opinion whatever concerning it. After the battle of Aspern, this prohibition was renewed with the additional warning, that innkeepers should be responsible for the language held at their houses; that they should warn their guests to abstain from such forbidden topics, and watch carefully for the observance of the law, on penalty of a fine of 100 crowns, or even a more rigorous punishment; and severe punishment was denounced against all persons, who, after this repeated prohibition, should be found guilty of holding inconsiderate conversation. Such was the state to which Germany was reduced,—Germany, the land of philosophy and free opinion! Such too were the feelings of the people, that nothing but the grossest errors in conducting the war, and the most wretched pusillanimity in concluding it on the part of Austria, could have prevented the ultimate extirpation of the enemy. Even now after the fall of Schill and the failure of Brunswick, even now had Austria displayed a spirit like that of the Spaniards and Portugueze, the contest would have become every day more perilous for Buonaparte. Spain was still wasting his troops, a diversion on the part of the English was certain, and the victories of Hofer, as they were the admiration of the surrounding countries, were becoming their example. Insurrections in favour of the Tyrolese, and the common cause of Germany, took place in the neighbourhood of Constance. In Carniola, the inhabitants of Gottscher and Maetling fell upon the soldiers who were quartered there. Schwitz, Uri, and Unterwalden, had shown ten years ago, that the spirit of the Swiss was not yet extinguished, and the French, and the partizans of the French, dreaded a resurrection of liberty upon that sacred ground. Every precaution was taken against the impending danger. A garrison was introduced into Berne, and an extraordinary police established, because a flag covered with emblematic decorations had been discovered there. A cordon of troops was drawn to cut off all communication with the Tyrolese, and especially to prevent the Swiss from supplying them with gunpowder. Many suspected individuals were arrested, and it was said, that many important confessions were made by them. More than this has not yet transpired; the means by which these confessions were extorted, and the deeds by which they were followed, are among the untold crimes of the arch tyrant, and of that nation which has submitted to be the instrument of his wickedness. The Venetian States also were ready for insurrection. At the beginning of the year, Pittezoni and Triesi were executed at Verona, for plotting to restore the ancient government of Venice. *Jan. 27.* Their names and their fate are all that is yet known concerning them; let us hope that their countrymen will preserve the history of their attempt and martyrdom, and cherish their memory, till with happier issue, they may fol-

low their example. There were insurrections in Dalmatia, which the French sought to suppress by blasphemous proclamations, and cruelties equally characteristic. "Dalmatians," it was said to them when the war began, "soon will the Austrian empire have ceased to be. Experience of the past avails not with those whom Providence purposes to chastise or annihilate, in order to introduce a better order of things upon the earth. The great Napoleon is over all." Count Mascarelli, a Piedmontese by birth, and a colonel in the Austrian service, who was appointed to take the command in these countries, was captured off the coast by an Italian privateer, and instead of being treated as a prisoner of war, according to the laws of war and of nations, was put in irons, till he could be brought before a military tribunal and condemned as a robber.

The conduct of Buonaparte towards the pope, might have been highly favourable in its effects to Austria, if the Austrians had continued the war. By a decree, * issued in the preceding year, he had incorporated the papal territories with the kingdom of Italy, upon the plea that the pope had constantly refused to declare war against England. The union of Rome with the kingdom of Italy, did not suit with the object which the Corsican now saw within his reach. When he assumed the title of King of Italy, he had solemnly declared, that after his death, the crowns of France and Italy should be separated for ever, and on no account whatever be ever again united on one head; and this declaration had been repeated in the treaty of Presburg, whereby the separation of the two crowns was made one of the articles of the treaty. But as soon as he was in possession of Vienna, the vision of a Western Empire possessed him, and he sent forth a decree for uniting the papal territory with the French nation.

May 17. "Rome itself, illustrious," he said, "for the recollections which it recalled, and the monuments which it contained, was declared to be a free and imperial city. The monuments of Roman greatness were to be maintained and preserved at the expence of the French treasury, and the public debt declared to be the debt of the French empire. The revenues of the pope were fixed at two millions of francs, free from all charges and contributions; his property and palaces were to be subject to no imposition, jurisdiction or visitation, and were to enjoy special prerogatives." It is remarkable, that in this decree the previous annexation of the papal states to the kingdom of Italy is not in the slightest manner noticed, and it is also remarkable, that while Buonaparte proposed to imitate Charlemagne, the preamble to this decree affected to derive a power from Charlemagne of undoing what that emperor had done. "He past the present edict," he said, "upon these considerations, that when Charlemagne, his sublime predecessor, endowed the bishops of Rome with various lands, those lands were given as fiefs to maintain the peace of his subjects, and Rome did not therefore cease to form a part of his empire; that since that time, the union of spiritual and temporal power had been, and still continued to be, the source of dissentions; that the popes

* Vol. 1, p. 221.

had but too often availed themselves of the one to support their pretensions to the other, confounding with spiritual concerns, which are in their nature immutable, worldly affairs, which change with the circumstances and politics of the times; and finally, considering that it was vain to attempt to reconcile with the temporal pretensions of the pope, all that he (Buonaparte) had concerted for the security of his army, the repose and prosperity of the nations over whom he reigned, and the dignity and inviolability of his empire." An extraordinary consulta was appointed to take possession of these territories, in such a manner that the transition to the new order of things might be unperceived. It consisted of Miollis, the French governor-general of Rome, as president; Salcette, who was Murat's minister; Degerando, Jannet, Del Pozzo, and Debalde, as secretaries. They announced the change in a proclamation, which mingled the usual falsehood of French promises with some truths respecting the condition of the papal states. "Romans," said they, "the will of the greatest of heroes unites you with the greatest of empires. It was just that the first people of the world should share the blessing of their laws, and the honour of their name with the people which preceded them in former ages in the path of glory. Then your ancestors conquered the world. Such was the result of their magnanimity, and the effect of their glory. The desire to promote your prosperity alone has dictated this decree of re-union. The moment chosen for the adoption of it, discovers the motives which have produced it. You become a part of the French empire, at the moment when all the sacrifices which were requisite to establish it, have been made;—you are called to the triumph without sharing in the danger. Look over the annals of your history,—they have long contained nothing but the story of your misfortunes. Your natural weakness made you an easy prey to all the warriors who chose to cross over the Alps. With France united, her power becomes yours. All the misery which sprung from your weakness has ceased. Wretched as a nation, you were not less so as citizens. The misery and disease which reigned among your towns and villages, have long taught Europe and yourselves, that your princes, distracted by opposite cares, were unable to secure you the felicity you are now to obtain. Romans! Not conquered, but united; fellow-citizens and not subjects, our power not only becomes yours, but our laws will secure your repose, as they have secured ours. While this re-union gives you all the advantages which you wanted, it takes from you none which you possess. Rome remains the seat of the visible head of the church; and the richly endowed Vatican, raised above all foreign influence, and not less above all vain earthly considerations, shall exhibit to the universe the purest and most splendid worship of God. The inheritance of your ancient glory shall be preserved in your monuments; and the arts, under the protection of a great man, and enriched by every model, shall not be necessitated to seek elsewhere for the encouragement, employment, or reward of their divine inspiration. This, Romans, is the futurity which is opened to you, and the basis of which is to be laid by the extraordinary *consulta*. To guarantee your public debts; to revive agriculture and the arts; in every way to improve your condition; and finally, to reform all abu-

ses, and anticipate your wishes;—these are the commands—this is the aim of your illustrious sovereign. Romans, by aiding our endeavours, you may secure yourselves, more rapidly and easily, the blessings which we are charged, and which we ourselves no less desire, to provide for you."

June 10.

On the very day that this proclamation was issued, the pope published his protest. "Owing it," he said, "to God and the church to hand down our rights uninjured, we protest against this new and violent spoliation, and declare it null and void. We reject with the firmest resolution any allowance which the emperor of the French may intend to assign us, and to the individuals composing our college; for we should all cover ourselves with ignominy in the face of the church, if we suffered our subsistence to depend on the power of him who usurped her authority. We commit ourselves entirely to Providence and to the affection of the faithful, and we shall be contented piously to terminate the bitter course of our sorrowful days. Adoring with profound humility God's inscrutable decrees, we invoke his commiseration upon our good subjects; and having in this hardest of trials done what our duties required of us, we exhort them to preserve always inviolate their religion and their faith, and to unite themselves with us in conjuring, with sighs and tears, both in the closet and before the altar, the supreme Father of light, that he may vouchsafe to change the base designs of our persecutors." The pope did not confine himself to this unavailing protest. "By the authority of God Almighty, and of St Paul and St Peter," he excommunicated and anathematized Napoleon, Emperor of the French and King of Italy, and all who had co-operated with him in this act of violence, declaring that they had incurred the greater excommunication, with the other censures and penalties inflicted by the sacred canons, by the apostolic constitutions, and by the general councils, especially that of Trent. "We declare," he proceeded, "that they have incurred as penalties, the loss of all and every kind of privilege, grace, and indulgence, in whatsoever manner granted to them, whether by us or by the Roman pontiffs our predecessors; neither from this censure can they be liberated or absolved by any, unless by us or by the Roman pontiff for the time being, (unless in the article of death,) and then falling again under the same censure in case of recovery; and further, they are incompetent and incapable of obtaining the benefit attending on absolution, until they have publicly retracted, revoked, annulled, and abolished to the utmost possible all and every kind of outrage; and have effectually reinstated all things, or otherwise have made condign satisfaction to the church, and to us, and to this holy see."

One part of these apostolic letters is particularly remarkable. "While," said the pope, "we are constrained to draw from its scabbard the sword of church severity, we do not in the least forget that, unworthy though we be, we hold the place of him, who, when he exercises his justice, does not forget mercy. Therefore we direct and command, first our own subjects, and also all christian people, in virtue of holy obedience, that none of them, on occasion of these letters, or by any pretext derived from them, should presume to hurt, injure, prejudice, or damage in any matter what-

ever, the said parties, their property, rights or prerogatives." This language cannot be considered as decidedly proving a change in the temper, or at least in the pretensions, of the papal power, because the letters were written at Rome, where Pius VII. was actually at that time at the mercy of Buonaparte; a regard to his own personal safety therefore might have deterred him from attempting to enforce the penalties of excommunication after the manner of all former precedents. Such however as the sentence was, even when thus disarmed of its sting, in countries which are Catholic, not merely in name like France, but in spirit like Italy and Austria, its effects must have been important had the war continued. Buonaparte, who had thought the sanction of the pope at his coronation of such moment, as to bring him from Rome for that purpose, was more aware of his power than his enemies; and his anxiety still to appear the great supporter and restorer of the Romish religion, was manifested in the circular mandate which, after the battle of Wagram, he issued to all the bishops under his controul, requiring them to offer up thanksgivings for his victory. "Our Lord Jesus Christ," said he, (using that sacred name in Christendom as he did that of Mahommed in Egypt,) "though he sprang from the blood of David, sought for no worldly empire; on the contrary, he required that in concerns of this life men should obey Cæsar. We who are the inheritors of Cæsar's power, are firmly resolved to maintain the independence of our throne and the inviolability of our rights. We shall persevere in the great work of the restoration of the worship of God; we shall impart to its ministers that respectability which we alone can give them; we shall listen to their voice in all that concerns spiritual matters and affairs of conscience. We shall not be drawn aside from the great end which we strive to attain, and in which we have hitherto in part succeeded, the restoration of the altars of divine worship; neither shall we suffer ourselves to be persuaded that the principles of our faith, as Greeks, English, Protestants and Calvinists affirm, are inconsistent with the independence of thrones and nations. God has enlightened us enough to remove such errors from us. Our subjects entertain no such fear."

This mandate contained phrases of the same menacing purport to the house of Hapsburg, as the language which Buonaparte had used since the commencement of the war. This house, it was announced in the foreign journals, had lost several crowns in the three former wars with France, and it had now lost the Imperial Roman crown. It was expected that the most rigorous terms of peace would be imposed, and rumours frequently prevailed that the emperor was about to break off the negociation, and endure the last extremity, rather than submit to the sacrifices which were required. At length, on the 14th of October, the definitive treaty was signed. The cessions made by the emperor, were 1. to Buonaparte, as Protector of the Confederacy of the Rhine, a title with which to the general surprise he was still contented. The territories of Saltzburg and Barthtolsgaden, with part of Upper Austria along the Danube and the Aller, were placed at his disposal, to be allotted among the sovereigns of the confederacy in such manner as he might think expedient. A petty reservation, even more derogatory than the

cession, was made of the woods belonging to Salz-Cammer-Gut, and forming part of the manor of Mondsee, with liberty to cut and carry away the brushwood, but without enjoying any right of sovereignty upon that district. 2d. To Buonaparte, as Emperor of the French and King of Italy, the Emperor Francis ceded the county of Goritia, the manor of Montefalcone, Trieste, Carniola, with its dependencies in the Gulf of Trieste, the circle of Willait in Carinthia, and all the Austrian possessions south of the Saave, from the point where it leaves Carniola, to where it touches Bosnia. 3d. The whole of Western or New Galicia was ceded to the King of Saxony, as Duke of Warsaw, with a district round Cracow on the right bank of the Vistula, and the circle of Zamose in Eastern Gallicia. Wieliazk and the salt pits were to belong to the Emperor of Austria and the King of Saxony conjointly, and the salt pass through the territories of the latter into those of the former free of any toll. 5th. A barbarous cession, worthy in its character of the barbarian by whom it was dictated, and the barbarous empire to which it was made, conveyed over to the czar as much territory in the eastermost part of Gallicia as should contain 400,000 souls, the city of Brodi however not being included. The Emperor Francis, in the name of the Archduke Anthony, abdicated the grand mastership of the Teutonic Order, that order having been abolished in the states of the Confederacy of the Rhine. Buonaparte engaged not to obstruct the importation or exportation of merchandize to and from Austria, by way of the port of Fiume, this not being construed to include English goods or manufactures; the transit duties upon such merchandize were to be lower than upon those of all other nations, the kingdom of Italy excepted; and an inquiry should be instituted to ascertain whether any advantages could be allowed to the Austrian trade in the other ports ceded by this treaty. Buonaparte engaged to procure a full and complete pardon for the inhabitants of the Tyrol and Vorarlberg who had taken part in the insurrection, so that they should not be persecuted either in person or property; the Emperor of Austria, on his part, engaging in like manner to pardon all persons in those parts of Gallicia which were to be restored to him. The inviolability of the possessions of Francis, as Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia and Hungary, in the state wherein this treaty left them, was guaranteed by Buonaparte. The Emperor Francis recognized all the alterations which had taken place or might subsequently take place in Spain, Portugal, and Italy; he acceded to the prohibitory system with respect to England, and engaged to break off all intercourse with Great Britain, and place himself in the same situation with respect to the British government in which he stood previous to the present war.

The terms of this peace * were very different from what the threats of Buonaparte had given reason for expecting. This, however, which was attributed at the time to the yet remaining strength of Austria, was explained after a few months, when it appeared that Francis II. had consented to give his daughter in marriage to Napoleon Buonaparte of Ajaccio, a Corsican adventurer, a

* Appendix, No. VII.

perjured treaty-breaker, an usurper and a murderer, a married man too, and who at that time lay under sentence of excommunication. The inactivity of the Austrians after their victory of Aspern, and the gross misconduct by which the battle of Wagram was lost, the pusillanimity displayed after that battle, the terms of the peace, and finally, the marriage which cemented it, were all of them so strange, that a strange story, which pretended to explain their secret causes, is reported on the alledged authority of the majority of the French superior officers, who were witnesses of all the operations. According to this account, the marriage and the terms of peace were concluded on immediately after the battle of Aspern; the emperor, notwithstanding the event of that battle, being convinced that, even if Buonaparte were not able to fulfil his menaces this campaign, the conscription, extending now over all the countries of which he was in possession, would inevitably enable him to fulfil them in a very short time. Buonaparte on his part desired nothing so much as to establish his own power by a marriage with the house of Austria; but he insisted as an indispensible preliminary measure, that the disgrace which he had suffered at Aspern must be wiped off by another battle; to which, after some little reluctance at shedding the blood of his subjects to gratify the pride of his old enemy, the emperor consented. Accordingly strong detachments were sent from the Austrian army into Bohemia in order to weaken it, and the manner in which the passage of the Danube was effected without opposition, as if Prince Charles had been completely out-generalled, and the delay of the Archduke John in coming up, were some of the arrangements made for ensuring the event which had been bargained for. There are so few persons who can possibly be credulous enough to believe this story, that it cannot be necessary to expose its monstrous and absurd incredibility. But that such a story should have been invented in France to explain the conduct of the Austrians, shows how weak and irrational their conduct was esteemed.

At the time when the treaty was signed, the Tyrolese were successful on all sides, and their success had terrified their enemies and encouraged the patriotic party in the adjoining countries. The King of Wirtemberg removed the public chests from Stutgard to Strasburg, alarmed at the insurrections which were spreading round him. The court of Bavaria removed hastily from Munich, lest they should be surprised there. Throughout Bavaria a conscription was ordered, to include all the males between the ages of 17 and 60, and the loss sustained in the Tyrol, and the increasing boldness of the Tyrolese, were publicly assigned as the reasons which made this measure necessary. In Italy, also, all the youth above 16 who had escaped the former conscription were ordered to be enrolled and formed into an army of reserve. Hofer pursuing his defeated enemies, defeated them again at Lofer, Lustenstein and Mullegg, at Lueg and at Abtenay, killing between 4 and 5000, and taking about 800 prisoners, with 11 pieces of cannon, baggage and ammunition. He drove them from Hallein, where they left behind a chest containing 80,000 guilders in the hurry of their retreat. His nephew, Father Joachim, a Capuchin friar, distinguished himself greatly in this action. He now pushed his van

forward into Styria, meaning to await the renewal of hostilities on the part of Austria, and from thence attack the enemy in the rear.

The court of Austria had originally instigated the Tyrolese to rise in arms, and, after the armistice, had encouraged them to continue the war. When it had sacrificed its own honour irrecoverably by consenting to the union with Buonaparte, it left the Tyrolese to their fate; stipulating only, for the sake of decency, in the terms of peace, that they should be pardoned, instead of insisting that they should be included in the peace, as men who, having done their duty, were not to be insulted with the language of pardon. But the Tyrolese could now no longer be serviceable to Austria; and Austria neither informed them of the probability of peace, nor even acquainted them with it when it was concluded, so that, when they had no suspicion of any such danger, and were looking daily for the promised re-appearance of their allies, the troops of Buonaparte and his vassals, having now no other object, poured in upon them from all sides. The patriots posted at Muhleg and Wegschaide were surrounded; 200, with the commandant, Speckbacher at their head, cut their way through the enemy; 400 were taken. Among them was Speckbacher's son, a boy only twelve years of age, but of the right Tyrolese spirit, and master of the weapon, in the use of which his countrymen are so peculiarly excellent. His father ordered him to follow him on the retreat; the boy waited for a shot at the Bavarian general, and brought him down, but this delay cost him his liberty. The men into whose hands he fell were not so brutal as their comrades; they admired his extreme youth, his beauty, and his excellent courage, and some of them presented him to the king of Bavaria. Maximilian Joseph, incapable of understanding any noble feeling, asked him whether he would shoot any more Bavarians, as if either fear or favour could have perverted a heart like his. "Yes," the boy answered with indignation, "and you too, if you come into the Tyrol!"

In one of these actions, the Countess of Sternbach was taken prisoner, fighting in the ranks of the patriots. According to the French account, she was the daughter of a butcher, and the count had married her for her singular beauty. They were about to carry her to Strasburg, when the patriots captured the wives of two staff officers, and exchanged them for her. The tide of success was now turned by an immense superiority of numbers. Lefebvre again advanced to Inspruck. Peyri with one Italian army entered Trent, Rusca with another forced the entrenchments at Muhlbach. At this time, three weeks after the peace had been signed, one of the deputies whom they sent to the Austrian head-quarters brought them the first authentic notification of it in the following words, written by the emperor himself: "Tyrolese, I wish you to be tranquil. I have been obliged to make peace, partly on account of the disunion of my brothers, and partly because Russia took the field against me." This was all. Not a word of gratitude for their loyalty, not an expression of praise for their exertions and heroism, nor of regret for their sufferings. Hofer could now no longer doubt that peace had indeed been made, and the Tyrolese abandoned to their detested enemies. If there had been only Bavaria to contend with, they could have beaten the Bavarians as they had

repeatedly done; but to withstand the whole force of the confederacy, Italy and France, ready to pour in upon them army after army, while they themselves had no ally from whom it was possible to receive succour of any kind, was manifestly hopeless. Hofer, therefore, apprizing his countrymen of the information which he had received from the emperor, for whom he had taken arms, exhorted them to submit to their fate, resigned the command, informed the enemy's generals of his resolution, and demanded a cessation of hostilities, that the Tyrolese might return unmolested to their homes.

Nov. 7. At this time, the Bavarians had advanced to Zirl, and they set fire to that large village, just when the Tyrolese, in utter hopelessness, were about to disperse and submit to their evil fate. This wanton act of mischief kindled their fury anew; it was impossible for brave men to live under the yoke of enemies like these. Headed by Hierler, commandant of the Upper Innthal, they rushed upon the Bavarians, and obtained one day more of victory and vengeance. 9000 of the hostile army were killed and wounded, and 16 pieces of cannon and two chests of money fell into the hands of the conquerors. This success, glorious as it was, was now of no avail; armies advanced against them from all sides, they were surrounded, and two days afterwards their last effort of despair was made near Brixen. In this memorable action the wife fought by her husband, the sister by her brother, the maiden by the side of her father, or of her betrothed. 320 women, fighting resolutely to the last gasp, were cut down by the Italian cavalry, a great number of men perished, and about 500 of both sexes were wounded. They took ample vengeance for themselves, by the far greater slaughter which they made of the enemy, but they were overpowered by infinitely superior numbers. This was their last collective effort, and the wrongs that this noble people were yet to endure remain hitherto unrevenged.

Ten thousand prisoners whom they had taken were now set at liberty; the people dispersed, and Hofer concealed himself, intending, according to circumstances, either to take up arms again in the spring, or to escape into the Austrian dominions. The enemy meantime continued to burn and destroy all before them; and Lefebvre, with an unrelenting barbarity worthy of the master whom he served, hunted down all who had distinguished themselves during the war. He demolished their houses, confiscated their property, and threw their families into confinement. They themselves, when they fell into his hands, were delivered over to his military tribunals, and executed with all the insolent mockery of law. A few only of the many brave and excellent men who were thus murdered have had their names preserved. Siegmund, the rector of Virgen, and Unterkerchen, his curate, were shot at Lienz. Fradle was shot before the church of Virgen; Obersummer and Webber suffered the same death; and a rascally priest was employed to calumniate them after death, by declaring from the pulpit that they had expressed the utmost contrition for their rebellion. Taxis of Toffereckén, and Groder of Kels, were put to death before their own houses. 25 were shot between Lienz and Bennecken, others were hanged. The French of the present day speak with horror of the revolutionary murders

committed by Lebon and Carrier and Collot d'Herbois, but they acted upon the same system in the Tyrol. Eager, if possible, to root out the love of liberty from the earth, they took every means to prevent the patriots from escaping into the adjoining countries. All the inhabitants of a parish were made responsible with their lives and property for every attack made upon a French or Bavarian soldier; and any parish harbouring a person who had not delivered in his arms, or delaying to deliver him up to the nearest military post, was to be considered as aiding and abetting rebellion, and punished accordingly. The cowardly malice of these vile slaves extended to the dead as well as the living. They dug up the patriots, who, having fallen in the war, had been buried with national honours, destroyed the inscriptions which had been cut in wood over their graves, and turned their bodies into holes dug in the highway, treating them like thieves and malefactors.

Hofer meantime concealed himself in a hut which he had built in a remote part of the mountains, and where, during the winter, while the country was covered with snow, he must have been safe, if, even in the Tyrol, a wretch had not been found base enough to betray him. This shame of his country was a priest, by name How Donay, and he, for a bribe of 200 louis d'ors, guided the French to his hiding place. Hofer was led with his family barefoot through the snow to Botzen, under an escort of 700 men, and exposed to every kind of ill treatment. Such, however, was the indignation of the Tyrolese, that the ruffians, who were determined upon the murder of this heroic chieftain, dared not perpetrate it in his own country. They assured the people that his life would be spared, conveyed him to Mantua, and there by the sentence of a military tribunal he was shot. *Feb. 24. 1810.* He refused to let his eyes be covered when he was led to execution, and died as became a martyr, rejoicing that he had done his duty. The mean and rancorous Corsican committed a new act of baseness towards his memory; he printed a letter in Hofer's name, addressed to the Tyrolese, in which he was represented as exhorting them to the most loyal submission to their new master, and feeling the utmost repentance for his own guilt in rising in rebellion. The imposition was too gross to be successful. Another falsehood which the French circulated of the same nature was, that the son of Hofer, detesting his father's example, had entered the Bavarian service; whereas, in truth, this brave and unfortunate boy died of the ill treatment which he endured in his captivity.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Expedition to Walcheren. Capture of Flushing. Abandonment of the farther Objects of the Expedition. Disease among the Troops and Evacuation of the Island.

WHEN the news of the battle of Wagram, and the more fatal armistice which followed it, reached England, an expedition had long been preparing in favour of our continental allies, and was on the point of sailing. Great Britain had never on any occasion sent out so formidable a force. The number of troops employed were above 39,000, and the naval armament consisted of 35 sail of the line, 2 fifty gun ships, 3 of 44 guns, 18 frigates, and 179 smaller vessels, together with a large proportion of such craft as is employed in the dock-yards. The military command was given to the Earl of Chatham, the naval to Sir Richard Strachan. The former appointment excited considerable wonder, for Lord Chatham was a man whose habits of indolence were notoriously inveterate, insomuch, that in the height of his brother's power it had been found necessary to remove him from the office of first lord of the Admiralty.* His manners were agreeable, and in conversation he displayed talents, which, as they never appeared on other occasions, seem only to have been exerted for conversational purposes, or only equal to them. Mr Pitt was known to have described him as a person of useless abilities. He had served on the continent during the anti-jacobin war, and was third in command at the disgraceful capitulation of the Helder. At this time he held the situation of master of the ordnance, and in that capacity possessed a seat in the cabinet. In the course of the expedition, and still more after its conclusion, some inconvenience was found to result from having thus invested a cabinet minister with command.

The objects proposed for this great armament to accomplish were, "the† capture or destruction of the enemy's ships, either building at Antwerp and Flushing, or afloat on the Scheldt; the destruction of the arsenals and dock-yards at Antwerp, Terneuse, and Flushing; the reduction of the island of Walcheren, and the rendering, if possible, the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war." It had been a favourite scheme of Mr Pitt's

* While he held this situation he was called the *late* Lord Chatham, because his hour of rising was usually in the afternoon.

† Lord Chatham's Instructions.

to take Flushing by a coup-de-main; he consulted Dumouriez upon it, and that general gave it as his opinion that no attack upon Holland would be successful. In 1798, however, Sir Home Popham was ordered to form a plan for attacking this fortress, and Nelson in 1801 had fixed his eye upon the same point. He considered it as a week's expedition for four or five thousand men: upon this Sir John Moore was consulted, and he, who never looked hopefully upon any object, discovered so many obstacles and difficulties, that the design was abandoned. Buonaparte annexed the town and its port to France in 1807, his brother Louis being ordered to cede it with all the formalities of a treaty. This usurpation, though it added nothing to the actual means of annoyance which he possessed, called the attention of the English government anew to an object which it had already had in contemplation, and Lord Castlereagh spoke of Flushing in parliament as a point against which it behoved us to be particularly and adequately prepared.* The expedition was planned in March; but, though 15 or 16,000 men were then thought a sufficient force, the commander-in-chief could not produce them, on account of the shattered condition of the army after the return of so large a portion of it from Spain. A larger army became necessary when Antwerp was made the ultimate point of attack. Here Buonaparte was carrying on naval works with all the vigour of a newly-established despotism. Fifteen hundred houses, the most ancient part of this great city, were demolished, and the whole space which they occupied was appropriated to slips for ship-building. Ten 80 gun ships were at that time on the stocks; there was room for building twenty at the same time, and the timber of the Black Forest, which might be floated down the Rhine, is inexhaustible. Mechanics for the work were chosen from among the conscripts, they were formed into military as well as working orders,—a company under the superintendance of a captain to each ship, and every Sunday they were exercised as soldiers. Ministers had been informed that this part of the country was now so drained of its troops in consequence of the war with Austria, that a British army might penetrate to Antwerp without any serious resistance.

That short-sighted and selfish system which would direct the efforts of the country to what are called "purely British objects," miserably displayed itself upon this occasion. Had this army been sent to Spain, it would have exterminated the French from the peninsula; had it been sent to the Elbe, the north of Germany was ripe for revolt; Hanover would have joined us, and Prussia might not improbably have made one more struggle to avert its final destruction. Schill might have been saved, had we gone in the right time and to the right place; and the Duke of Brunswick, with an English force in the country, would have been at the head of an army instead of a handful of fugitives. But at Antwerp and at Flushing there were ships; and it was deemed a British object to destroy the naval resources of the enemy. In the very conception of such a project there was a demonstrable absurdity. Our fleet was already so triumphantly superior, that all com-

* See our first volume, p. 88.

petition for the empire of the ocean was at an end. Nothing remained to be done; these ships which were building in the Scheldt could not be manned during the war, and if manned, we were certain of victory whenever we met them on the seas. The military power of France was greater than ours, though not in a like proportion. What then was the true policy of England?—evidently to bring its navy to co-operate with the army wherever that was possible, in reducing the military strength of our enemy; instead of this, ministers sent an army to co-operate with the fleet in attacking ships. It is worthy of remark also, that of all the persons who were consulted upon this expedition, not one of them seems to have approved it. Colonel Gordon delivered it as his opinion that it would undoubtedly be a desperate enterprize, and that in the attempt a very large proportion of our naval and military means would be put to imminent hazard; and Sir David Dundas, the commander-in-chief, said, that in whatever way Antwerp was to be approached, the service was one of very great risk, and from which the safe return of the army was very precarious. Sir Richard Strachan indeed held the language of hope to those under his command. "The armament," he said, "under the Earl of Chatham and himself, yielded to none that ever embarked from England, in its importance both to the interest of the nation, and the credit of those who were entrusted with its direction; and from its extensive and minute combinations, he assured the fleet that no enterprize ever afforded a fairer scope for zeal and ability to all the individuals honoured with a share in it." Yet it appears that Admiral Strachan augured less confidently of success than he spoke, and that he never thoroughly approved the plan of the expedition. He was of opinion that ships of the line could go above Antwerp, (as was the fact,) and therefore, unless Antwerp were taken, that it would be difficult, or rather impossible, to destroy them. No person seems to have perceived the comparative insignificance of the end proposed, nor to have once taken into the account the worst danger which threatened the armament, the known, calculable, and certain consequences of sending an army to the most unwholesome part of the habitable earth, (Batavia itself scarcely excepted,) and precisely in the midst of the sickly months.

Aware that this great armament was preparing, and ignorant of its destination, the French expected its arrival upon some part of their usurped and almost defenceless empire with considerable apprehensions; for Buonaparte, calculating more reasonably on the incapacity of his opponents than upon his own fortune, had drained France and Flanders of their troops that he might crush the house of Austria by a decisive blow. If England had, like him, been ambitious of nothing but glory, and careless of the destruction committed in obtaining it, we might have marched to Paris, and have burnt his capital to the ground. But it was in the Low Countries that our appearance was dreaded. There were not an hundred soldiers at Ostend, or Bruges, or Ghent, and the French functionaries were so alarmed by the consciousness of their own defenceless situation, that they sent their families into the interior. Many of the conscripts who had been recently raised in those provinces fled, and concealed themselves, in hope of joining the

English, if they should land as deliverers. "The Dutch," *July 25.* said the court Gazette of Amsterdam, "must now be involved in that dreadful contest which has so long kept Europe in a state of fermentation. Should a landing take place in Holland, such an event would cost the nation dear, and the senseless ones who desire it know not what they wish." Thus it was confessed that there were people who desired it; and this was accounted for by saying it was easily to be conceived that the house of Orange might still have friends in a country for which it had formerly performed such important services. A different language was held when the real objects of the expedition were known. "Certainly," it was said, "if the English government engaged to Austria to make a powerful diversion in her favour, it was not at Walcheren that Austria expected its assistance. It was looked for in Italy, in Spain, in the north of Germany,—not in the Scheldt. Nothing could result from it in favour of Austria; and it appeared almost impossible that such an armament, furnished with cavalry and artillery, should have no other object than to set fire to a few ships, and occupy for a few days a maritime place taken by surprise, in order afterwards to retreat from it precipitately like pirates; yet impossible as this appeared, it was still more impossible that the result could be honourable to England."

The first part of the expedition with the commander-in-chief sailed from the Downs at five in the morning of the 28th July, and at seven in the evening of the same day anchored in the Steen Diep, within three leagues of the west coast of Walcheren. The plan of operations was, that the left wing of the army under Sir Eyre Coote should occupy Walcheren; the Marquis of Huntley with 5000 men was to land upon the island of Cadsand, and entrench himself there to cut off the communication with Flushing. General Grosvenor with an equal force was to occupy the Isle of Schowen, and Sir John Hope with the reserve to obtain possession of South Beveland. Cadsand is divided from the sea by an inconsiderable sea creek, which is navigable only by small boats; the other islands, like all those which constitute the province of Zealand, are divided by branches of the sea, the two most considerable of which are called the East and West Scheldt, so called because they spread themselves into a sort of bay at the south-east extremity of South Beveland, and there receive the river of that name. The channel of the West Scheldt is bounded by Walcheren and South Beveland on one side, and the coast of Flanders on the other. To the west of Flushing it is about eight or ten fathoms in depth; above that town the deep water channel continues for the most part along the north shore, and in many places within one or two hundred yards from its banks. Opposite the fort of Bathz, at the south-east extremity of South Beveland, the waters spread over the extensive banks of Santengen on the Flemish coast, and at this point the East Scheldt is connected with the West by the Bergen-op-Zoom channel. Thus far up the water is as salt as the ocean; the channel soon narrows, and at Sandoliet the Scheldt appears manifestly a river, of which the breadth at high tide does not exceed a mile and a half. It is about that breadth where it is defended by Fort Lillo on the one bank, and Liefkenhock on

the other, from thence it decreases in width as far as Antwerp, where it is from four to five hundred yards. The whole of this channel is navigable for line-of-battle ships, though the navigation, especially above Bathz, is intricate and difficult, and the rise of the tide extremely irregular, depending very much upon the force and direction of the wind. From Flushing to Bathz is about forty miles, from thence to Antwerp twenty.

The East Scheldt is bounded by the islands of Schouwen, Duiveland, and Tholen, and part of Brabant on the north; on the south by Walcheren and North and South Beveland. At the entrance, which is called the Roompot, there is bad and precarious anchorage for a small fleet, without the reach of guns from the dyke of North Beveland. The channel, though narrow and winding, is yet practicable as far as Yrseke, about 30 miles; between Kattendyk and Wemalding there is room for a considerable fleet to anchor. At Yrseke the Verdronken land begins, a large portion of South Beveland which was inundated in 1532, and has never been recovered: a narrow channel continues along the coasts of Tholen and Brabant, decreasing in depth from 30 fathoms till it becomes fordable at low water for an extent of more than ten miles just to the northward of Bathz. The East and West Scheldts are also connected by the Sloe channel, which forms the whole eastern boundary of Walcheren, dividing it from North Beveland, Wolphartsdyk, and South Beveland. This channel is navigable for frigates.

The possession of Cadsand was considered by Sir Richard Strachan as the first object, the preliminary and indispensable measure to the accomplishment of the whole, because it would secure safe anchorage for the fleet along the coast to Sluys Roads, and because the expedition might then pass up the Scheldt without waiting for the capture of Walcheren.* Sir Richard Keats accorded in opinion with Strachan, and expressed his anxiety when the object of the expedition was first communicated to him, that if Antwerp were the main point they should proceed to it without delay, and not be involved in the siege of Flushing. Commodore Owen, who was to land the troops here, was a distinguished officer, and well acquainted with that part of the coast. He entered the channel on the 29th; there was a heavy surf on the beach, and it blew too strong for boats to land. Preparations however were made for landing at break of day the following morning, when it was intended to take the last part of the ebb-tide in shore. The wind continued to blow strong from the west, the transport boats were wholly useless in such weather, and those of the ships of war could not carry more than from six to seven hundred men. So many they could have put on shore, *July* 30. but there would have been great difficulty in getting the boats back after the first debarkation; if this difficulty were conquered, some hours must pass before 2000 men could be landed, and the Marquis of Huntley would not consent to have a smaller number landed at once. The enemy were at this time bringing down field-

* Sir Richard Strachan afterwards changed his opinion. In a letter of Aug. 2d, he says, "Owen is right in not attacking Cadsand; I never approved of it, and Lord Chatham will be glad."—*Appendix to the 7th Day's Minutes of Evidence.*

pieces in the evening; those who were seen were estimated at 12 or 1400 men, and they took post behind the sand hills, and in a battery which flanked the beach. The opportunity for attacking them unprepared was lost, for the batteries were not strong, and would in all likelihood have been won if they had been attacked in the morning. Commodore Owen had written to Sir Richard Strachan on the evening of the 29th, informing him that the Marquis expected a greater force to land than he had the means of putting on shore. On the following morning an answer was received, desiring him to suspend his operations till he had better help. It had been intended that Lord Gardner's squadron should join Commodore Owen; could this have been effected, Cadsand might have been won on the 30th, but Lord Gardner was to leeward till that day, when he took his station off the Duerlod. On the morning of the 31st, another disposition was made for landing, and measures were taken for running the transports with two regiments on shore; but the enemy were now in considerable force, and it was judged better to wait for the assistance of Lord Gardner's boats. Commodore Owen therefore sent him a letter, informing him that it was for his boats they waited; his lordship in return sent an extract from his instructions, in which he was ordered to remain where he was. That part of the plan which had been considered as indispensable to the accomplishment of the whole, was thus frustrated. Lord Gardner seems to have misunderstood his instructions, all of which in their main purport directed him to co-operate with Commodore Owen.* This was one error; the Marquis of Huntley also appears to have erred in judgement; six hundred of our troops, with the fleet so close in sight, would have found little difficulty in winning the batteries and routing the raw and disaffected levies, whose efficient strength was by no means to be estimated by their numbers.

Thus far more was imputable to error than to accident; but the unfavourable state of the weather occasioned another evil which no foresight or activity could have prevented. A flotilla, consisting of between 80 and 90 gun-boats, was taken out in the fleet; it would have been unsafe to have attempted bringing them into the Scheldt with their guns in after their arrival, therefore they were to be manned and provisioned, and to receive their guns, water, ammunition, and other stores. The enemy were supposed to have a strong flotilla to oppose the entrance of the British up either of the Scheldts, so that the equipment of this force was understood to be the first naval measure absolutely requisite, a primary point to any operations, and a very material † one. Sir R. Strachan intended to have equipped it for the

* July 29th. Sir R. Strachan says, "My Lord, I have to request you will join me in the Steene Deep, and anchor to the westward of the fleet, to be ready to cover the operations under Captain Owen and the Marquis of Huntley on Cadsand." And again on the same day, "Notwithstanding your order of this date, as Admiral Otway is arrived, I wish you not to join the squadron, but take a position off West Capel, keeping the Duerloo open, by which means you will be ready to assist Commodore Owen, agreeable to your orders."—*Appendix to the 7th Day's Minutes of Evidence.*

† Sir Richard Keats's evidence.

Western Scheldt, in the West Putt, contiguous to the entrance; but the wind and weather compelled him to seek shelter, and the only station which afforded it was the Roompot, off the S. W. end of the island of Schouwen. But as it appeared from the chart that the road was commanded from the island, Sir John Hope was directed to make himself master of such part of Schouwen as he thought necessary, and pass on to secure Ter Goes, and take in reverse all the batteries of South Beveland which commanded the navigation of the West Scheldt. It was, however, found that the roadstead was at safe distance from the Isle of Schouwen, and that the East Scheldt was navigable for large ships a considerable way up, a channel from five to ten fathoms in depth extending the whole way from the Roompot to the village of Wemelding. Concerning this point great doubt and anxiety had prevailed, for though Sir Home Popham had heard that Dutch East-Indiamen formerly resorted to Zierickzee, he was by no means certain that large vessels could pass beyond it. This having been ascertained, General Hope and Sir Richard Keats, with their division of the armament, were ordered to proceed according to their original instructions.

July 29.

The left wing of the army, destined for the reduction of Walcheren, was to have been landed either at West Capelle or Dombourgh; the surf rendered a debarkation impossible at either place. On the morning of the 30th, the fleet anchored off the Bree Sand, and at six in the evening of the same day, the landing was effected about a gun-shot to the westward of Den Haak battery. A few guns were fired ineffectually from the Haak fort at the covering vessels; it was then abandoned as soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Pack advanced against it, and head-quarters were established there for the night. A few prisoners, with two guns and an ammunition waggon, were taken, and a considerable number of deserters came over. Colonel Pack immediately proceeded with five companies of his regiment by the sea-dyke toward the town of Ter Veer. Major-General Picton marched through the Haak fort at about half past ten to support him; but he came too late, for before eleven a heavy firing was heard in that direction. Colonel Pack had advanced close to the town, and was actually upon the standing part of the bridge, (the drawbridge having been raised) when a fire of grape was opened upon him, and he was forced to retire with the loss of about 35 men killed and wounded. When this was known, Sir Home Popham ordered the gun-boats to proceed up the Veer Gat, as early as possible on the following morning, for the purpose of bombarding Ter Veer.

As soon as it was daybreak, a detachment advanced to invest this place. By this time the French General Osden, who commanded the body of observation, had retired beyond Middleburgh; deputies arrived from thence to treat for a surrender, and that town, without guns or garrison, was permitted to enter into a capitulation of eight articles. This circumstance, it was remarked, betrayed some ignorance in the practice of war; for on the same principle the army might have been delayed by making terms with every village in the island. The investment of Ter Veer was completed early on that morning, and the gun-boats bombarded it du-

July 31.

ring the whole day, under a heavy fire, by which two of them were sunk; they were withdrawn in the evening; during the night about two hundred of the garrison made their escape, and got into Flushing by water; the rest, amounting to more than 500, capitulated, and were made prisoners of war. Fourteen gun-boats, which had sailed from the harbour of Veer, escaped through the channel of the Zand creek, between North Beveland and Wolphartsdyk; they exchanged shot with the Crocus brig, and steered directly towards Tholen and Bergen-op-Zoom. Had this channel been well known, and its connection with the Veer Gat, these vessels must have been captured.

Aug. 1. Ter Veer was now made the place of debarkation for the ordnance and stores for the siege of Flushing, it being deemed impracticable to land them in Zoutland Bay, according to the original plan. During these operations the sailors displayed their characteristic zeal and activity. Owing to the strength of the tide it was for some time extremely difficult to land the horses, and the advance of the army must necessarily have been delayed, if these indefatigable men had not drawn great part of the artillery through a heavy sand.

Lord Chatham established his head-quarters at Middleburgh, and on the same day the army moved forward in three columns for the investment of Flushing; General Grahame on the right to reduce the batteries at Zoutland, Dykeshoek, and Vyoeter; Lord Paget in the centre by Hoogeland and Coudekirke to West Zoubourgh; General Houston on the left to East Zoubourgh, to communicate with Lord Paget, and to observe Ramakins. Their advance on all these points was sharply but unsuccessfully opposed, and the enemy's light troops, favoured by a country which is very much intersected with hedges and ditches, kept up a continual fire upon the British outposts. Flushing, however, was invested, the commanding officers of artillery and engineers were directed to use the utmost exertions in preparing for the attack of that place; heavy artillery was disembarked, depots of entrenching tools were formed, and every arrangement made for immediate operations. But the failure of the plan against Cadsand was now felt; the enemy might easily be reinforced from thence, and Lord Chatham urged the admiral to bring in the ships of war without a moment's loss of time, that this communication might be cut off. Nine schuyts full of troops pushed across, and got into Flushing on the night of the first. Several others effected their passage afterwards, some of which were seen to cross, and reached the harbour within seventeen minutes from the time when they set their sails. When these reinforcements pushed over, none of the fleet was in a situation to pass up and prevent them, except Commodore Owen's division; but he was employed in hovering off the shore of Cadsand for a purpose which never was effected, and if this had not prevented him, he must have suffered much from the Cadsand batteries while that island was in the enemy's possession. The strength of the garrison being thus increased, it was thought expedient to reinforce the besieging army, and General Grosvenor's division, which would have been disembarked on the island of Schouwen, if the shores of the East Scheldt had not unexpectedly been found defenceless,

Aug. 2. was landed in Walcheren to assist in the operations against Flushing. A battery was formed against Ramakins; as soon as it was ready to open, the garrison, consisting of 127 men, surrendered. The approach to Flushing was now open to our troops on the north, and to our naval force on the east and west; but on the south the movement was not yet completed, and this was especially necessary to the success of the siege.

By this time the operations in South Beveland were terminated. Sir John Hope's division weighed anchor early on the 31st of July, and proceeded toward Zierickzee. A strong wind from the west prevented the troops from getting into their boats that day. On the following *Aug.* 1. this was effected, and they advanced up the East Scheldt. Three of the enemy's line-of-battle ships, which had been seen the preceding day at anchor towards the eastern extremity of South Beveland, weighed anchor now, and joined the rest of the hostile fleet above Lillo and Liefkenshoeck. About one in the afternoon 2000 men were landed on the dyke between Wemelding and Kattendyk, about five miles from Ter Goes, the capital of the island. No opposition was attempted, and the magistrates of Ter Goes, without requiring any terms, placed themselves under the protection of the English, and head-quarters were established in that town. A hundred men, forming part of a detachment which, under General Bruce, had made their escape from Walcheren, on the 31st, across the Sloe passage, were made prisoners on the 2d by General Disney's advanced guard. The enemy's batteries were abandoned as the English advanced; the means, indeed, of defending South Beveland were not very great, but the disposition was still less. It remained to obtain possession of Fort Bathz; and in this some difficulty was apprehended, for Sir John Hope was not provided with a single piece of heavy artillery, and it was universally believed that this work was placed on an insulated spot, built with masonry, flanked and well planted with cannon. Capt. Squire of the engineers was directed to reconnoitre it; he found merely a square earth work, badly flanked, and containing, with an open battery, on the sea dyke, in its front, fourteen guns and four howitzers. But as it was protected from an assault by a wide and deep wet ditch, some sort of battery must have been established against it, and its reduction would have occasioned delay certainly, and, not improbably, some difficulty and loss; for, as it is situated precisely on the deep water channel of the West Scheldt, where our fleet had not yet advanced in consequence of the failure of the plan upon Cadsand, the garrison might continually have been supplied and reinforced, and the enemy's flotilla might have effectually co-operated in its defence. Accident and cowardice threw it more easily into our hands. A party of the guards, it is said, consisting of about thirty, strolled from the army, and, finding no obstruction, proceeded along the dyke till they found themselves unexpectedly before the fort at Bathz. The governor, Bruce, taking them for a detachment from the main force, spiked the guns, destroyed the ammunition, and crossed over to Bergen-op-Zoom with the whole garrison. The English were surprised to hear that Bathz was evacuated, and could not understand why an officer,

with 600 men under his command, should have made no resistance in a fort so advantageously placed. Treachery was not imputed to him, but he was punished for misconduct, being degraded by Louis Buonaparte, and declared unworthy of holding any military rank. The English were welcomed on their way to Bathz, and in the place itself, with evident sincerity. Unhappily, whatever good might have resulted from this disposition of the Dutch in their favour, was counteracted by the slowness and indecision with which the expedition was conducted. Sir John Hope's division remained from this time inactive in South Beveland, being considered merely as a corps of observation during the siege of Flushing. The enemy, on the other hand, at Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, were active in collecting forces, and still more so in spreading exaggerated reports of their strength, and of the reinforcements which were arriving. The Zealanders, therefore, anticipated the result of the contest. It became daily more difficult to obtain information; the higher ranks particularly kept aloof from the English, and the people dared not appear active in the behalf of those whom they would joyfully have hailed as deliverers, if any permanent effect could possibly have resulted from the expedition. That the disposition of the people was in our favour could not be doubted. When a force was collected by the French in Walcheren, it was understood that the Dutch troops were inclined to come over to us if encouragement were held out, and it was known that the smugglers, and all those who were connected with them, would rejoice to see the French removed from their favourite post, which, to their great annoyance, had been converted under this usurpation into a naval arsenal. But the manner in which the British commander proceeded against Flushing was equally impolitic and unskilful, and, by making war upon the people instead of the garrison, the very consequences which ought especially to have been avoided were inevitably produced.

Flushing, (or, Vlissingen, according to the proper orthography of its name,) was only known for the ferry between Zealand and Flanders, till about the year 1400, when a village was established, which gradually became a small fishing town, and now, under the name of Old Flushing, formed a suburb on the west of the town, in front of the gate of Middleburgh. At the commencement of the Low Country wars it was fortified towards the water, but had little other defence on the land side than a low green rampart. The Spaniards, however, aware of the importance of its situation, were about to build a citadel there in 1572. They were at that time in apparent friendship with the court of London, and at the frequent instances of their ambassadors, the Dutch emigrants were ordered to leave England. Vandermark was one of those patriots who, by this measure, were driven from their asylum; finding no hope of safety but in the active performance of his duty to his native land, he returned to Holland, recovered the Brill, and soon drew Flushing to the patriotic cause. In consequence of its good services, it was that same year ranked among those towns of Zealand which have the right of suffrage, its fortifications were strengthened, and it immediately became a place of considerable consequence. England retained it as one of the cautionary towns about

thirty years. In 1688, its port was excavated at the expence of the States General, and having been nearly choked with sand in 1744 by the breaking of the sluices, it was cleared in 1750, and the damages repaired. The population at this time amounted to about 7000. The works were in a state of decay; for though an attack had long been apprehended, and Buonaparte * early in 1808 issued orders relative to the defence of the place, little had yet been done towards executing his projects; the French were in greater apprehension of a sea-bombardment than of a regular land-siege, and, therefore, their strongest batteries were placed towards the Deurlos channel and the anchorage in front of the town. Towards the land Flushing was inclosed with a line of bastions, extending from one sea-dyke to the other; these works were of earth, generally without any sort of revetment; the flanks of the bastions were perpendicular to the curtain, and their construction was in other respects also very defective. The rampart was low, commanded by the sea-dyke, except on the flanks of the position, in great want of repair, without traverses or bomb-proof covers for the garrison. There was a respectable wet ditch in front of these fortifications, but without any sort of glacis. Where the sea-dyke met the works, the bastions on the flanks were faced with a breast revetment in a very weak and neglected state, and so much exposed, that the bastion was liable to be breached at a distance of 1000 yards from the place. The French had constructed a sort of outwork in front of each flank on the sea-dyke, with a low parapet, on which a few guns were mounted; they had also added a ravelin before each of the gates communicating with the country. Throughout the land-front there were distributed about fifty pieces of artillery; only ten of these were twenty-four pounders, the rest were chiefly field-pieces and howitzers, and almost all of them were mounted *en barbette* without merlons or traverses. There were about 4000 troops in the island when the English landed; they consisted mostly of Prussians, Spaniards, Dutch, and Irishmen, all, except perhaps the latter, detesting in their hearts the usurper whom they were compelled to serve. The enemy had few artillery-men, and were wholly unprepared for the defence of such a place as Flushing.

Instead of proceeding against this ill-provided place by a regular scientific attack, it was resolved to reduce it by a bombardment, a mode of proceeding which, where any other is possible, produces precisely those consequences which an able general would be most desirous to avoid. For in its effect it is far less certain, and, as has been observed by a most able writer in a narrative of this miserable campaign, "such a mode of

* *Sa Majestè l'Empereur et Roi, dans un ordre du* 26 *Mars* 1808, *a posê les basses de la defense de Flessingue, dans les termes suivans.*

1. "*La defense de Flessingue est fondeè sur l'inondation; en cas que l'ennemi se presente, on doit couper les digues, et mettre l'isle sous l'eau.*

2. "*Cependant l'ennemi peut toujours cheminer sur les digues; d'ailleurs il faut defendre l'entree du port pour conserver la communication avec le continent. Il faut donc qu'on occupe un point sur chaque digue, a environ* 1000 *toises de l'entreè du chenal; de maniere que de chaque côte l'ennèmi ne puisse s'etablir qu'a* 1200 *toises; des lors le canon est sans effet, et Flessingue ne peut pas etrè bloqueé.*"

warfare is contrary to every principle of humanity or sound policy; by a wilful destruction of the property and lives of the inhabitants of fortified places, we not only aggravate the horrors of war, which it is our duty as far as possible to mitigate, but we naturally and justly excite the eternal hatred of the people, which, after the conquest of the place, may be of the most serious disadvantage to * ourselves. Supposing the attack upon Copenhagen to have been in itself justifiable, it was right to bombard the city, because it was defended by citizens; but to throw shells and rockets in all cases will, if carried into a system, disgrace us among civilized nations." The plan was not more injudiciously chosen, than it was unskilfully executed. Before any of the stores necessary for the attack were landed, the troops were actually posted within range of the enemy's guns. By an order from head quarters, they were compelled to work with their great coats on, generally without any covering party in their front, and frequently while the advanced parties of the French were on their flank. In many instances the French picquets were suffered to remain two musquet shots from the place during the whole of our operations, so that by the unskilful disposition of the British general, a wooded and inclosed country, which is generally considered a great disadvantage to the besieged, proved of the greatest benefit to them, and seriously detrimental to the besiegers. In fact, it appeared as if there never had existed any fixed or combined plan of operations. The batteries and trenches were constructed, one after the other, without method or arrangement. "Neither the officers nor soldiers in the engineer department knew their situations; their bodies were harassed with unnecessary fatigue, and their spirits broken by a consciousness of the folly of every measure entrusted to their † execution." All the batteries were more distant than is usual in sieges, because they were planted by guess instead of having the distance measured; one on the left was so far off that it could not throw shot into the place at all. The execution of the works was also extremely slow in consequence of the uncertainty and confusion which prevailed, and the want of arrangement in the distribution of the working parties.

Here in England, however, things were supposed to be so ably carried on, that the king's approbation was at this time signified to Lord Chatham, for the promptitude with which he had commenced, and the vigour with which he had conducted, his operations; and he was told that the rapidity with which possession had been acquired of South Beveland and Walcheren, with the exception of Flushing,—(that is, of the only place which could oppose him,) was considered as the best proof of the zeal and energy with which the ulterior objects of the expedition would be prosecuted. His Majesty's approbation was also particularly expressed to the artillery and engineer depart-

* "This," the writer continues, "was always the striking feature of difference between the celebrated engineers Coehorn and Vauban; the former carried the place by hurling, as it were, indiscriminately the dreadful weapons of destruction; the latter conducted his attack with skill, and according to the real principles of science, and Vauban generally succeeded in a shorter time than Coehorn."

† Short Narrative of the Campaign, p. 59.

ment, their skill was praised, and the commander-in-chief was again commended for his perseverance and celerity. While he was proceeding with his preparations for the bombardment, the enemy continued to receive reinforcements. Eleven boats crossed from Cadsand on the 5th, nine, with three-score men in each, on the following night, and in the course of three days about 3000 men got into Flushing. General Monnet, the French governor, had now more troops than he wanted; and on the afternoon of the 7th, he sent out General Osden at the head of 2000. They attacked the right of the British position with great vigour; the men had been made drunk before they sallied; drunkenness gave them additional courage for the attack; when they were repulsed, they became stupified, not having sense enough to avoid the blows which were aimed at them, and the English at length, either in shame or compassion, desisted from slaughtering such enemies. Nevertheless, this sally was so well planned and conducted by their officers, that our troops suffered a loss of fourteen killed and 141 wounded.

This was the only instance in which any vigour was displayed by General Monnet, and to this he was not improbably induced by thinking his garrison superfluous in number. The more efficient means of annoyance which were pointed out by the peculiar nature of the country, and by Buonaparte's instructions, were strangely neglected by him. The surface of Walcheren, like that of all the Zealand isles, is below the level of the sea at high water. In some places it is protected by low sand hills, in others by artificial dykes. These dykes are formed of well-rammed earth; their height is fourteen or fifteen feet, and the width of their upper surface generally from fifteen to twenty. Any tract of land that has been recovered from the sea is inclosed on all sides by dykes; of these tracks, which are called *polders*, there are few in Walcheren. South Beveland, on the contrary, and most of the other islands, have several. The north coast of Walcheren is chiefly defended by sand hills. A ridge from thirty to sixty feet above the level of high water mark commences a little to the southward of the Haak battery, and, with the interruption of the Dyke of West Capelle, (which is about two miles in length, and unites the Domburg with the Zouterand sand hills) extends to within a mile and a half of Flushing. This latter space, except one sandy height, is occupied by a dyke connecting the western coast of the island with the town. Eastward of Flushing (except the interval of sand-hills, about 400 yards in length, and commencing about a quarter of a mile from the town,) a dyke is continued along the whole coast, to the place where the natural barrier commences near the Haak battery. The country is also intersected with water-courses from twelve to fourteen feet wide; they serve the double purpose of retaining rain water for the cattle during summer, and draining the land in the rainy season.

On the first debarkation of the English, General Monnet opened the small sluices in the counterscarp of the ditch, and began to cut the eastern dyke; the operation, however, from some unexplained cause, was suspended till the 10th. A French naval officer, who was captured in attempting to cross from Flushing to the continent, stated that it was cut through by the express orders of

Buonaparte, and against the inclination of the general, who carried on the work as slow as possible. But Buonaparte's orders were not to be trifled with; the dike was now cut, and the sea water began to flow rapidly through the opening. Already the water in the ditches had perceptibly risen from the sluices in the counterscarp, but now the effects of a more serious inundation were perceived. In many parts the trenches became useless, and the platforms of some of the batteries were so far overflowed as to prevent the management of the artillery. The country people represented the necessity of stopping up one of the ditches which branched from the great water-course that runs from Flushing towards Middleburgh, and they recommended that the banks of that water-course should be heightened, in order to confine the water entirely to this one channel, so that it might be carried off by the sluices which open to the Middleburgh canal. They advised also that the principal ditches in front of the British position on the left, should in like manner be secured, and that an embankment should be thrown up along the road between Lamenbourgh and West Loubourgh, to prevent the sea water from penetrating in that direction, and spoiling the fresh water. The surveyor of the dikes (the administration of these bulwarks formed a most important branch in the government of this country) was sent with a detachment to dam up all the points by which the sea water could be communicated to the watering-places of the army.

It was now apparent, that very formidable means of annoyance were in the enemy's power, and all possible exertions were made to complete the batteries on the right, by the morning of the 11th. But on the evening of the 10th, a thunder storm, with heavy rain, came in aid of the inundations, to give the devoted inhabitants of Flushing a little farther respite; the ground soon became impassable for guns and heavy carriages, and the men could not work in the trenches. This delayed the works; on Sunday the 13th, however, all the batteries, except one, were completed and mounted with artillery, and a little after the hour of noon, they commenced a tremendous fire against the unfortunate town; against the town, not against the fortifications,—the artillery was pointed with the sole view of destroying the houses and other buildings; and for this end, nearly ten thousand rounds of ammunition were expended. The line-of-battle ships could not co-operate because of the wind; but a flotilla of bomb-vessels and gun-boats were stationed on each side of the town to assist in the bombardment; the town was soon on fire in several places, and rockets were employed to increase the conflagration,—an invention which renders war more destructive without making it more decisive, and which can never possibly produce any great effect, unless it be one which would prove ruinous to ourselves. Before the bombardment commenced, Lord Chatham sent to the French governor, telling him the fire would be very heavy, and requesting him to remove the women and children, for whom he offered a free passage through the British lines. Monnet returned for answer, that he was fully able to defend the women and children, a reply as absurd as the refusal was inhuman. The scene which ensued was dreadful. Clustered chimnies, beaten down by

shells or balls, forced in the roofs; the interior of almost every house was exposed to sight,—when the guns gave a momentary interval, the shrieks of women and children and the howling of dogs were heard,—and owls and bats, driven from their hiding places, were seen wheeling about blindly in the fiery air.

The gun-batteries ceased soon after night closed in, and the gun-boats having expended their ammunition, drew off. But during the whole of the night, shells and carcasses were thrown from mortar batteries, at intervals flights of rockets were discharged, and the town continued burning through the night. The enemy themselves set fire to Old Flushing; but the wind, driving the smoke from that quarter along the front of the town, covered a battery at which the English were working, and which had been so exposed to the fire of the garrison, that it could not be completed in the preceding day. Soon after day-light, the batteries resumed their fire along the whole of the line. The ships were now able to approach, and seven sail of the line opened their fire also upon Flushing. The enemy now scarcely fired a shot; in the afternoon, their guns were completely silenced; the Stadt-house was nearly consumed, and houses were blazing in all parts: Lord Chatham ordered the batteries to cease, and sent to summon the French governor to surrender, with his garrison, prisoners of war. General Monnet replied, he would return an answer as soon as he could obtain the advice of a council of war. A little before nine in the evening, he was apprized, that, as no answer had been received, hostilities would recommence in half an hour, and accordingly at the time specified the batteries renewed their fire. At half after ten the governor sent to demand a suspension of arms for eight-and-forty hours: this, he was immediately informed, was inadmissible, and the firing continued.

Aug. 14.

It had now been discovered, that one of our batteries on the left was planted at such a distance, that it was not only unable to injure the works of the town, but even to silence a French *barbette* battery of two guns, advanced on the dike, about 560 yards in front of the fortifications. Sir Eyre Coote was anxious to check the progress of the inundation, by filling up the cut lately made by the enemy, and he therefore ordered Lieutenant Colonel Pack to occupy the dike a thousand yards in front of the existing batteries, that we might be enabled to construct others at a proper distance from the place. This cut was in front of the enemy's advance battery; it was doubtful whether it could be passed except at low water, and Colonel Pack, with about 150 men, set out when it was nearly midnight, the ebb tide being then at the lowest. All access from the low ground was cut off by deep ditches; he advanced along the dike, crossed the cut, took one battery at the point of the bayonet, spiked the guns, and returned to his former position, because he could not establish himself there before day-light, on account of the local impediments which had delayed his advance. The soldiers distinguished themselves greatly in this affair; they brought off forty prisoners. On our side the loss in killed, wounded, and missing, was thirty-eight. Captain Pasley of the engineers was severely wounded on this occasion,—a man who, in his es-

say upon our military policy, has enforced truths of such practical importance, that his individual loss would have been a greater evil to his country than the possession of Walcheren could have counterbalanced.

Aug. 15. About three in the morning, Monnet offered to surrender. The batteries then ceased, and on the following evening the articles of capitulation were signed.* The garrison, amounting to 5800, were to lay down their arms in front of the place, and be removed to England as prisoners of war. When the captors entered Flushing, they perceived the extent of the destruction which they had occasioned. Two churches had been destroyed, the Stadt-house, with the important public and private documents which it contained, and two hundred and fifty houses. Scarcely a house in the town had escaped damage; and when the English entered, it was to breathe the stench of half-smothered fires, and to behold smoking ruins and tottering walls. The wretched inhabitants had fled to their cellars during the bombardment; above 300 found shelter in the vaults of an English settler, and remained unhurt, though bombs and rockets fell upon the house. Monnet, it is said, took possession of the vaults under the Stadt-house, instead of exposing himself in the defence of his post. The duty was performed by General Osden, who behaved well, and was respected by the people. The heaviest loss, during the whole of the operations, fell upon the burghers: previously to the siege, the governor formed them into bodies of city militia, for the ostensible purpose of maintaining the police; but on the first investment of the place he assigned them the post of honour,—for, knowing their disposition towards the English, he stationed them in the most exposed points. Ninety, and among them many of the most respectable inhabitants of the town, were buried in one morning: of twenty-two, who were formed into a corps of burgher-cannoneers, only two escaped. When they attempted once to retreat from the rampart, being unable to stand the tremendous fire from the ships, they were driven back by the French with fixed bayonets. Of the unoffending people, all of them as inimical to the French as ourselves, three hundred and thirty-five were slain, men, women, and children; a far greater number were wounded, whereas the garrison had suffered little; they were in comparative security, on account of the great distance of the batteries which were opposed to the place where they were mostly stationed, on the right of the town, and because it was against the town, not the works, that our destructive fire had been directed. The people felt this, and, when an Englishman expressed any commiseration for their sufferings, they

* It is said that a delay of four-and-twenty hours in evacuating the town was occasioned by an accident. The conditions were at first prepared in the form of a rough draft, to be altered and interlined previously to making the fair copy, which the commissioners on both sides were to sign as the official instrument. This being done, it was not necessary to preserve both; but when the commissioners reached the head-quarters, they found that they had destroyed the fair copy instead of the draft. The terms of capitulation could not be fulfilled without an authentic instrument, and to this formality four-and-twenty hours were sacrificed. This story, whether well-founded or not, was current in the army.

replied, "Why did you not come at once and take possession of the town? you would have captured it without a third part of your loss, and without an hundredth part of this destruction." It was not, however, our inhuman bombardment which made the garrison surrender; they cared as little for the inhabitants as we did. The capture of the place was ascribed to a breaching battery intended to act against the left bastion of the enemy's works, and planted by Captain Birch of the engineers in such a position, that in a few hours it would have laid the rampart open, and exposed the garrison to an immediate assault.

One object of the expedition was thus accomplished, but as little to the credit of the British army as it proved to the advantage of Great Britain; for, in consequence of the slowness and want of judgement which marked all the operations, ten days had been employed in constructing trenches and batteries which 3000 men might have completed in seventy-two hours. Had the operations been protracted a few hours longer, the land-siege must have been raised; but the governor's main object was to enrich himself: this he did in times of security, by selling protection to the smugglers; and when the English appeared in Walcheren, it is supposed that he delayed opening the sluices, because the inhabitants paid him for neglecting a means of defence which would have been so injurious to the country. There were 200 of the Irish brigade in Flushing; the greater part got over in boats to Cadsand before the capitulation, and if any remained, search was not made for them. Buonaparte's generals put to death the peasants of Spain and Portugal in cold blood for defending their country; but it is not in the nature of Englishmen to deliver up traitors like these for execution, when they can, without breach of duty, suffer them to escape. "It is my sincere wish," said an officer, who wrote an account of the expedition, "that these fellows may effect their escape, for if they fall into our hands, we shall be compelled, I fear, to deliver them over to the law. Considering the hardships which they have suffered, that they were actually driven from their country, and compelled to enter into some service for subsistence, though we do not forgive them, yet we all pity them. There is but one wish in the army upon this point." It is worthy of mention also, as another honourable anecdote of the British soldiers, that, whenever they observed an enemy's officer displaying more than usual courage, they marked him out to spare him, saying, it was a pity to shoot so fine a fellow. One of our officers seeing a soldier fire, as if at random, asked him at what he was firing, and being answered, "into the enemy's line," told him to fix on his man and take aim. He continued to fire as before, and being reproved for it, replied resolutely, that his heart would not let him take a fixed aim at one certain man, and it answers all the same purpose, sir, said he, to fire in the crowd.* The French riflemen were very superior to ours; with the bayonet the enemy were as usual instantly beaten; their charge was the less powerful, because their muskets are of many different sizes, the boys and younger men ha-

* "Letters from Flushing," p. 155. This is a very interesting account of the expedition.

ving them much shorter and lighter than the old soldiers. Except in the charge, the practice of the French is greatly to their advantage. The French were under stricter discipline than the English; but the conduct of our men towards the inhabitants must have been very good, when the great subject of complaint was, that they entered the houses without taking off their shoes,—a grievous offence against Dutch cleanliness.

It was early on the morning of the third, that Lord Chatham had been apprised of the evacuation of Bathz; but his whole attention was engrossed by Walcheren, and till that conquest was completed, half the army were suffered to remain inactive in South Beveland. From Warden they distinctly saw the enemy's fleet lying at Antwerp; and from Bathz, the flotilla of the enemy, which might so well have assisted in defending that fort, were now preparing to annoy it. But for naval service the French had little inclination: twice they made an ineffectual cannonade against it, keeping at a respectful distance. Their force, however, was considerable. About four miles up the river, their first line was visible, of 14 gun-brigs and a lugger; in all they had 25 gun-brigs and 50 gun-boats; two corvettes and a Dutch frigate could also be seen from Bathz, and several French line-of-battle ships. Sir John Hope represented the necessity of pushing a part of our flotilla up the Western Scheldt, for the support of this important post. Before this was done, two divisions of six gun-boats each sailed from above Fort Lillo, and attempted to reach Bergen-op-Zoom: the first succeeded, the second was driven on shore by the guns of the fort, just as Sir Home Popham, with a light squadron of ten sloops and brigs of war, and about 40 gun-boats, entered the West Scheldt through the Veergat, and anchored before the fort. A large division of armed flat boats and launches arrived on the same day from the East Scheldt, and formed a junction with Sir Home at Bathz. The enemy now retired from the station where they had daily insulted the garrison of that fort, and withdrew under the protection of Lillo and Liefkenshoeck, above the chain which was extended across the river. Admiral Missiessy was the man who commanded in the Scheldt; the same man whose brutal rapacity will long be remembered in the Leeward Islands, where he plundered the defenceless inhabitants, flying like a thief as soon as his robberies were committed. Missiessy had long been in fear of the English, and now when they drew near, he threw his heavy cannon overboard, and got as speedily as possible out of their reach. There had been great delay in bringing up our flotilla; the East Scheldt was open from the beginning of our operations, and we had commanded the Sloe passage since the fall of Rammekins.

Aug. 9.

Every part indeed of this ill-fated expedition seemed to be infected with inactivity. On his arrival at Bathz, Sir John Hope learned that near that fort the channel was fordable at low water to the opposite coast of Brabant,—a fact of which the British commanders appear not to have been previously informed, though the passage of this ford by Mondragon in 1572, to the relief of Ter Goes, is one of the most remarkable atchievements in the Low-Country wars. The

distance* from the dike of South Beveland, to those of Cosendrecht and Woonsdrecht, is from two and a half to three miles; the bottom is of sand with a slight covering of mud; it is passable for about an hour during each ordinary tide; yet, though by this means we had free access into Brabant, even before the flotilla arrived, no attempt was made to reconnoitre on that side.

The islands of Schouwen and Duiveland capitulated on the same day that Flushing was surrendered; they had never attempted resistance, nor discovered any hostile disposition towards the English. Bathz was now made the great point of assembly; a division of line-of-battle ships anchored there; the troops under Generals Grosvenor and Grahame were re-embarked on board transports, and ordered to rendezvous there, and horse transports, store-ships, fire-ships, gun-boats, and vessels laden with heavy artillery, directed to the same station. Here they remained crowded in a narrow channel, and exposed to the most imminent danger from fire-ships, had there been any spirit of enterprize in the enemy. Meantime the Earl of Chatham remained at Middleburgh, undecided himself what course to pursue, and therefore keeping all the military and naval officers who were in this advanced position in the greatest perplexity. On the 17th, Sir Richard Keats wrote to the Earl of Rosslyn, (who had now the command in South Beveland,) telling him, that, being vested with full authority himself, and presuming that his lordship had the like powers to act without delay, he was ready to co-operate with him for the destruction of the ships at Antwerp. Lord Rosslyn's reply was, "that he had received no instructions whatever on the subject of any ulterior operations, but that he had some reason to expect the commander-in-chief at Ter Goes in the course of the morrow or next day, and would not fail to give Sir Richard the earliest notice of his arrival." It was impossible for the navy to act alone, and all that Admiral Keats could do was to communicate this to Sir Richard Strachan, and observe to him "how extremely convenient and advantageous it would be to ascertain as early as possible the plans of the commander-in-chief of the forces, that their preparatory measures might he directed accordingly."

On the 19th, it was announced in general orders, that head-quarters would be removed to Ter Goes. Hopes were now conceived of some active proceedings, but procrastination seems to be one of the incurable diseases of the mind;—on the 20th, it was stated that they would not be removed till the day following, and in fact it was not till that day that the Earl of Chatham left Middleburgh and proceeded to Ter Goes, a distance of about 14 miles. He had a conference on the 22d with Sir John Hope at Schen, which is seven miles

* The place seems to be altered since Mondragon's time, unless he crossed more of the Verdronken land than there appears to be occasion for at present, for he was five hours in fording it, and the distance is stated at three leagues. The current then formed three channels, in some of which the shortest of his people were fain to swim, and nine were drowned in the passage. According to the account of the natives, on whose report Sancho de Avila tried the ford, South Beveland had been separated from Brabant only about a hundred years before.

on the road to Bathz, but he returned the same night to Ter Goes, and travelled only thirteen miles towards Bathz the next day. On the 24th he performed the remaining six of the nineteen miles between Ter Goes and Bathz, and established his head-quarters at that place, eight days and a half after the surrender of Flushing! On that day Sir Richard Strachan heard from him; he did not see him till the next, and then he found that his lordship had not come to a determination.

Lord Chatham in reality had waited till little choice remained. Nine-and-twenty days had now elapsed since the expedition arrived on the shores of Zealand. Bernadotte arrived at Antwerp, and took upon himself the command; and such means of defence were prepared as would have proved insuperable to an hostile army. Measures were taken for cutting the dikes of Tholen, and overflowing the country between that place and Bergen-op-Zoom, and laying the low grounds about Lillo and Liefkenshoeck, and the whole of the *polders* between Hulst and the *têtê de Flandres*, under water. The obstacles prepared against the navy were hardly less formidable. Batteries were erected on both banks of the Scheldt; it was in vain to attempt to prevent the enemy from mounting their guns; they worked by night, and effected their purpose. A strong boom chain was extended across the river from Lillo to Leifkenshoeck, and arrangements were made to sink vessels in a narrow part of the channel between those forts and Antwerp.

All persons were agreed that the capture of Antwerp was now become impracticable,—and it had now been discovered that the river above Antwerp was navigable for large ships, so that as soon as the fleet had been supposed to be in danger, it would have been removed. This was a discovery, for even of this fact the commanders were doubtful till the whole expence and hazard of the expedition had been incurred, and they were actually in the Scheldt. Sir Richard Strachan, though hopeless respecting Antwerp, thought that Lillo and Leifkenshoeck ought to be attacked, for then he imagined a way might be opened to some enterprize or other. But it was too late to dream of enterprize. The supplies of South Beveland and the other islands which were possessed by our troops were now exhausted; there was not a week's provision for the army, only a month's for the navy, which, when divided with the soldiers, would reduce the fleet to about ten days, and they were already at two-thirds allowance, and there were 70,000 mouths to feed,—for such was the mighty force which had been sent upon this most wretched and disastrous expedition. A more tremendous evil already afflicted the army. About the middle of August, the effects of the baneful atmosphere began to appear, and 3000 men were already on the sick list, when the commander-in-chief assembled the lieutenants-general of the army, and consulted them whether, under all these circumstances, it was advisable to undertake farther operations. *Aug. 27.*

A memorial was laid before them by the quarter-master-general, in which the delay experienced in the siege of Flushing was ascribed to the failure of the plan upon Cadsand; and in consequence of that delay, it was stated, the prospect had vanished of being able, by a rapid and simultaneous effort, to carry the object of the expedition to its ultimate ex-

tent. There were now, according to concurring intelligence, 35,500 troops collected to oppose them, whereas their own effective force amounted only to 30,000, and of these 6000 were required for Walcheren, and 2000 for South Beveland; there remained therefore a disposable force of only 22,000 for the siege of Antwerp and the operations connected with it. There was but one plan by which the co-operation of the naval force could be obtained,—by the reduction of Lillo and Liefkenshoeck, and the complete investment of Antwerp on both banks of the river. Upon this plan 4000 men must be employed in reducing Liefkenshoeck and occupying the left bank; twice that number would be required for escorts, for guarding the *depôts* of stores and provisions, and for masking Bergen-op-Zoom and Breda, so that there would remain for the actual siege of Antwerp not more than 10,000, being less than the number of the garrison. This plan, therefore, he represented, would place the army in a situation in which it might possibly be obliged to raise the siege, and risk an action in retiring, with the probable loss of its battering train, and the greater part, if not the whole, of its artillery, while the corps on the left bank, instead of contributing to its support, must be forced to retreat with precipitation. This plan of operations being evidently not suited to the insufficient means of the expedition, was there any other mode of proceeding by which the object could be obtained? Suppose that the advantage of naval co-operation was relinquished, (as being impossible without possession of both banks,) and the assistance to be derived from it confined to protection in landing, working guns in batteries, and forwarding stores and provisions; in that case Lillo would become a *tête de pont* for such force as the enemy might send from Flanders to act on the British line of operations, and this, added to the increased difficulties of transporting the artillery and stores to a greater distance, must further diminish the besieging force, by the necessity of establishing a yet stronger corps at the *depôt* where stores were landed, and between which and the army every convoy must be strongly escorted. Moreover, Antwerp would then have its communication open with all the country on the left bank, during the preparations for the attack, which must inevitably occupy not less than three weeks, during the most sickly season of the year, and in a country hostile and incapable of furnishing any supplies whatever. If both these modes were abandoned as hopeless, it yet remained to inquire whether any attempt could be made with a reasonable prospect of success to destroy the enemy's arsenal or shipping; for though a mode of attack, General Brownrigg observed, which had not system and co-operative force to recommend it, could meet with few advocates, yet any measure of bold enterprize was so congenial to our national feeling, that it became necessary to examine the practicability of such a scheme. Was a bombardment practicable, Liefkenshoeck and the Tete de Flandres having been first reduced? To this there was one serious obstacle; the inundation had probably rendered every approach to those works inaccessible, except along the dikes; and there, in consequence of not possessing the river, the works of the English would be enfiladed and cannonaded from the opposite side. And even if this difficulty were surmounted, all

that could be expected from a bombardment of Antwerp would be the destruction of some materials for ship-building, while the docks, sluices, and other works, which rendered it formidable as a naval arsenal, could receive little injury. One other plan had been suggested; that the whole army should march along the right bank and attack the fleet, which was then lying about four miles above Antwerp, with such ordnance as they could take with them. It was sufficient to mention this rash and unadvisable project; General Brownrigg concluded, from this exposition, that the ultimate object of the armament could not be undertaken with any rational prospect of success; yet, he said, it could not be doubted that, if Austria were not yet reduced to the necessity of submitting to terms of peace, the force might be so employed as to act powerfully in assistance of any farther struggle which she might make.

Upon this representation, the assembled generals concurred in opinion, that it was impracticable to undertake the siege of Antwerp, and that no possible advantage could result from attempting to reduce Forts Lillo and Liefkenshoeck, or from any minor operations. Accordingly arrangements were begun the following day for the evacuation of South Beveland. About 17,000 men were destined to keep possession of Walcheren,—a dearly-purchased conquest, had there been no other price to pay for it than the cost of this great armament, and the disgrace of having brought forth such mighty means for the accomplishment of so poor an end. The remainder of the troops was to be sent home as speedily as possible: indeed no time was to be lost; the number of sick, when the council of war was held, amounted to 3500, and by the next day it had increased to nearly 4000. Part of the returning army was ordered to embark at Welmelding; but Sir Richard Keats represented, that the navigation from thence was exceedingly intricate for large ships, that the fleet might probably be detained by north-west winds for a considerable time after the troops were embarked, and that, if the enemy could possess himself of Schouwen or North Beveland, it would be in his power very much to annoy the ships in passing. He therefore advised that they should march to the island of Wolversdyke, by the new dike which connects it with South Beveland, cross from thence in boats to North Beveland, secure that island till the fleet could get round with the sick, baggage, and horses, and then embark at Kolyns Plaat. This plan was accordingly adopted.

Before the British troops abandoned Bathz, steps were taken for fulfilling that part of the commander's instructions which directed him, if possible, to render the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war. No person was more fully persuaded of the practicability of such a measure than Sir Richard Strachan; but observations on the spot, and a proper unwillingness to attempt any mechanical operation which might afterwards (as he said) be vauntingly animadverted upon by the enemy, as the result of an erroneous professional judgement, induced him to suspend his preparations. For the rise of the tide between Bathz and Flushing proved to be far greater than he had supposed it to be; it was ascertained to be from twenty to four-and-twenty feet, and even at the dead of the neaps, and with the wind at S. E., the most

checking wind in the Scheldt, it rose eighteen. There was therefore no possibility of preventing, or even impeding, the navigation of that part of the river; for the enemy's ships might be without difficulty lightened to eighteen feet, and thus get across any bank which could be raised by sinking vessels to obstruct them; and it was not overvaluing the skill of their engineers to suppose that they would not be long, when perfectly unimpeded, in clearing away the wrecks many feet below low water mark. It was, however, supposed more practicable to sink vessels between the West Caloot, the Hoogplas, and the Springes, and so force the navigation there within the fire of the works at Flushing and of the flotilla lying within the Caloot. This would require the destruction of 26 large ships and 21 smaller ones; and though it signified nothing how old these vessels might be, yet the number was so great, that the time, trouble, and expence which must be incurred by such an operation must prevent it from being lightly undertaken. Besides, Sir Richard Strachan argued, this plan originated and was founded on the presumption that England meant to keep possession of Walcheren, and in that case there was little or nothing to be gained by such a measure; for the enemy could not use the navigation in its existing state without extreme risk, and the advantages of an open navigation would be our own. Upon these representations, the project of blocking the Scheldt was abandoned;—it is indeed extraordinary that it should ever have been entertained, while so expensive a monument of similar folly existed in the stone-ships.

As soon as the British armament ceased its offensive operations, the enemy commenced theirs. On the two last days of August they opened a fire of guns and mortars from both banks of the river, and compelled our ships to retire from their advanced position, and move nearer to Bathz. This was of no importance now; the ships of every description departed as soon as the weather would permit, and on the 4th of September every part of Zealand was evacuated by the English, except the island of Walcheren. Ten days afterwards Lord Chatham embarked for England, leaving Sir Eyre Coote with the command.

It was remarked upon this melancholy occasion, that while men of rank considered military commands only as objects of vanity, or resources of emolument, which they might accept without any dread of responsibility in case of failure, the valour of our armies must needs be fruitless, the hopes of the country frustrated, and even its ultimate preservation doubtful. "What," it was said, "this expedition, which was to relieve Austria and rouse the continent, had lingered about its work, till the reluctant Dutchman, and the very refuse of Paris, had been drilled into soldiers, and driven it from their shores!" It had not withdrawn a single regiment from the Danube, nor from Bohemia, nor from the Tyrol, nor from Spain. The enemy themselves told us that the army by which we were opposed and baffled "sprung up from the territory which it was to defend,"—that is, that it consisted of burghers and peasantry, who would joyfully have fled to us if they could have looked for protection, and of the mob of Paris and the gleanings of the conscription, who would have fled from us upon the first vigorous attack. "Was this then," it was asked, "to be the termination of our mighty expedition, of an arma-

ment wherein 70,000 men had been employed, and more money expended than would have bought the fee simple of all Walcheren?" Alas! this was not the termination, and the heaviest price of our misconduct yet remained to be paid!

Eight thousand men were on the sick list when the Earl of Chatham embarked for England. This calamity was not anticipated by those who planned the expedition, though nothing could be more certain than its occurrence. So little had it been foreseen, that the medical board were not even informed whither the troops were going, and therefore no particular preparations were made for sickness, as undoubtedly that board would have advised had its advice been asked. In fact, there existed a strange and almost incredible ignorance of the nature of the country to which the armament was directed, and when the first rumour of its unhealthiness got abroad, and it was hinted that this might be a reason for not retaining Walcheren, one of the ablest and best informed of our political journalists ridiculed the apprehension. "The notion," he said, "that Walcheren was so unhealthy that it ought not to be garrisoned by British troops was too absurd to deserve much notice. A populous island contiguous to the continent of Europe, yet in an unhealthy climate, would be a new geographical discovery. It probably might be as unwholesome as Romney marsh, or the hundreds of Essex; but no one ever thought the aguish affections to which the inhabitants of such districts are subject a sufficient excuse for neglecting those parts of the coast."

This feeling of security must have arisen from the circumstance, that though Flushing had once been held for many years by the English, no mention is made in the contemporary* historians of any extraordinary mortality. The main solution of this is to be found in the state of all great towns at that time,—all were so liable to visitations of the plague, that every place where the plague was not raging was accounted healthy. The whole of the Dutch provinces are subject to marsh distempers, but Zealand particularly so, being not only low and damp like the rest, but being also surrounded with the mouths of the Scheldt, whose oozy beaches unite with the marshy lands, so that, with the exception of the sea breeze from the westward, every wind comes laden with pestilential vapours. The bottom of every canal that communicates with the sea is thickly covered with ooze, which, when the tide is out, emits a most offensive and noxious effluvia. The whole island is intersected with ditches. They are filled with water, in which masses of animal and vegetable matter are always putrifying; and numerous as these ditches are, they are not sufficient to drain the swampy soil. The effects of such a country are visible in the natives, though counteracted by the Dutch habit of high feeding, by the use of ardent spirits, and by the practice of smoking. It is computed that nearly a third of the inhabitants are attacked with fever every sickly season. Children are very sub-

* Fynes Moryson is the only early writer in whom I have found any mention of the Walcheren climate, and all that he says is, that "the air is reputed unwholesome."

ject to glandular swellings, to obstructions of the viscera, and to dropsies. They are pale, their circulation languid, and their fibres lax. Dentition is a longer process than in other countries; the teeth are slow in becoming solid, and decay soon. Scrofula is a very general complaint among them, and deformed persons are numerous. As they grow up, the complexion is sallow, and the body bloated, and premature old age comes on.

In the earlier ages of history, we hear of towns having been deserted and settlements removed because their situation was found unhealthy; but in these times, even in countries where serfage has been abolished, there are many causes which continue to make men slaves of the soil whereon they are born. Their property or their poverty, their family or their commercial connections and their occupations, strike such deep roots, that transplantation becomes in many instances almost impracticable. Men, too, become accustomed and even insensible to evils which they are born to, and the natives of Walcheren, not finding their climate immediately deadly to themselves, may perhaps consider themselves as privileged by birthright from its influence. But by all the other Dutch it is considered as so unwholesome, that when troops from Haerlem or Amsterdam are ordered to garrison there, they take leave of their friends with the same forebodings as if they were going to the most deadly of their foreign stations. When the English landed, there were only eighty-five men surviving of a Dutch regiment, which at its arrival there three years before was 800 strong.

The sickly season begins with June and ends in October, continuing as long as the influence of the sun is sufficient to draw up marsh miasmata. Our armament went at the worst time; but as the first effects of this poisonous atmosphere are slow, and as activity and excitement are more efficacious than all other counteracting causes, the troops as long as they were in active service resisted its influence. Not a single man had died of the disease when Flushing surrendered; and when it first began to appear, it was imputed more to accidental and temporary causes than to the permanent and irremoveable nature of the country. The stench proceeding from the half-extinguished fires in the town, the inundation which had spread widely through the British lines, and the exhalations from the dead bodies of the enemy, which had been laid in heaps, and just covered over with sand, more for the purpose of concealment than of burial,—these were assigned as immediate causes of sickness; and a reason why the men did not recover, was easily found in the want, not only of needful accommodation, but even of common comforts for the sick. The men had been exposed to wet and to the night air; they often slept upon the damp ground, and some thousands of them were up to the middle in water during one whole night. The water also which they drank was said to contain numerous insects; sickness and vomiting were in many cases ascribed to this cause, and many men brought up worms, which were in like manner accounted for. This opinion had so much weight in England, that it was thought expedient to send over water for the garrison, and the requisite quantity was calculated at 500 tons per week. Filtering, distillation, or simple boiling, would have been easier than this expedient; but the men themselves never complained of

the water, and when the first importation arrived, it seemed to be so little wanted, that Sir Eyre Coote asked thearmyphysicians what he should do with it, and by their advice distributed it to the fleet.

The want of comforts was a more apparent cause. As the army, being intended for active service, was not encumbered with heavy baggage, there was a want of bedding for the sick. General Picton had 800 men invalided among those who were under his detached command, and only 200 beds for them: he applied to the navy, and procured some assistance, but this was insufficient, and the rest of the sick were obliged to lie on the floor, in their great coats, and with the knapsack for a pillow. In many of the Flushing hospitals the roofs had been broken in by the bombardment, and the patients were exposed to the weather. Workmen were sent from England to remedy this. This measure, however, produced but slow repairs, and the workmen themselves soon increased the numberof sick. In Middleburgh, where they were better accommodated, they were so crowded as to have no circulation of air, and to lie two in a bed. Middleburgh is a large city, containing 16,000 inhabitants; the best and most comfortable accommodations for the sick might certainly have been obtained in such a city, yet the soldiers were quartered there in cold and damp churches, and the hospitals were established in warehouses, into which light and air were admitted only through iron grates. It could not have been thought oppressive to call upon the Dutch to provide suitable quarters for the troops, and a people who sleep between two beds might surely have furnished bedding for the sick. The necessity of the case would even at the time have made them feel and acknowledge the propriety of such a measure; and the fair payment which they would afterwards have received would have impressed upon them a deeper sense of British justice, than they could possibly feel at seeing the health of the army sacrificed to forms and scruples.

In no former instance (except perhaps when the small-pox first appeared in Europe) did disease ever make such havoc in an army, and never was disease more dreadful in all its forms and circumstances. Besides the usual appearance of continuous or intermittent fever, a variety of anomalous symptoms occurred, which carried human sufferings to their height. In the intervals which the fever afforded when it was of the intermittent kind, pains in the head, or chest, or abdomen, would suddenly come on, shifting from one part to another, so that the patient had only a variety of suffering instead of respite. No posture afforded ease; he was restless, impatient, and yet languid, unable to sleep, dejected, hopeless, and indifferent to all surrounding objects, or in too confused a state of intellect to perceive them. The stomach was disordered, or the epigastrium distended, or he had severe lumbar pains, and endured the tortures of strangury. Cold clammy moisture came upon the arms and breast, his thirst was excessive, his heart palpitated violently, he breathed with effort and difficulty. The face sometimes became flushed and then œdematous. These symptoms disappeared when the fit came on, and when the more violent struggle had had its course, then they returned upon the miserable victim.

Sometimes the man was seized with a convulsive shaking of the whole body, so violent that the bed shook

under him; his pulse was quick, feeble, and fluttering,—his respiration hurried and painful, so loud that it might be heard at considerable distance, and frequently interrupted with sobs from the excessive cold,—the face pale and wild, and expressing anguish,—the eyes large, and rolling in their sockets. Some died in the cold stage, more frequently they went off in apoplexy during the hot fit. Death was preceded generally by complete exhaustion:—the pulse was quick, thread-like, and intermitting; clammy sweats came over the whole body; the tongue and teeth and lips were coated with a thick dark crust; the patient lay upon his back with his eye-lids half-closed, his countenance fixed and ghastly, with a dismal expression of despair; the muscles of the legs and arms were convulsed tremulously,—sobs alternated with deep sighs,—and a convulsive affection of the larynx denoted that all would soon be terminated. In some the whole frame was violently shaken, the face, sunken and death like as it was, flushed,—the eyes became large and fiery. Others were quiet from utter exhaustion; incapable of farther suffering, they remained speechless and perfectly still, and literally seemed to fall asleep. Some died suddenly; some as if they were labouring with croup, supported in an erect position, breathing with agony, and the dreadful sound which characterizes that frightful disorder. In some instances the patient revived a few hours before his departure, shook off his delirium or lethargy, became composed and sensible, and apprized the by-standers of his approaching end.

The disease in many instances terminated in dropsy, generally of the abdomen, sometimes of the thorax, occasionally of the pericardium: in such cases the extremities also were affected. A soldier, who was supposed to be convalescent, complained one morning of a tickling sore throat: it was imputed merely to cold, and no danger was apprehended. In the evening his respiration became on a sudden excessively difficult, the right side of his neck was swoln, and in less than an hour he died from suffocation, his face becoming livid like that of an executed criminal. Upon examination it was discovered that the epiglottis cartilage was highly œdematous, and had literally choked him. Another, who had once recovered from the fever, was seized with a second attack: he was delirious, his eyes staring and fixed in their sockets, and in five days he died. The upper part of the skull was found upon dissection to have many deep holes in it, from the size of a pin's head to that of a pea, produced, as it seemed, by warty cartilaginous substances growing from the tunica arachnoidia, which had penetrated the dura mater, and caused absorption of the bone by their pressure. The part from which they had grown appeared like a watery vesicle, and when punctured, discharged an immense quantity of water. But no organ was so frequently affected as the spleen, which was almost always enlarged; and often to the monstrous size of three, four, in some instances more than five pounds. Its consistence in these cases was totally changed: sometimes it was hard, cakey, and friable; sometimes it had more the appearance of coagulated blood enclosed in a bladder; sometimes the whole viscus was found to be converted into a mass of pus just held together by its covering. One of the most afflicting symptoms was, when it adhered to the left lobe of

the liver and to the stomach at the same time, occasioning constant vomiting, hiccup, extreme pain at the stomach, cold sweats, and delirium. In some cases it was interspersed or covered with yellow glands the size of a bean, which tended to suppuration. Abscesses of the spleen were very common: in two recorded instances the abscess perforated the pleura, and opened into the thorax. The abdomen of one patient was distended to such a size by the enlargement of this viscus and of the liver, that it measured nearly three yards round, coming out to a point at the navel. The stomach, the liver, the gall-bladder,—the whole of the intestines presented appearances equally anomalous and shocking.

The ravages of this tremendous pestilence were almost unexampled in military history. Before the end of August the guards were relieved twice in the course of a day, in consequence of the men falling ill. Orders were now given that no funeral should be performed till it was dark, that the mortality might be as much as possible concealed, lest it should dismay the soldiers, and render them more liable to the disease. They, however, seem not to have accelerated their fate by anxiety or despondence. There is generally an unwillingness in men to yield to indisposition, and the poorer classes especially will bear up as long as possible against bodily weakness, from their dread of an hospital. Many a man at Walcheren resisted the sense of illness to the last, walked about, and treated his case with indifference, though the most morbid and deadly symptoms were upon him, and death was in his countenance; still he struggled against it, till he sunk at once, and in a few hours became a corpse. By the 8th of September the number of sick amounted nearly to 11,000, and the sickness was increasing. Many were sent to England for recovery; this, however, was of no avail; for it was afterwards discovered, that General Monnet had recommended to the French government never to remove the sick, it being found that a greater number of those who were kept in the island recovered, than of those who were sent elsewhere; so that it seemed as if a salubrious atmosphere acted like a new poison upon the system in which the morbid action was confirmed.

The medical men who accompanied the expedition were utterly unprepared for so unexpected a calamity; their stores of medicine were insufficient, and they were too few in number for the arduous duty which had fallen upon them. Government, alarmed and astonished at the extent of the evil, called upon the principal officers of the army medical department to repair to Walcheren, examine into the causes of the malady, and report thereon. To this summons the surgeon-general to the army replied, that the duty in question was entirely medical, and unfit for a surgeon by profession; that his going thither would create a great and serious interruption to the arduous and complicated duties of providing for the sick at home; and also that, if he went, he should thereby be placed in immediate co-operation with inspectorial officers, in whose nomination he had not been concerned, nor even consulted. The physician-general on his part represented, that the inspector-general of army hospitals was the person to whom this duty properly belonged, and that as for himself he could not be spared, because he saw such a number of sick officers, whose applications for leave

of absence on account of ill health necessarily came before him, and also, if he was not present to examine medically the mates who were to be sent over in numbers to Walcheren, that part of the service must stand still. The inspector-general replied, that the duties required were purely medical, and as such belonged to the physician-general. This gentleman, however, learning that both the surgeon and physician-general declined going, declared that he was ready upon the shortest notice. When this correspondence was laid before the commander-in-chief and the secretary at war, they concurred in opinion that the physician-general, Sir Lucas Pepys, was the most proper person to be employed on this service, and they therefore ordered him to proceed immediately to Walcheren with two other physicians. This determination seems to have surprised Sir Lucas, and he returned an incautious answer, expressing his concern at finding that a man of near seventy years of age, with infirmities, should be thought capable of undertaking such a duty, solemnly declaring himself incapable of performing it, and recommending two other physicians in his stead: "They," he said, "would see the business well performed; whereas if he himself were able to go, it would be merely *pro formâ*, and no possible good could arise from it, because he knew nothing of the investigation of camp and contagious diseases." In consequence of this conduct the surgeon and physician-general were most rightfully dismissed from their situations, and a new army medical department was established.

The sick, however, suffered nothing in consequence of the petty squabbles of the medical board, and the misconduct of its members. There were able men upon the spot, and both there and in the English hospitals every means within the power of medical skill were employed to check or alleviate the calamity. Drastic medicines proved far the most efficacious in subduing the disease. Some singular effects proceeded from the extreme debility of the sufferers; it was necessary on this account to administer calomel in doses unusually large, small ones producing salivation; whereas so large a quantity as two-and-thirty grains, administered in eight hours, sometimes saved the patient. From the same cause, when bleeding was used, great precautions were required to stop the vein, for the vessels had lost their contractile power. In the intermittent, the opiate confection was of great service in diminishing the length of the fit and abating its violence: Prepared ammonia, with equal quantities of camphor, was not less serviceable, and sometimes even prevented it. Bark was found to possess little virtue; port wine so much, that without it the fever would almost always have proved fatal. The experiment was made of preventing or mitigating the paroxysm, by applying ligatures to the arms and thighs of the patients just when it was coming on. In some cases it is said to have succeeded, in others it aggravated the pyrexia. Mechanical means indeed, which might have been efficacious in slight and casual affections, could be of little avail when the whole system was so deeply diseased.

So dreadful an evil forced upon our ministry the thought of evacuating their conquest; but they were prevented from coming at once to this resolution by their alliance with Austria. The emperor upon this occasion acted a base part. There was in

reality little difficulty in arranging his terms with Buonaparte;—the total sacrifice of honour was made; he had consented to his own irretrievable disgrace, by allying the house of Hapsburg to a Corsican adventurer, from whom he had endured insult as well as injury, and against whose complicated and personal wickedness he had so often and so loudly protested before the world. Henceforward it only remained for him to enter into all the views of Buonaparte, to assist in his usurpations, to rejoice in the success of his crimes, and perhaps to share in the distribution of his conquests; and yet, while this marriage treaty was going on in secret, the Emperor of Austria solicited Great Britain to continue its operations in Holland. There, it was represented to the English court, his majesty's troops would afford to Austria a more efficacious relief than by a diversion in any other place. Is it uncharitable to suspect that these representations were dictated by his accepted son-in-law? for so long as we might hold Walcheren, it served effectually as a diversion in his favour, by calling our attention from Spain, where the tyrant is most vulnerable,—by exhausting our resources, and ignobly consuming men, whom his best troops and ablest generals could never meet in the field without an ominous sense of their own inferiority.

Thus situated, the British government endeavoured to ascertain by what means the effects of the Walcheren climate might be counteracted or avoided; and these were so easy, that, had they been perceived in time, much of the evil might certainly have been prevented. So local were the causes of disease, that vessels stationed only a few yards from the land continued perfectly healthy. The air about the sand-hills is much purer than the rest of the island; and between Domburgh and West Capelle there were huts in good repair, which the French constantly occupied during the sickly months, and where 2000 men might have been stationed. The Royals, who were quartered at West Capelle, which is near the sea, were far more healthy than any other regiment. Even the slightest elevation caused a perceptible difference. The tenants of upper stories enjoyed the best health, and when taken ill had the disease in the mildest form. The medical men recommended warm and generous diet, spirits, (the free use of which was one reason why the officers suffered less than the privates,) and spices. Nor did they neglect a due attention to the apparel and habits of the soldiers, but advised that their pantaloons might be blue or grey, in preference to white, that there might be no temptation to the pernicious custom of cleaning them with wet pipe-clay. One of their prescriptions as to clothing produced a curious instance of the manner in which the most simple business is sometimes complicated by arrangements, which seem to have no other effect than that of occasioning unnecessary trouble and delay. Flannel waistcoats and drawers were required for the convalescents; and upon this the surgeon-general was obliged to apply to the secretary at war, and the secretary at war in consequence wrote to the commander-in-chief, requesting "to be put in possession of his sentiments on the proposition."

A memorial of Monnet's was found, addressed to his own government, upon the means of keeping Walcheren at the least expence of lives. He recommended that the garrison should

be stationary, for in process of time they became naturalized to the climate, and he instanced the case of a French regiment, which suffered only half as much from sickness and mortality in the second year of its residence as in the first, and hardly suffered at all in the third; whereas, when the opposite system of relieving them very frequently had been tried, it proved peculiarly fatal. The experiment had been made of sending battalions from Bergen-op-Zoom every fourth night in succession to work in the lines of Flushing, and great numbers of these men were always taken ill on their return. When it was necessary to reinforce the garrison, his opinion was that it should be done early in winter, that so the troops might in some degree become habituated to the atmosphere before the return of the sickly season; and he advised a double allowance of gin to the men upon duty at all times, and to the whole of them during the four sickly months, with a double allowance of vinegar also. Desirous as the English ministry were of preserving their dear-bought conquest, there was little encouragement in this report; for the most favourable part of Gen. Monnet's statement amounted only to this, that those who were not killed by the Walcheren climate could exist in it, but that those who could exist there were so few, that when such men were found it was expedient to keep them there for life. It had been observed in our own army, that the strongest and most robust men suffered most, and that the natives of the marshy countries were least liable to the disease, but they were not exempt from it; nor indeed is it to be supposed that an atmosphere, which is found poisonous even to the Brabanters and Hollanders, should be otherwise to levies from the English fens.

Meantime the French were making preparations to attack our enfeebled troops, and recover possession of a place so important to their hopes of naval aggrandizement. A plan for its defence was formed by Sir Richard Strachan, and submitted to the consideration of the Admiralty. As the defence must principally be naval, he thought 12,000 men fully adequate to the duty of the island. Whatever boats the enemy should collect in any part of the Sloe passage might certainly be seen, and immediately destroyed. Any number of boats, indeed, might come from the East Scheldt, between Woolversdyke and North Beveland, through the Zandkreek channel, but this channel might be blocked, or its navigation materially impeded; so that there would remain only two points from which the enemy could attempt an attack, from the East Scheldt by the Roompot, and from the West by the Rammekins and the coast of Flushing: the Roompot and the Rammekins, therefore, should be the principal stations of our naval armament. Sir Richard Strachan advised that batteries should be erected on St Joostland, which is considered as part of Walcheren, though separated from it by an inlet of the sea. Captain Cockburn, whose opinion was also asked by the Admiralty, thought that it ought to be inundated, as it would thus form an impassable barrier to that part of the coast, and afford a connected chain of defence, completely out of the enemy's reach, for the whole extent between Flushing and Ter Veer.

Sir Richard Strachan dissuaded ministers from the thought of giving up their conquest. It was a post,

he said, of great importance as a naval station, and also with a view to future operations on the continent. Indeed, as a demonstration in favour of our allies, it became of the utmost value, and might probably be equal to the defensive employment of 100,000 men. Captain Cockburn was of a different opinion. The only advantage which he could perceive in our possession of Walcheren was, that the enemy's fleet in the West Scheldt could not escape from it without hazarding an engagement with ours which lay in Flushing roads; "but," he said, "the natural consequence would be, that the enemy's ships would remain where they were, and where, as it had been proved, we could not get at them. If, on the contrary, Walcheren did not belong to us, and our squadron destined to oppose the Scheldt fleet were kept in the Downs, favourable circumstances might indeed enable the enemy to escape, but it would be at considerable risk; and I cannot but think," he added, "that a French fleet being at sea is more advantageous to us than the knowledge of its existence in a safe harbour. In the latter case, it is a constant source of anxiety to us; in the former, it is impossible to describe the energy, spirit, and hope with which the chance of its destruction fills every breast,—especially of those who have spent many a long and dreary night blockading them. It is also to be remembered, that, owing to the confused and hurried manner in which the enemy's squadrons traverse the seas, during the short periods of their escaping our vigilance, the damage they have ever done our trade has been comparatively very small; but, on the other hand, if any of our squadrons fall in with them, the result always has been, and I trust will ever be, both honourable and advantageous to our country." Captain Cockburn, therefore, thought that Walcheren was not worth the expence of defending it.

While our ministry hesitated whether to retain or abandon their baleful conquest, they continued to improve and strengthen its fortifications. Labourers were constantly employed in raising and thickening the parapets of the ramparts of Flushing, bricks and lime were sent out in large quantities from England, and a hundred artificers arrived to go on with the works about the end of October. In like manner improvements were made at Ter Veer and Rammekins, and a chain of redoubts was begun between the former place and Arnemuiden. At length the wiser opinion prevailed, and on the 13th of November orders were dispatched to Lieutenant-General Don, who had succeeded Sir Eyre Coote in the command, to evacuate Flushing, and take such measures as he might judge most effective for the destruction of the bason, and of the naval defences of the island. He was to leave the island in such a situation as would render its ports and arsenals, at least for a time, unserviceable; but this was to be done so as to occasion as little injury as possible to the inhabitants. Yet even at this time it appeared that ministers still entertained a hope that Austria might renew a contest, the disastrous termination of which was produced more by the pusillanimity of her councils than the inferiority of her arms. Lord Liverpool said, in his orders to destroy the works, that it was now determined to evacuate the island of Walcheren, unless some new circumstances should occur in the progress of the opera-

tion, which might render an alteration in this decision expedient. A similar feeling of indecision seems to have prevailed at Walcheren as well as in the English cabinet; for though the work of destruction was begun on the 26th upon the parapet of the sea lines, at that very time, and for many days afterwards, six or seven hundred labourers were employed in carrying on the works between Ter Veere and Arnemuiden. The piers of the flood-gates of the bason at Flushing were blown up with gun-powder; the strong pile-work on the east side was destroyed; that on the west was left, because part of the town would have been involved in its destruction. The arsenal and magazines in the dock-yard were burnt. Nothing was done to injure the harbour of Veere; and both that place, Rammekins, and the land fortifications of Flushing were left in a much better state than when they were taken, considerable labour and cost having been expended upon them. The demolition and embarkation occupied a month, and on the 23d of December the island of Walcheren was completely evacuated by the British army.

CHAP. XXIX.

Spain and Portugal. Sir A. Wellesley sent out. Speech of Lord Buckinghamshire. Marshal Beresford takes the Command of the Portugueze Army. Sir Arthur consults with Cuesta. The French win the Bridge of Amarante; the English advance against Porto, and Beresford retakes the Bridge. Flight of Soult into Galicia. Victory of the Patriots at Villa Franca. Romana's Expedition into Asturias. Ney follows him. Success of the French at Gijon and St Andero. They are driven out of Asturias, defeated at the Bridge of St Payo, and finally compelled to evacuate Galicia.

THE commencement of the Austrian war was regarded by men in England with widely-different feelings; each party foretelling the result in conformity to its own system of politics. Those journalists who taught, as the first political commandment, that Buonaparte was lord and master, and Europe should have no other lord but he, had, from the commencement of the Spanish revolution, represented the cause of Spain as hopeless, and they predicted that this resistless conqueror was only recalled from his career of conquest in that country to atchieve new victories on the Danube; after which he was to return to the Guadalquivir and the Tagus, and bear down every thing before him. Others, who had too sanguinely expected immediate success from the patriots, with equal but less excusable credulity rested their hopes now upon Austria;—there, they said, the battle was to be fought, and the fate of Spain, as well as of Germany, depended upon the fortunes of the Archduke Charles. The wiser few, expecting nothing from the governments of the continent, knew that much was possible from the people, and higher hopes were excited in them by Schill and Hofer than by the archduke, even after the battle of Aspern. From the beginning of the contest, the conduct of the court of Vienna appeared important to them, chiefly because it effected a diversion in favour of the peninsula, and gave the Spaniards time to make a vigorous effort for expelling their brutal invaders. Especially they hoped that England would seize the golden opportunity, and, by meeting the enemy upon that ground with equal numbers, secure a certain and decisive victory.

The plans of our ministry for the conduct of the war in Spain had been completely disarranged by the

manner of Sir J. Moore's retreat, and the consequent wreck of his army. That army, instead of sailing for the south or for Lisbon, was compelled to return to England, there to be re-equipped, and the total evacuation of Portugal, (such was the panic of the moment,) was prepared for at Lisbon and expected at home. Great praise is due to the ministry for their conduct on this occasion; had their opponents at this time been in place, the Portugueze would have been abandoned without an effort on our part to support them; thus basely would these politicians have sacrificed our oldest and most faithful allies, and the honour of England would have been irretrievably lost. But the ministry acted upon braver and wiser principles, and whatever errors they committed in the management of the war, to the latest ages it will be remembered to their honour, that they never in the worst times despaired of the good cause. Preparations were immediately made for sending out another army. At the close of February, Sir A. Wellesley resigned his seat in parliament and his office in Ireland to take the command; in March, the expedition sailed for Lisbon. His instructions were, in case that city should have been evacuated by Sir John Craddock, to proceed to Cadiz, and land there, if the government would consent to the admission of British troops into the garrison. Mr Canning stated in his advices to Mr Frere upon the subject, that the delicacy of the point was felt and acknowledged, and the answer of the supreme junta had been received without the smallest resentment or surprise. But since that answer was given, the circumstances on which it was founded had materially changed, and as the security of Cadiz would be impaired by the possession of Portugal by the French, it was thought adviseable to give the junta one more opportunity of reconsidering the question. These instructions were fortunately not needed. Sir John Craddock, after the first alarm subsided, provided for defence instead of flight. One entrance into Portugal was ably defended by Sir Robert Wilson. Soult was not in sufficient strength to advance from Porto, and, by the exertions of the government and the great military talents of the Duke of Albuquerque, Victor was rendered unable to execute his part of the combined operations, notwithstanding the battle of Medellin.

When it was resolved that Sir A. Wellesley should have the command in Portugal, Sir John Craddock, who was a much older officer, was appointed governor of Gibraltar. Upon this occasion, the Earl of Buckinghamshire appealed to the House of Lords upon the unpleasant situation in which that general was placed, being thus removed from the head of the army at a moment the most critical for the feelings and fame of their commander. To his exertions in collecting the British force, and disposing it so as to prepare a decided resistance against the enemy, it was owing that the resolution of abandoning the country was given up. After all these efforts on his part, and at a time when such a prospect of adding to his military fame was opened to him, could any thing be conceived more cruel to an honourable man than to be superseded under such circumstances by an officer so much his junior? What were the reasons for the preference? Insinuations had gone abroad that imprudent measures had been taken by him respecting the

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native troops, but he took upon himself to say, that in no one respect had Sir J. Craddock acted in a manner repugnant to their feelings, or contrary to their customs. There were documents which he might bring forward to prove these assertions, and he was prepared to take every step for vindicating the character of an honourable officer, which was to him, on many accounts, extremely dear. In thus acting, he said, no disrespect to Sir A. Wellesley was implied; no man could feel more admiration and esteem than he did for that gallant and distinguished general. His expression of surprise and regret was wrung from him by friendship for Sir J. Craddock; if any blame could attach to him from thus giving vent to his feelings, his crime was only his attachment to a friend, who, in every respect, was entitled to every exertion he could make in his behalf. Lord Liverpool replied, he could not help considering the observations and questions of the noble earl as an attack upon the prerogative of the crown, and a refutation of the notion of the responsibility of ministers. The king had the command of the army, and to say that for certain services he should not appoint certain officers recommended to him for those services by his confidential advisers, would be to take the command of the army out of his hands. Ministers were responsible for the advice which they gave on such occasions, but there would be an end to that responsibility were they to be questioned upon any particular occasion why they preferred one officer to another. He never should answer such questions, neither should he ever silently suffer them to be put. With regard to Sir J. Craddock, he had the highest opinion of his military character, and he believed the rest of his majesty's ministers entertained the same opinion of his services and merits; and he was happy on this occasion of bearing the fullest testimony to his desert. The Earl of Buckinghamshire replied, he had no intention of putting improper questions; his only wish was to draw forth such an acknowledgment of Sir John's merit as had now been made. Upon this, Lord Liverpool protested against such questions, lest the present instance should be drawn as a precedent; occasions, he said, might occur when it might not be in the power of ministers to speak of a commander as he was able to speak of the character and conduct of Sir J. Craddock.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire brought another part of our conduct towards Portugal before the House of Lords. He moved for the instructions to Sir Hew Dalrymple for forming the regency, saying, that it was of considerable importance that the nature of those instructions should be known, and the motives which influenced them. One of his majesty's ministers had said that Portugal must follow the fate of Spain; but surely much might have been done in Portugal to influence the fate of Spain, if measures had been adopted in that country satisfactory to the people, and calculated to rouse their patriotism and their military ardour. He wished also to have the correspondence with the Portugueze ministers produced, that it might be ascertained whether the measures adopted were with his consent, or contrary to his wish and opinion. To this the Earl of Liverpool replied, that he would not consent to produce the dispatch in question, because it ne-

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cessarily contained allusions to the conduct of individuals, and particular instructions founded thereon, which it would be improper to make public. There was also another ground of objection: Having reconquered Portugal for our ancient ally, it was the object of the British government to re-establish, as far as possible, the government which had been appointed there by the legitimate authority of the sovereign. The regency had, therefore, been formed as a provisionary government, till the decision of the prince regent upon the subject should be known, information of what had been done having been sent to Rio Janeiro. No determination had yet been received, and upon this ground, as well as the former, he objected to the production of the paper. Earls Rosslyn and Grey, Lord Sidmouth, and Lord Erskine, still pressed for the publication; the latter noble lord advancing the preposterous argument, that the unfitness of the paper to be produced was matter of opinion and not matter of fact, and forgetting that he and his party were opposing their own mere opinion upon the subject to the knowledge of ministers.

The motion was negatived; but Lord Buckinghamshire again brought it forward, and took this opportunity of speaking at some length upon the state of Portugal. "The state of that country," he said, "was a subject so important, not only with reference to the arduous contest in which the people of the peninsula were engaged against the French, but to the essential and permanent interests of Great Britain, that he should neglect what he deemed an act of indispensable duty, were he not to bring it under their lordships' consideration. The geographical situation of Portugal was such as to afford the readiest means of assistance to the Spaniards, either in the centre, the north, or the south of Spain; an advantage, in the present contest, the most momentous that could be conceived. The success of the patriots might from thence be improved, and any reverses the French might meet with rendered fatal by a sudden and judicious movement of the British troops.—The strength of Portugal, as a military position, was not only known to the professional men who had served in that country, but must be obvious to every one who had referred to the maps. Its defiles, its mountains, and its rivers, were most conspicuous features; which, added to the sterility of the soil in most of the provinces, were circumstances of infinite weight in a defensive campaign. A country that does not furnish subsistence to its inhabitants for seven months in the year, may easily be placed in a situation that would leave nothing for an invading army to live upon. Without going further back into the history of Portugal than the seven years war, the campaign under the Comte de la Lippe afforded ample information as to the natural means of defence afforded by Portugal. That able general found the Portugueze army without discipline, and without any officers of experience to form or conduct it; but the spirit of the people was roused, the confidence placed in him by the government was unlimited, the resolution to exertion most decided, and although he never was able to bring into the field an army of 17,000 men, 3,000 of whom were British, he contrived to baffle all the efforts, and defeat the plans of a combined force of 42,000 men, 6,000 of whom were French. In

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testimony of the hardihood, obedience, and bravery of the Portugueze soldiers, Lord Townsend might be cited: 'Notwithstanding all the fatigues and difficulties of the campaign,' said that general, 'the Portugueze soldier obeyed with the greatest cheerfulness; and I ought to add to his praise, that if he was ill-clothed and ill-disciplined, he was at the same time contented and subordinate beyond any thing I had ever seen in any part of the world. What advantages might not one expect from such a disposition improved by military art?' Count de la Lippe, in his memoirs, speaking of a march made by Lord Townsend, says: 'This march was executed by the skill of General Townsend, and by the admirable perseverance of the Portugueze troops, who supported the greatest misery. The larger proportion of them having worn out their shoes, marched gaily over steep rocks, leaving on their route the traces of their bleeding feet."

Lord Buckinghamshire said, he had adverted to these authorities for the purpose of shewing what might have been done, had the proper measures been resorted to, for calling into action the resources which Portugal was capable of affording, and, whilst he contemplated with satisfaction the steps which the government were then taking, he had only to express his hope, that they might not be too late. He would not leave this part of the subject without stating that he had seen a most able plan of an attack upon Portugal from Spain, written by a Frenchman in the year 1767; when calculating the Portugueze army at 30,000 men, the writer allots a force of 75,000 for the attack, judiciously tracing the whole progress of the campaign, the preparations for which, he says, must be made before the breaking out of war, as it would be indispensably necessary to collect provisions for the whole army; and he urges as a consideration nearly conclusive upon the success of the undertaking, that it should be executed with a rapidity that did not admit of the arrival of British succours. If such was the opinion of a person whose work no man could read without the most thorough conviction of his capacity to form a correct opinion upon the subject—if an attack upon Portugal, in order to be effectual, required such preparation, and such means, and that at a time when the Spanish government was undisturbed, when the attacking army was to be aided by a friendly country in its rear, and had consequently no precaution to take for the security of retreat in case of failure, to what degree would not the difficulties be increased by the actual state of Spain at the present moment? This, the earl continued, he stated, in order to justify an opinion he had long entertained, that if the resources of Portugal had been wisely applied, the spirit of the people encouraged, a government established that was calculated to inspire their confidence, and an army, such as Sir John Moore had commanded, sent for their protection, not only would that country have been rendered impregnable against any efforts the French could have made under the present circumstances, but the foundation laid of affording the most effectual support to the Spaniards which could be derived from external co-operation. If, in the month of August, a blow could have been struck at the French army upon the Ebro, much might have been done to have prevented the disasters of the last cam-

paign; but as his majesty's ministers had not judged it advisable to adopt that measure, Portugal was the point to which every rational hope was directed, and where, indeed, advantages did actually present themselves of a nature so important and so evident, that it is utterly inconceivable how they should have escaped the notice of his majesty's ministers.

The wisdom of the measures which Lord Buckinghamshire thus advised have now abundantly been proved, and at the time he was speaking, that system had been begun which has since been found so effectual. He proceeded to the political state of the country. "In the month of July last," he said, "official representations had been made to his majesty's government, that the people of the north and south of Portugal, having followed the example of the Spanish nation, had established juntas. That of the north having been designated the junta of Porto, acknowledging the bishop of Porto as the head of the government; and that of the south the junta of Algarve, with the Count Monteiro Mor as their president. With the knowledge of the existence of these juntas, when the expulsion of the French army from Portugal might confidently be expected, it became the duty of his majesty's ministers, to consider in what manner it would be most advisable to form a provisional government in that country, until the subject could be submitted for the decision of the prince regent; and with a view to such an arrangement as would appear most likely to be satisfactory both to the prince and the people. The knowledge of the opinions of the representative of the prince regent, who was in correspondence with him and the juntas, did seem to present the most easy and natural course for arriving at a right determination. Unfortunately, however, a measure had been resolved upon, to which it was known that the representative of the prince regent could not give his sanction. It was matter of notoriety that the whole of the regency left by the prince for the purpose of preserving his interests, and those of his faithful and loyal subjects who had accompanied him to Brazil, had betrayed their trust in a variety of instances; amongst others in giving effect to a decree for confiscating the property of absentees from Portugal, and issuing a circular letter to the ministers of the prince regent at the several courts of Europe, directing them to discontinue their diplomatic functions. With such information respecting the conduct of the regency, it was not possible the Portugueze minister in London could sanction the appointment of any of the persons composing it, as a part of a provisional government; and as the circumstances alluded to were known to every merchant connected with Portugal, his majesty's ministers could not be supposed to have been ignorant upon the subject. It had, indeed, been admitted by them, that instructions were issued to Sir Hew Dalrymple to reinstate the regency; and although he excluded three out of the five obnoxious persons, yet, as the remaining two were actually included, it was not surprising that when the people saw the whole power of the government vested in those persons, they should be alarmed and disgusted, as neither the bishop of Porto, nor the Count Monteiro Mor would act with them. Indeed, the conduct of this regency, immediately upon their appointment, was such as

could not fail to excite suspicion and distrust. It was perfectly well known that one of the chief defects in the Portugueze army was the inadequacy of its establishment in point of pay. In order to remedy that defect, the junta of Porto, by an ordinance promulgated for that purpose, had raised the pay of the infantry soldiers to fivepence per day. The effect of this measure was, that, in less than one month after its adoption, upwards of twenty thousand men were enrolled, and were fast approaching to a state of discipline that would soon have rendered them fit for the discharge of any duties they might be called upon to perform. The first act of the newly-appointed regency was to rescind this ordinance, and the consequences of it were desertion to a very great extent, and a degree of insubordination amongst the troops and the people, that nothing but the personal influence which the bishop still retained, could have prevented from producing the most fatal effects; and although by his exertions tranquillity was restored, the zeal of the people was damped, the seeds of distrust and suspicion were disseminated, all hope of confidence in the government was destroyed, and whilst the means by which they had expected to have been able to defend themselves against the French were thus interrupted, they saw that "British aid and assistance," upon which they had been called upon by Sir Charles Cotton to rely, withdrawn from them, and their country left exposed to the return of the French, if it should suit the purposes of Buonaparte to repossess it. In such a state of things it could not be a matter of surprise to any man, that when, on the 11th of December, the country was by proclamation called upon to arm, the Portugueze levies should have been found in a less forward state than at the end of July, and that all hope of effectual resistance to the French should appear to have been abandoned. Were it necessary to adduce proof of the unfortunate state of insubordination and distrust at which the Portugueze people and army had arrived, it would be found in the murder of their general, Bernardino Freire, and several other officers, upon the approach of the enemy; and the loss of Porto, the city and seaport next in consideration and importance to that of Lisbon. The actual situation of Portugal was now the more alarming, because, whilst so important a conquest had been made by Marshal Soult in the north, a great army under Marshal Victor was threatening that country from the east. At such a crisis every thing might depend upon the promptitude, the judgement, and the energy of the commander-in-chief."

Here Lord Buckinghamshire adverted to the removal of Sir John Craddock. "At such a conjuncture," he said, "when all the faculties of the human mind were called into action, when the most splendid military talents might be unequal to the task of extricating his majesty's troops from the difficulties with which they were surrounded, it was seriously to be lamented, that the general upon whom so much depended, should act under the knowledge that he had been superseded by an officer many years his junior in the army,—that the approbation of all the measures he had pursued in Portugal, under circumstances of extreme difficulty, and his acknowledged gallantry and approved exertions in Martinique, in Ireland, and in Egypt, had not been sufficient to

protect him from so severe a mortification. His lordship said he could not avoid remarking, in this place, upon the peculiar talent the present administration possessed, by the most ingenious contrivances, so to form their military arrangements, that at the most critical periods they should never have the full benefit of the abilities of the officers employed by them ; for under the hourly expectation of supercession, or under the controul of a presumptuous and inconsiderate interference, the human mind was incapable of those efforts by which alone great military achievements could be accomplished." The earl then spoke of the appointment of Marquis Wellesley to the Spanish embassy, and the services he had rendered the British empire in India ; the manner in which he had conducted the wars which had broken out during his administration in that country : the foresight, energy, and judgement he had displayed, and whatever differences might have arisen upon other points, the universal applause and admiration with which his military measures had been distinguished.—"Were I," he said, "to state in one sentence what I thought of Lord Wellesley, I should be inclined to say, that he eminently possessed those qualities, to the absence of which in the councils of his majesty might be ascribed the disasters of the last campaign, with the fruitless expenditure of eight millions of money and seven thousand men. Under the contemplation of this appointment, I venture a suggestion, from which considerable advantage might be drawn by his majesty's ministers : conceiving an alteration in the provisional government of Portugal indispensably necessary, I would earnestly recommend that powers should be vested in Marquis Wellesley, for the purpose of making those changes which could not be delayed without the most material injury, not only to the interest of that kingdom, and the cause of Spain, but in its consequences to the welfare and security of Great Britain and Ireland. The existing government is neither acceptable to the people nor to the prince regent : of the disapprobation of the people there could be no question : and the documents for which it is my intention to move would shew the sentiments of the prince. Upon those documents, if produced, it may become my duty to institute a further proceeding." He then moved for the proclamation issued by Sir Hew Dalrymple, for the formation of a regency in Portugal, copies of any communications from Viscount Strangford, concerning the formation of the regency established by that proclamation, and of any communications relating thereto from the Portugueze minister in London, or of such representations respecting the formation of a provisional government in that country, as may have been made at any time by the same minister, in consequence of advices having been received by the prince regent, of the resistance of the people of Portugal against the usurpation of the French, and of the successful operations of his majesty's arms in that country.

No member of the opposition had spoken upon the affairs of the peninsula so wisely as Lord Buckinghamshire on this occasion, nor in a manner so little tainted with party spirit ; yet the most unanswerable reasons had before been given against producing the papers which he required, and those reasons were now repeated by the Earl of Liverpool. That minister expressed his entire agreement

with all that had been said as to the capacity of the Portugueze peasant to become an excellent soldier, adding, with perfect truth, that the people of every country only required to be well disciplined and well led on to make brave soldiers, for courage is natural to man. "Measures," he said, "were now taking for reforming the Portugueze army. With respect to the main question, that of the formation of the regency, there were two modes to be adopted after the French had been compelled to evacuate the country,—either to retain a military occupancy there, or to reinstate the former provisional government as nearly as could be, under all the circumstances of the case. The first would not be resorted to on account of the jealousies it would naturally have created; the latter was actually done, because it was that kind of arrangement which was presumed to be most agreeable to the government at Rio Janeiro. In the manner of forming the regency every attention was paid to the feelings and even to the prejudices of the people. Those members who had accepted offices under the French after the dissolution of the new regency, were not readmitted, and the remaining ones, who were not liable to the same objections, chose their new colleagues;—those colleagues were the bishop of Porto and the Count Monteiro Mor, both persons distinguished for their patriotism and talents. In Portugal, as in other countries, intrigues and jealousies existed, especially among the higher ranks; no doubt, also, a difference of opinion prevailed there respecting the character of the present regents. It was impossible that any arrangement could give universal satisfaction; and to the jealousies and differences of different parties or provinces, it would be neither proper nor decorous for the British government to attend. What they conceived to be their duty was faithfully to interpret the sentiments of the prince regent, and by that rule they had strictly regulated their conduct."

Lord Buckinghamshire's motion was negatived without a division. The opinion which he had expressed respecting Portugal and the Portugueze, was strikingly contrasted with that of other opposition members, in whom party spirit seemed to predominate over every other feeling. The Duke of Norfolk said, "that the cause of Spain and of Portugal was that of an injured people,—but it was that of a people comparatively weak, fighting against a power of the greatest strength; and, however we might lament that the contest on their side must eventually be unsuccessful, we ought not in these times to send out our men and money in the cause of other nations, where all our efforts must be unsuccessful." Lord Grenville * had declared that Buonaparte entered Spain with a moral certainty of completely subjugating it, and that, in fact, he actually had attained that object. Lord Auckland in like manner delivered his opinion, that "what we * called the Spanish cause was lost, and without any rational hope that it would soon be recovered."—Such declarations ought carefully to be remembered; they imply, indeed, only an error of judgement in the statesmen who delivered them; but, had the government of England been in their hands, the consequence of that error would have been the certain and

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disgraceful abandonment of our oldest and best allies,—the probable extinction of the last remains of independence in Europe, and that augmented danger to ourselves which would result from the augmented strength of the enemy, upon whose progress we had looked idly on, while by the most abject, blind, and besotted system of selfish cowardice, we were preparing ourselves to receive his yoke. There were other members, who, holding the same opinions, supported them by misrepresentations, for which error of judgement can hardly be admitted as an excuse. Such was the assertion of Mr * Tierney, that the Portugueze did not like the English, and that of Mr Whitbread, that the people of Porto had received the French as willingly as they did the English!—A less culpable assertion, because it involved no calumny, was hazarded by General Tarleton: addressing himself to Sir Arthur Wellesley, before that officer vacated his seat, he "could tell him," he said, "from his own experience, that the Portugueze cavalry were the most ridiculous force imaginable, and that their cavalry horses were employed in drawing all the hackney coaches in Lisbon." Now it so happens that there are no hackney coaches in Lisbon, and that all the chaises there are drawn by mules!

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Marshal Beresford meantime had taken the command of the Portugueze army: he found it in the most deplorable state; but the men of whom it was composed were such as the best general might wish for,—brave, ardent, and patriotic, docile and faithful, contented with little, patient, and even chearful under all privations. His first care, while he disciplined them, was to teach them confidence in their leaders, and in doing this he wisely encouraged them to have confidence in themselves also. Upon the capture of Porto he communicated that event to them in his general orders, telling them, that he should inform them as well of the disasters which occurred as of the successes, being convinced that the greater the services and exertions which were required might be, the greater would be their zeal, and that they would display a valour not only equal to the exigency of the times, but worthy of the Portugueze troops. "Porto," he said, "defended by four-and-twenty thousand men, and protected with trenches and redoubts, mounted with more than 200 pieces of artillery, had fallen an easy conquest to an enemy of little more than half the number of its garrison, notwithstanding both the people and the troops were brave and loyal, because that enemy had been able to produce a general insubordination under the appearance of patriotism." He warned them against those who had been with the French or their partisans; whatever reports such men propagated were to be received with distrust, as they were undoubtedly paid by the enemy to promote confusion and distrust. "Let the troops," he pursued, "be subordinate to their officers; let them observe strict discipline, and the country will have nothing to fear. The enemy is in possession of Porto, so he was of Chaves; but that place he has lost with more than 1500 men. Recollect, soldiers, that when General Silveira saw the necessity of retiring from Chaves, where, from the nature and num-

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ber of his forces, he was incapable of resisting the French, there were pretended patriots who raised a cry of treason against him, and induced a great number of the despisers of discipline to attempt the defence of that place, which they surrendered without firing a gun, and the troops with it, who had been deceived by them. The firmness of the General saved the rest of the army, and placed it in a situation to acquire greater glory and merit the thanks of his country. The marshal," he concluded, "cannot sufficiently warn the people and the troops against those who, while they assume the appearance of patriotism, are in reality leaders of sedition; nor can he sufficiently recommend union and confidence, for every thing may be hoped from the loyalty, valour, and enthusiasm which animate the Portugueze in defence of their country."

Marshal Beresford soon had occasion to issue a proclamation of a more encouraging nature. A letter from General Kellermann to Soult was intercepted, in which the former informed him of the Austrian war, and the recall of part of the French troops from Spain. His own position, in what he called Upper Spain, he represented as rather critical; he occupied the plain country with a considerable body of horse, watching the army of Asturias and the troops of Romana, and doing all he could to keep in order the people between Valladolid and Madrid, whom he knew to be disaffected. "The war in Germany," said he, "produced by the intrigues and gold of England, cannot but be attended with the most dreadful consequences for us, and must for the present render our situation extremely critical. You cannot expect any reinforcement, unless the Duke of Elchingen (Marshal Ney) should be able to send you some, of which I cannot judge, as I have not the least communication with him, and all Galicia is in a state of insurrection." Soult was at this time spreading a report that Buonaparte was about to arrive at the head of 80,000 men. Marshal Beresford now published this letter, and contrasted it with the report. "Thus it is," said he, "that Marshal Soult, who styles himself governor of Portugal, endeavours to conceal their real danger from the unfortunate troops whom he sacrifices to the boundless ambition of a tyrant! and when it is ascertained that a General publishes falsehoods in one case, his army and the people well know how to appreciate his accounts on other occasions."

April 20.

This proclamation was issued from Thomar, whither Marshal Beresford had advanced after the arrival of the first detachment of the English army. On the 22d of April, Sir Arthur landed at Lisbon. A general rejoicing took place among the Portugueze on this occasion, and every town throughout the kingdom, which was not in possession of the French, was illuminated for three nights. Sir Arthur had been appointed by the Prince of Brazil, marshal-general of the Portugueze army,—a wise and necessary measure for enabling him to direct its movements, while Marshal Beresford was continued in the command. He found that the enemy had not past the Vouga; neither had they, since their loss of Chaves, extended themselves into the province of Tras os Montes. Their efforts had been directed to win the bridge of Amarante. They were at that time harassing Silveira with daily attacks upon this important position, and hitherto he had

been able to repel them. Victor, meantime, equally threatened Seville and Lisbon, and Sir Arthur would have preferred co-operating with Cuesta against him, had it not been that the part of Portugal which Soult occupied was fertile in resources, and also for the importance of the city of Porto. He determined, therefore, to leave such a force in the neighbourhood of Abrantes as might secure Lisbon from Victor, while he drove Soult out of the kingdom; and he determined not to pursue the latter into Galicia, because he was not certain that he should, singly, be equal to the French there, and because the appearance of a British army in that province would make the French collect their force, and thus suspend the war of the peasantry, which was at this time carrying on in a way that harassed and wasted the enemy, and materially impeded their plans: Galicia, he thought, would be more certainly and permanently relieved, by striking a blow against Victor, than by following Soult. This plan he communicated to Cuesta, requesting him not to undertake any thing against Victor till the expedition to Porto was concluded, when he would come down upon Elvas, and co-operate with the Spanish army. Cuesta was not well pleased with these intended operations. Little or nothing, he thought, would be gained by driving Soult toward the Minho, for in that case he would be able to re-enter Galicia and complete its subjugation, neither the peasantry nor Romana being able to prevent him. "The object, of Sir Arthur," he said, "ought to be to surround the French in Porto, or get between them and the Minho, so as to cut off the resources of Soult and to prevent his retreat. But," he added, "the system of the British was never to expose their troops; and it was owing to that system, that instead of ever gaining a decisive action by land, they sacrificed their men in continued retreats and precautions, as General Moore had done from not having attacked the enemy in time."

Cuesta, though a brave man, and a more upright one than many of his own countrymen believed him to be, had no military talents. He wronged the English in this opinion, he under-rated the strength of the Galicians, and he recommended a plan which was impossible, unless Soult had remained idle at Porto, and suffered the enemy to get in his rear. That general, meantime, continued his attacks upon the bridge of Amarante. From the 17th of April to the 29th, the French attacked this position daily, always in great force, and were always repulsed; in one of these actions, Colonel Patrick fell, a man deservedly regretted for his courage and talents, and zeal in the cause wherein he was engaged: the enemy had gained possession of the bridge, when he succeeded in dislodging them, and, following up his success, received a wound during the pursuit, of which he died in a few days at Lamego. On the first of May, the French again endeavoured in vain to carry Silveira's entrenchments; on the second, Soult brought against it a larger force than had yet been employed, and Silveira was at length overpowered, and compelled to fall back from the post which he had so long and so gallantly maintained. This was an important acquisition for the enemy, as it opened a retreat through Tras os Montes.

It was not possible for Sir Arthur to have prevented this event. He stationed two regiments of dragoons,

two battalions, and a brigade of infantry under Major-General Mackenzie, with about 7000 Portugueze, to defend the passes of the mountains between Alcantara and Abrantes, and the fords of the Tagus between the latter place and Santarem. He had learned from an intercepted letter of the Intruder's, that Victor was to keep between Merida and Badajoz till he should have news from Soult, and be joined by La Pisse, who was to advance with a corps from Salamanca. This corps past through the Puerto de Perales, and effected its junction, accomplishing their long march safely in consequence of neglect on the part of the Portugueze, who had not yet been disciplined nor practised in the defence of their country. La Pisse might have been stopt at Alcantara, had the bridge been either broken down, or defended as it ought to have been; but the patriots did not attempt to destroy it till the enemy were close upon them. The supplies which this reinforcement were conducting to Victor narrowly escaped; they went out of one gate from Alcantara, while Sir Robert Wilson's legion entered at another; but these brave men were utterly unable to pursue them; they had marched seventeen days through the rain, and arrived bare-foot and foundered.

Victor being thus supplied and reinforced, Sir Arthur thought it not impossible that he would enter Alentejo, and he recommended, that in that case Cuesta should follow him; but he thought it most probable that this French army would make no movement till they heard of Soult. On the fifth, the whole of his force, except the detachment under General Mackenzie, was assembled at Coimbra, from whence Beresford proceeded the same day with about 6000 Portugueze; a brigade of British infantry, and a squadron of British horse, proceeded toward Viseu to act upon the enemy's left. Colonel Trant, the governor of Coimbra, was posted with the troops under his command on the Vouga, his advanced guard occupied the right bank of that river on the road to Porto. Sir Arthur formed his infantry into three divisions, two of which, with the cavalry and the advanced guard, proceeded by the high road from Coimbra to Porto; the third, under Major-General Hill, by Aveiro. The advanced guard and the cavalry began their march on the 7th, and the next day the whole army halted in order to allow time for Beresford to arrive upon the Upper Douro. On the 9th, an officer was sent forward to Albergaria Nova, to procure billets for the troops, when information was obtained that four regiments of French cavalry, and a battalion of foot, with artillery, were cantoned there and in the neighbouring villages. Sir Arthur endeavoured to surprise them. Some of the troops crossed the Vouga that evening, others during the night; they advanced as silently as possible in utter darkness, and along rocky passes, where there was sometimes only room to march in single file. Their guides, however, led them safely to an open heath, where about sun-rise they came in sight of the enemy's videttes, formed in line; the French had a pine wood in their rear. The attempt at surprising them entirely failed, but the superiority of the British cavalry was once more proved. The enemy were beaten out of the field, and two regiments of Portugueze infantry drove them gallantly through the pine wood; after this they had to pass a deep and difficult ravine, which they were so long

in getting through, that our artillery arrived in time to play upon their rear-guard. They lost their cannon, and the number of their wounded was considerable: these, it is said, are usually under-rated, because the French are dexterous in carrying off their wounded men, the cavalry taking them up. This they have probably learnt in the peninsula, where the peasantry never fail to take every opportunity of vengeance for their aggravated wrongs. The people of the adjoining country prowled over the field after the action, as much for the purpose of killing the disabled Frenchmen as of stripping them, and recovering part of the plunder of the Portugueze with which they were laden.

The French retreated to Oliveira, and presently abandoned it, leaving it to their pursuers, whose advanced guard took up a position there that night. General Hill meantime, with his division, embarked at Aveiro, sailed up the northern creek of that singular harbour, and landed at Ovar, in the rear of the enemy's right, on the day of the action. On the 11th, the French out-posts were driven in between Souto Redondo and Grijo; and shortly afterwards their advanced guard, consisting of about 4000 foot, with some squadrons of horse, were seen strongly posted on the heights above Grijo, their front covered by woods and broken ground. Being attacked and driven from hence, they retreated across the Douro in the night, and removed the bridge of boats. They were pursued a little beyond Carvalhos, and there the English were compelled to give over the pursuit, because their horses were unable to bring forward the guns. There had been the same gross misconduct in this branch of the commissariat as had been complained of in Sir Arthur's last campaign; of three hundred artillery horses which were sent from Portsmouth, it is affirmed that only eighty, which could be called effective, arrived at Lisbon.

It was of importance to cross the Douro as speedily as possible. General Murray was sent to attempt the passage at Avintas, about a league above Porto; another division embarked immediately above Villa Nova: some guns planted on the height of the Serra convent in this town, protected this part of the river, and there appeared to be a good position for the troops on the opposite side till they should be collected in sufficient numbers. Soult, who was prepared in person to receive the British, made no attempt to prevent either the collecting of boats or the embarkation; but when the first battalion of Buffs, under Lieutenant-General Paget, had landed and taken up their position, he attacked them in great strength. General Paget lost his arm at the commencement of the attack; his men stood their ground most gallantly till they were supported successfully by the 48th and 66th, and a Portugueze battalion. Meantime Lieutenant-General Sherbrooke, taking advantage of the weakness of the French in the city, crossed at the ferry from Villa Nova, and appeared upon their right. Major-Gen. Murray, having effected his passage at Avintas, came down upon their left, and they then retreated, or rather took flight, towards Amarante. The heaviest loss in this brilliant action fell upon the 14th light dragoons. Being ordered to the support of a regiment which was hard pressed, they charged a strong body of the French, drawn up in close column, with bayonets ready to receive them in front.

On each flank of the road was a stone wall with trees growing on the outside, and other walls projecting in various directions, so as to give every advantage to the enemy. On the left there were numbers of the French posted in a line, their pieces resting on the wall, ready to give the assailants a running fire as they passed by them, close to the muzzels of the musket, and barely out of reach of a sabre stroke. In a few seconds the ground was covered with men and horses. The squadron consisted of scarcely 40 file; of the 52 men who composed the troop in front, ten were killed, eleven severely wounded, besides others slightly, and six taken; three of the four officers were wounded. The French relied on the strength of their position; but when they perceived that the British, notwithstanding the havock which was made among them, persevered in the charge, and penetrated the battalion opposed to them, they fled in great confusion; and the infantry coming up, about 300 of the enemy were made prisoners. This squadron received the thanks of the commander-in-chief for their gallantry. Soult added his testimony to their courage in a very different manner. The men who had been taken made their escape afterwards, and said that he sent for them, and declared that in his opinion they must have been all drunk or mad, for the brigade which they had attacked was nearly two thousand strong. The Portugueze who were engaged in these various actions behaved well; they were daily acquiring discipline, they had confidence in their officers, and they now began to display that courage for which their forefathers were so eminent. The corps of students, who had been raised under Colonel Trant, acquired great credit by their whole conduct since they had taken the field.

It was about five in the evening when the action was terminated by the flight of the French. It had continued three hours in the suburbs, the streets were strewed with dead bodies, both of men and horses, and the gutters were red with blood. Porto was illuminated at night, and the people welcomed their deliverers with all the grateful joy that words could express: the exactions of the French had scarcely left them any other means of expressing it. The rapidity of Sir Arthur's movements had not been expected by the enemy: in four days he had marched over fourscore miles of difficult country, gained many important positions, defeated three different bodies of the French troops, and effected the passage of a great river in their face. Soult's dinner was found just laid for him at the moment when he was called away by the unwelcome intelligence that the English were crossing the Douro. His intention had been to retreat by the bridge of Amarante, through Villa Real and Braganza; and part of his army, under General Merlet, which had been posted at Valongo, began its retreat in the direction of Penafiel and Amarante as soon as the passage was effected, without waiting for the result of the action. Sir Arthur hoped that Marshal Beresford would be able so far to disconcert the plans of the enemy as to make him retreat by Chaves into Galicia, rather than by Villa Real, in a direction which would enable him to effect a junction with Victor. Beresford, however, did more than this; he moved with such celerity, that, having compelled the French posts at Villa Real and Mezamfrio to fall back with some loss, he drove in

Loison's out-posts at the bridge of Amarante, and again acquired possession of that important point, at the same time that Sir Arthur was defeating Soult before Porto. He then marched his own corps upon Chaves, and dispatched Silveira to occupy the passes of Ruivaes and Melgaço, near Salamonde, anticipating Sir Arthur's orders. The latter movement could not be executed in time. Soult was aware of his danger, and ran, leaving every thing behind him, like Sir John Moore; but with this difference from the British general, that he never offered to turn and give battle. His track was strewn with dead horses and mules, who had either been driven till they fell, or killed, or more barbarously hamstrung when they could be goaded on no further. The French plundered and murdered the peasantry as they went. The English found many hanging by the side of the road, executed by order of the general, for no other reason than that they were not friendly to the usurpers of their country. The line of the French could be traced by the flames and smoke of the villages which they set on fire. These abominations did not pass unrevenged; every man that dropt on the road was put to death without mercy by the peasants before the advanced guard of the British could come up. The pursuit was as closely followed as possible; the terrified Frenchmen in the rear even threw away their knapsacks, which were heavily laden with plunder, and impeded them now when they were running for their lives. In one place, where they crossed during the night a bridge, with a low parapet, over a deep ravine, our advanced guard in the morning found the ravine nearly filled on both sides with the bodies of men and horses, who had been jostled over in the precipitancy of their flight. The whole of their baggage was lost; and at Penafiel, when it was found that the money could be carried no farther, Soult wisely gave it up to pillage, because it was better his own men should have it than the English, and there was no time to make a regular distribution of it. Sir Arthur pursued as far as Montalegre, and then halted, finding that the enemy had gone through the mountains toward Orense by roads impracticable for carriages, and where it was impossible either to stop or overtake them. He estimated that Soult had lost all his artillery and equipments, and not less than a fourth of his army, since he was attacked upon the Vouga. "If," said he, "an army throws away all its cannon, equipments, and baggage, and every thing that can strengthen it and enable it to act together as a body, and if it abandons all those who are entitled to its protection, but add to its weight and impede its progress, it must obviously be able to march through roads where it cannot be overtaken by an enemy who has not made the same sacrifices."

May 18.

When the British general had discontinued the pursuit, according to his original determination of not following Soult into Galicia, he learned that Victor had broken up on the Guadiana, and made himself master of Alcantara. This post was occupied by 600 of Sir Robert Wilson's legion, 1100 Portugueze militia, and a squadron of Portugeze cavalry, under Colonel Mayne, who, with this far inferior force, withstood 10,000 infantry and 1000 horse for six hours, and then effected his retreat without losing a single piece of cannon, though

May 14.

not without a heavy loss in killed and wounded. He endeavoured to blow up the bridge, but the attempt failed, and the enemy, being thus masters of the passage, advanced a little way into Portugal in the direction of Castello Branco. Sir Arthur, who had foreseen the possibility of such a movement, and provided as far as was possible against it, marched immediately to the south; but Victor, whose only object was to effect a diversion in favour of Soult, retreated as soon as he heard that the British and Portugueze armies had recrossed the Douro, and, retiring by the way he entered, evacuated Alcantara, and concentrated his army between the Tagus and the Guadiana, in the neighbourhood of Caceres.

Sir Arthur had, like Cuesta, estimated the strength of the patriots in Galicia below what it really was. After Romana had surprised the French garrison at Villa Franca, he received information that the enemy were collecting a considerable force at Lugo for the purpose of attacking him. Upon this he marched into Asturias, crossing the mountains at the passes of Cienfuegos, and descended to Navia de Suarna. There he left the army, under the command of D. Nicholas Mahy, and went himself to Oviedo, in order to dissolve the junta, and establish one more active and patriotic in its place. "The junta of Asturias," he said, in a proclamation which he addressed to the people of that principality, "though they had received more assistance of every kind from England than any other provincial government, had yet co-operated less than any other in the great work of expelling the enemy from their native soil." This body had unhappily been formed by intrigue and by family influence, and the persons who composed it looked only to the establishment of their own absolute and indefinite power, the advancement of their own interest and of their obsequious followers, and the destruction, under false and calumnious pretences, of all who were not subservient to them. "Complaints of their misconduct," the marquis said, "had reached him on the frontiers of Portugal, and as he approached nearer the country he was compelled to acknowledge that they were well founded. Persons of every rank and class told him of enormous abuses, partiality in the disposal of offices, and misapplication of money, to the disgust of many and the injury of all. Some laws the junta had neglected, others they had openly abrogated: they had suppressed the public orders, and intercepted not only the correspondence of individuals, but even the official intercourse of the state. Asturians," said he, "you will be thankful for this declaration on my part, after the evils which you have endured. I promise myself every thing from your honour, loyalty, and fortitude, which are recorded in the annals of your country from the remotest periods of our history. You are the eldest-born of our ancient monarchy, and the empire of Spain was once bounded within your mountains. I expect every thing from your valour: if hitherto you have accomplished little, it is only because the opportunity of serving your country has not been afforded you." He then, as commander-in-chief of the northern provinces, by virtue of the powers which the central government had entrusted to him, dissolved this junta as unworthy of their authority, and nominated others in their place, among whom were the deputies who had

April 22.

first been sent to England, D. Andres Angel de la Vega, and Viscount Materosa, now, by the death of his father, Count de Toreno.

Ney, who had collected 12,000 men at Lugo for the purpose of crushing Romana, no sooner heard of his march toward Asturias than he followed him. Mahy was fortunately apprized in time of the approach of this superior force, and, avoiding it, turned back upon Galicia, to profit by its absence. At Navia de Suarna the French general learned that Romana was in Oviedo, and thinking it of more importance to destroy him than his army, proceeded with the utmost rapidity towards that city, hoping to surprise him there. In this he had nearly succeeded; for so ill was the marquis served at this time, that the French were within two days march of Oviedo before he was informed that they had moved from Galicia: he had scarcely time to reach Gijon with his staff, where he got safe on shipboard. The excellent bishop of St Andero escaped in like manner. On the 18th of May the French entered Oviedo, and having pillaged the town, they proceeded to Gijon. Most of the prisoners taken at Villa Franca were released in this expedition. Ney's movement was concerted with Kellermann and Bonnet, of whom the one entered Asturias from the side of Biscay, and the other from Leon. But though Romana, owing to the want of information, had thus nearly been surprised, the Asturian troops, under Generals Worster and Ballesteros, prevented the enemy from deriving any benefit from their transient success. Barcena, who commanded a division of the corps under Worster, by rapid marches upon Teberga and Grado, prevented the French from uniting their forces, and defeated them in three partial actions. Worster then collecting his whole army, advanced toward Oviedo; but Kellermann, perceiving that he could not possibly maintain possession of the city, evacuated it in time, and retreated precipitately into Leon. Ballasteros meantime, who was on the eastern frontier of the principality, finding that Bonnet was between him and Worster, turned rapidly upon St Andero, chiefly with a view of drawing Bonnet out of Asturias. He attacked the French garrison in that city, killed 800, made 600 prisoners, and won the place. The ill conduct of part of his army, which he had stationed in the passes near the city, deprived him of the fruits of his victory; they suffered themselves to be surprised by Bonnet's whole force; the remainder of his men in consequence had no other alternative than to abandon the city and disperse, while he himself, like Romana, had just time to escape by sea. These movements on the part of the two Asturian commanders compelled Ney to hasten his return to Galicia, where indeed he rightly judged his presence was necessary. He retreated therefore along the seacoast by Castropol, and found in that province intelligence of a nature which more than counterbalanced the temporary triumph he had obtained.

May 18.

Mahy, withdrawing from Navia de Suerna, marched rapidly towards Lugo, where the greater part of the French force then in Galicia had been left. After two successful skirmishes, he defeated them in a general engagement, and drove them within the walls of Lugo. He could not pursue his success for want of artillery and scaling ladders; but having pent the enemy up in that city, removed

his wounded to Mondonedo, where he rested his men, and where they were joined by the marquis three days after he landed at Rivadeo.

May 23. Carrara about the same time, with the troops who had recovered Vigo, marched against the city of Compostella, or Santiago, as it is now more frequently called. The French garrison, consisting of about 3000 men, came out and attacked them on the plain of Estrella; they were repulsed; Murillo charged their right flank, Carrara with the rest of the army advanced against them in front; and they were twice driven from the positions in which they attempted to make a stand. Murillo entered the city, drove them through the streets, and pursued them to the distance of more than a league beyond it. Their second in command was killed, their general severely wounded.

This was the intelligence which Ney received on his return from Asturias. He learned also that Soult, with his fugitive army, had entered Galicia; and it was concerted that Ney should retake Vigo, and then form a junction with the army of Portugal, as it was termed, at Orense, to hem in and effect the destruction of Romana. In pursuance of this arrangement, Ney, with a force of 8000 infantry, and 2500 horse, marched from Mondonedo and Lugo upon Santiago. Carrara, whose force was very inferior, retreated to Caldas and Pontevedra, where he was joined by the Count de Norona, who was now second in command; a nobleman not less eminent for his literary † talents than for his patriotism. The count determined to retreat to the bridge, because, two of the arches having been broken down, it afforded a favourable position for making a stand and covering Vigo, from whence the patriots now received their stores. Boats were procured from Vigo and Redondela to form a bridge for the troops; enough could not be found to construct one in the usual form, and it was necessary to moor them broad-side to the stream, fasten them together head and stern, and then lay planks along, torn from the neighbouring houses. The narrowness of the bridge considerably lengthened the time employed in passing, nevertheless the passage was effected before the enemy appeared. Now it was seen with what wise foresight Murillo had acted in throwing up works at this position. The troops were formed on the southern bank; they were now increased to between 6000 and 7000 men, besides 3000 who were without fire-arms; they had 120 horse and nine field-pieces, and a battery of two 18-pounders planted on a height above the bridge. Captain M'Kinley, who was still in the port of Vigo, was informed of this on the evening of the 6th of June. Very early the following morning he went up in his barge to S. Payo, and while he was conferring with Carrara, the French appeared on the opposite bank. The Galician troops had undergone great fatigue, having been constantly exposed to continued and heavy rain: nothing, however, could exceed their spirit; it required all the efforts of their officers to prevent them from pushing across and attacking an enemy whom they had such cause to

† In the Critical Review for 1801, or the following year, there is an account of this nobleman's poems, with a specimen of fine satire from his mock-heroic, which shows his sense at that time of the degraded state of the Spanish government.

hate. Ney posted his troops in the houses on the right bank and in a wood a little below, and kept up his attack the whole day. During the night he erected a battery; some of his men also laid ladders upon the first breach, and got upon the brink of the second; but when daylight appeared they were soon driven back.

Captain M'Kinley passing safely within gun-shot of the enemy's field-pieces, returned to Vigo as soon as the action commenced, and, with the assistance of Colonel Carol, he provided for the defence of that place, and the Spanish commodore sent up three gun-boats to assist in the defence. One of these Captain Wynter manned under charge of Lieutenant Jefferson. A Spanish schooner, commanded by Lieutenant Toledo, and a Portugueze one under Lieutenant Alves, both active and zealous officers, went also upon this service. At day-break the French battery opened both upon the troops and the boats; but the latter taking advantage of the tide, got near, and destroyed the battery. When the tide fell, the enemy made two desperate attempts with horse and foot to cross above the bridge; the patriots steadily resisted, and both times drove them back with great slaughter. Baffled here, a detachment went up the river, thinking to cross at the ford of Soltomayor; Murillo was sent to oppose them, and that excellent officer, after they had vainly persevered in their attempt for an hour and half, compelled them to retire. They made another attack under cover of a thick fog; this also was as unsuccessful as the former, and Ney being thus defeated by a new-raised army of inferior numbers, half of whom were unarmed, retreated during the night, leaving some of his wounded, and having sustained so severe a loss, that, even with Soult's assistance, he now despaired of being able to keep his ground in Galicia.

The victory which the Spaniards thus obtained was hardly less important in its consequence than the battle of Baylen. It effectually defeated the plan of co-operation with Soult, and it cleared the province of the enemy. Ney retreated to Santiago, whither Carrara pursued and destroyed 500 men of his army. The French general now thought of nothing but effecting his retreat into Castille: as soon as he reached Coruna, he made preparations for evacuating that place and Ferrol; he destroyed the magazines and stores of every kind, and the defences on the land side, spiked the guns, and completely disarmed both the place and the people. Ferrol was evacuated by the last division of the enemy on the 21st, Coruna on the following day, and Ney retreated through Lugo, Villafranca, and Astorga. He had formed an encampment between Betanzos and Lugo; and this, before his final retreat was known, kept the persons whom he had established in authority in fear or hope of his return, so that no communication was suffered with the British ships, except by flag of truce. The batteries and lines on the sea-side having been left uninjured, Captain Hotham of the Defiance, impatient of this conduct, landed a party of seamen and marines, and dismounted all the guns that bore upon the anchorage. When the Count de Norona arrived a few days afterwards, he expressed some displeasure at this; but the propriety of the measure was so evident when the circumstances which occasioned it were explained, that the feeling

June 13.

could be only momentary. Captain Hotham having thus opened such a communication with Coruna as was equally desirable for both nations, sent Captain Parker to Ferrol, where the joy of the people, at seeing an English officer in their streets, was manifested by the loudest acclamations and by every possible mark of attachment. The castle of S. Felipe was still held by a traitor whom Ney had appointed to the command. He had under him a legion which the French had raised while they were in possession of the two towns, and over these men he retained his authority as long as the real state of affairs could be concealed, for probably Ney left him with a promise of returning as soon as he should have effected his junction with Soult. This traitor gave orders to fire upon any English ships or boats that might attempt to pass; Captain Hotham, immediately upon hearing this, stood over to Ferrol in the Defiance, and landed the marines of that ship and of the Amazon, with a party of armed seamen under Captain Parker, who proceeded to attack the castle. But though the men who garrisoned it had been weak enough to suffer themselves to be enrolled in the intruder's service, now that it was in their power to deliver themselves, they refused to obey their commander, and joyfully welcomed the English, who entered preceded by the Spanish colours. The people of Ferrol then arrested the traitorous governor in the name of Ferdinand.

June 26.

Soult was at Lugo when these events occurred. He left there 977 of his sick, and endeavoured to bring Romana to action, committing his accustomed cruelties wherever he went. But Romana was too wary; and though it was Ney's advice that Soult should remain in Galicia and co-operate with him in recovering possession of the province, the latter general, who is the ablest of all the French commanders that have been employed in Spain, was induced to form a different determination, both by political considerations and by necessity. He had now received neither succours of any kind nor instructions, nor even intelligence, for five months, so well had the Spaniards and Portugueze cut off all communication with Madrid. There was no place in Galicia where he could rest and supply his troops, and leave his sick in security. He therefore retreated to Zamora. Two letters to the intruder, written from the Pueblo de Sanabria upon their retreat, giving an account of his movements and of the state of the army and of the province, fell into the hands of the peasantry. General Franceschi, who had been governor of Santiago, was charged with them, being a person whom Soult could trust to confer with Joseph Buonaparte concerning some changes which he proposed to make in his officers. The peasantry were almost frantic with the cruelties that had been perpetrated among them, and Franceschi would have been one of the victims of their vengeance, if they had not, knowing his rank, spared him in the hope of exchanging him for Palafox. The letters were exceedingly important. Soult informed the intruder that the war in Galicia was become very murderous and infinitely disagreeable, and its termination was far distant. The only means of bringing it to a good conclusion would be, he thought, to fortify seven or eight important posts,

each capable of containing a garrison of 5 or 600 men, a hospital, and provisions for four months: by this means the people might be kept in check, the principal passes closed, points of support would be provided for the columns acting in the province, in whatever direction they moved, and where they might receive assistance and deposite their sick. This, he said, was a very powerful consideration, for it was not to be concealed that the present circumstances had a great effect upon the minds of the soldiers, knowing as they did, that if they were wounded or seized with a fever at a distance from a place of safety, they were liable to perish for want of assistance, or to be put to death by the peasantry.

A million of French money, according to Soult's opinion, would suffice to put Galicia in this state of defence, and no money could be employed to better purpose, especially as a smaller number of troops would then suffice to occupy it. Lugo should be fortified, three blockhouses erected on the line of Villafranca in the Bierzo, and the fortifications of Tuy, Monforte, Monterey, Viana, and the Pueblo de Sanabria restored, which might easily be done. A few other posts might be added if needful. Some of these measures he had persuaded Marshal Ney to undertake,—but Ney at this time, instead of fortifying Lugo, was flying beyond Astorga. Soult's letters also discovered the state of feeling among the French themselves; there had been intrigues or conspiracies in his army when he quitted Porto; some of his generals had not always done what was in their power for the success of the operation with which they were entrusted, others had shewn symptoms of what he called a moral * debility. "In this kind of war," said he, "and with the sort of enemy with whom we have to contend, it is of great importance that the chiefs who are at the head of the troops should be not only immoveable, but that they should possess that force of mind which places them in all circumstances above events even the most † vexatious." The moral debility of which Marshal Soult complained, implied that some of his officers were shocked at the atrocities which they were ordered to commit. The peasantry from the beginning repaid these cruelties, and carried on a war of extermination against these ruffians; the Spanish army were long before they could resolve upon executing the dreadful principle of retaliation, but they were at length compelled to it. At Lourizon, thirty monks and forty-nine of the principal inhabitants were hung by the French, who then set the place on fire. In return for this, 130 of the prisoners taken at the battle of St Payo were put to death. Barrios, who commanded one of the detachments, repeatedly remonstrated with Ney upon the barbarities which that general committed upon the patriots: his remonstrances were in vain, and at length he executed the threats with which he enforced them, by throwing 700 French prisoners at one time into the Minho.

* *Un affoiblessement moral.*

† *Dans le genre de guerre, que nous faisons, et avec l'espece d'ennemis qu'il y a combattre, il importe beaucoup au succes des operations, que les chefs qui sont à la tete des troupes soient non seulement impassibles, mais qu'ils ayent une force d'ame qui les mette en toute circumstance au dessus des evenements meme les plus facheux.*

Immediately upon the recovery of Galicia, the central junta took measures for removing the Ferrol fleet to Cadiz, thus anticipating the wishes of the English government. As soon as Romana arrived at Coruna, he erected a monument there with this inscription: "Grateful Spain to the glory of the English General Moore and his valiant * countrymen."

* *A LA GLORIA*
DEL GENERAL INGLES MOORE
Y SUS VALIENTES COMPATRIOTAS
LA ESPANA AGRADECIDA.

CHAP. XXX.

Sir Arthur Wellesley enters Spain. Battle of Talavera. The Allies retreat after their Victory, and cross the Tagus. Mortier defeats part of Cuesta's Army at the Bridge of the Archbishop. Movement of Venegas till his Defeat at Almonacid.

THE head-quarters of Marshal Victor, after he returned from his movement in favour of Soult to his former position, were at Truxillo: Cuesta was on his left flank, having his head-quarters at Fuente del Maestro, and his advance at Calemonte on the Guadiana, a league from Merida. Sir Arthur formed a plan for cutting off the enemy's retreat by a movement through Castello Branco and Plasencia to the bridge of Almaraz; this he relinquished, partly because it did not coincide with Cuesta's opinion, and also because he found it impossible to prevail upon that general to chuse a secure position, or to concentrate his army, which was distributed with so little judgement in an open country, that if Victor had ventured to attack it, an easier victory might have been obtained than that of Medellin. The French have seldom suffered such opportunities to pass by, and Sir Arthur was very apprehensive that the army, which had been raised with such exertions, would be defeated and dispersed before he could possibly effect a junction with it. Victor, however, was content to forego this advantage rather than risk the danger of being cut off from Madrid by such an operation as Sir Arthur had meditated; he broke up, therefore, at the beginning of June, and retreated across the Tagus at Almaraz; Cuesta followed, but without obtaining any advantage over him in his retreat, and sufficiently fortunate that the French Marshal was in too much fear of a better army, to profit by the want of discipline in the Spaniards and the want of skill in their commanders.

When Sir Arthur had given up his original plan in consequence of Cuesta's incapacity, it was concerted that he should join that general at Badajoz. Victor's retreat rendered this unnecessary, and it was then agreed that he should advance, as he had at first proposed, by way of Plasencia. The army of La Mancha at this time, consisting of 16,000 foot and 1300 horse, was under Venegas,

subject, however, to Cuesta's orders. This was the side on which the French were most exposed; Albuquerque, by one operation, though it had only partially succeeded, had retarded the plans of the enemy for more than a month, and had he not been withheld by the positive orders of men who were unworthy to control him, there is every reason for believing that he would have prevented many of the disasters which afterwards occurred. His patriotism was undoubted; no man, indeed, ever more passionately loved his country: his military talents were superior to those of any other of the Spanish generals, after the death of Reding, Romana perhaps alone excepted; and when these moral advantages concurred, his high rank and illustrious family ought to have been considered as circumstances to recommend him, giving him, as they would have done, additional claims to the respect of the army and people. With both he was exceedingly popular, especially among the La Manchans; having been a sucesssful general, and almost the only one who had obtained any success, the soldiers had an opinion of his good fortune as well as of his talents, and this of all things is the most important. Mr Frere, who estimated the merits of the duke as they deserved, was exceedingly desirous that he should have the command in La Mancha, and suggested it to Cuesta. "An army," he said, "which had been torn by factions, thrown into confusion by the successive removal of its officers, and discouraged by ill fortune, could have no hope of being speedily re-established and conducted to victory, except by a general who was known to them for his successes, and who was personally popular among them, and in the province wherein he was to act. The Duke de Albuquerque was the only one who united in himself these advantages; and for the situation which he at present held in General Cuesta's army, Venegas would not be less useful, having always served under General Cuesta, and not only near his person, but immediately under his eyes. Unhappily Cuesta was jealous of the duke's popularity, and the supreme junta were jealous of his rank and influence. Mr Frere's advice was rejected, and this may be considered as a prime cause of the failure of the campaign.

It had at first been doubted whether the French would make any thing more than a shew of resistance on this side of Madrid, and a plan was proposed for menacing their retreat and the rear of the metropolis, by detaching a considerable Spanish corps through the Puerto de Arenas to Avila, Arevalo, and Segovia. Such a movement, it was thought, would compel the enemy either to retreat, or to detach a force of correspondent magnitude, and thus a material advantage would be afforded to the British army, which, when concentrated, amounted only to 20,000 men. Cuesta had about 38,000, well armed, but ill disciplined and ill clothed, which, in their state of discipline, was an evil of more consequence than may immediately be obvious. The intruder, with 9000 of his guards, and the greater part of the garrison of Madrid, had joined Sebastiani's army in La Mancha, and attempted to bring Venegas to action; but finding this in vain, they left 200 men to defend Toledo against him, and prepared to bring their whole disposable force, consisting of about 50,000, against the united Spa-

nish and British armies. But the Spanish army was in such a state, that little could be expected from its co-operation: a far smaller force would, under such circumstances, be of greater assistance, both as being more manageable and more likely to follow the example and catch the spirit of their better disciplined allies. If, therefore, a large detachment of these troops, by moving towards Segovia, could draw off a body of the French to watch them, they would render infinitely more service by such a diversion than could be expected from them in the field. For this reason such a movement was advised both by Sir Arthur and Mr Frere, that minister not being deterred from the performance of his duty by the unjust clamour which had been raised against him in England, but delivering his opinion to the British general upon the same footing, he said, as he should have done had he been holding a private conversation with Sir Arthur, and as he should equally have ventured to do had he been residing casually in Spain in a private character. There was another reason which made the junta wish to see Cuesta's army diminished, and which is characteristic of that imbecile body. A suspicion had for some time prevailed that Cuesta had not forgiven his arrest, and that the same temper which led him to those violent measures which had provoked that act of vigour, would tempt him to take some serious vengeance whenever it was in his power. This, it was thought, was more to be apprehended now than at any former time, because the army which his rival, Blake, commanded, had just at this time been shamefully dispersed, and thus the great obstacle to such a project was removed. The junta were afraid to supersede Cuesta, even if they knew whom to appoint in his place, and they were afraid even to propose this measure of detaching a part of his army, under a commander of sufficient popularity to oppose his designs; but it was not doubted that if such a measure were proposed by the British general as a military plan, they would joyfully accede to it.

Cuesta was wronged by these suspicions;—he was obstinate, intractable, and unfit for command; but a right honest man, and one who, from a sense of duty as well as from his natural courage, would at any time have laid down his life for the service of Spain. Sir Arthur, whose head-quarters were now at Plasencia, went to confer with the Spanish general at Almaraz. *July* 10. 14,000 of the Spaniards were at this time stationed at the Puente del Arzobispo; the remainder were about two miles from the bridge of Almaraz, encamped under the Pass of Miravete. Victor had taken up a position upon the Alberche, near Talavera. There, Sir Arthur stated his opinion, they ought to be attacked by the united force of the allies; but that it would be desirable to detach a corps of 10,000 towards Avila to turn their right: Cuesta approved of the proposal, but desired that they might be British troops. To this Sir Arthur replied, that the British army, to act with advantage, must act in a body; and the Spaniards could better spare such a detachment, being indeed more numerous than was either necessary for the operations on the Alberche, or convenient, considering their state of discipline. These representations were lost upon Cuesta, who probably estimated his own importance by

the number of men under his command; he refused to make any large detachment, but offered to send two battalions of infantry and a few cavalry to join Sir R. Wilson's Portugueze brigade, and march upon Arenas, and thence to Escalona, in communication with the left of the British army. Had Sir Arthur's advice been followed, it was his intention to have recommended the Duke of Albuquerque to the command; but it was the fate of Spain to be almost always deprived of the services of this brave and able general by the jealousy of meaner minds.

In pursuance of the arrangements concerted at this interview, the British army broke up from Plasencia on the 17th and 18th of July, and formed a junction with Cuesta on the 20th at Oropesa. Sir R. Wilson marched from his position on the Tietar on the 15th, and reached Escalona on the 23d, threatening Madrid on that side, from which he was about eight leagues distant. Venegas had been directed to break up from Madrilejos at the same time as the British army, march by Tembleque and Ocana, cross the Tagus by the ford at Fuente-Duenas, and advance to Arganda, so to threaten Madrid, which would then be within a few hours march. Had this plan been followed, either a considerable body of the French must have been detached against Venegas, or he would have entered the capital without resistance.

Sir Arthur was destined throughout the campaign to have his well-formed plans continually frustrated by the grossest misconduct on the part of those from whom he looked for the most cordial co-operation. On the 22d, the combined armies moved from Oropesa, and the advanced guard attacked Victor's rear-guard, which was drawn up in order of battle, upon a plain about a league from Talavera. Their right wing was turned by Brig.-Gen. Anson, and the Duke of Albuquerque attacked them in front, and drove them back; they retreated to a position upon the Alberche, a league beyond the town, and the combined armies advanced, and encamped that night in the vineyards and olive-grounds between the town and the French. Sir Arthur had a narrow escape this day; while he was reconnoitring, a three-pound shot was fired at him with so good an aim, that it cut a bough from a tree close to his head. He determined to attack the enemy the following morning, and bring Victor to action before he was joined by Sebastiani and the intruder. The columns were formed for this purpose at an early hour, and at five in the morning they received orders to march; but these orders were countermanded, not more to the surprise and disappointment of the army than to the vexation of the general. Cuesta insisted upon delaying the attack till the following day. So unaccountable was this conduct, that one of the reasons which have been assigned for it, was that he scrupled at fighting upon a Sunday. Whatever his reasons were, they have never been explained, and probably were not more valid than this would have been: but thus the opportunity was let pass, for when, on the morning of the 24th, he was ready to give battle, it appeared that Victor, profiting by the precious time which had been given him, had decamped during the night, and retired to St Ollala, and from thence towards

Torrejos, to effect that meditated junction which Sir Arthur's measures would have frustrated.

The retreat of the enemy surprised Cuesta as much as if his own procrastination had not deprived Spain of the victory which prompter measures would have secured. The British general expected that this would be the consequence of so ill-timed a delay, and the disappointment was the more grievous to him, because he could not pursue the French. From the hour in which he entered Spain he had never been able to procure any means of transport:—for the baggage of individuals he required none,—only for provisions, ammunition, money, and military stores,—things indispensable for an army. These were not to be obtained. The country was in a state of total disorganization; and what was more extraordinary, the government seemed to be totally ignorant of this, and to suppose that nothing more was required of it than to issue edicts, which would be carried into effect as if things were in their ordinary course. This inconvenience was so severely felt, that Sir Arthur, before he left Plasencia, informed Cuesta it would be impossible for him to undertake any farther operations after their arrangements against Victor should have been carried into effect, unless the necessary means of transports were supplied. Justice to his Majesty, and to the army with which he had been entrusted, required this determination, he said, and he was equally bound in justice to communicate it to General Cuesta without delay. The means which he required were such as every country in which an army was acting was bound to supply, and if the people of Spain were either unwilling or unable to supply what the British army required, they must do without its services. This declaration had been made as early as the 16th; a week had now elapsed, the evil continued the same, nor had there been the slightest effort to remedy it,—and the evil was not alone, for from the same causes the troops were now in actual want of provisions. The Spanish commissariat was in the most deplorable state, and that of the British army, which was yet far from being in a good one, could effect nothing in a country where they exerted no authority themselves, and the government would exert none for them. The evil was aggravated by the junction of two such large armies, in a country which had scarcely ever been without troops to exhaust it during the preceding twelvemonths. When the people of the two combined armies became, as it were, competitors for food, the inhabitants naturally preferred their own countrymen:—it was afterwards discovered also, that, with a stupid selfishness, which admits neither of justification or excuse, they concealed the greater part of their stores from both.

Thus painfully circumstanced, Sir Arthur could not proceed. He conceived also that the engagement which he had formed with Cuesta was completely fulfilled by the removal of Victor from the Alberche; for if advantages were duly taken of that movement, it gave the Spanish general possession of the course of the Tagus, and opened the communication with La Mancha and Venegas. He halted from absolute necessity, and he determined even to return to Portugal, if he were not properly supplied. Cuesta appeared fully sensible of the propriety of this

determination, and trusting that good fortune would put him in possession of Madrid, which now seemed just within his reach, and thus put an end to the difficulties which embarrassed him, he having means of transport in abundance, advanced four leagues in pursuit of Victor, to the village of Bravo; Sir Arthur, meantime, moving two divisions of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, under General Sherbrooke, across the Alberche to Casalegas, to keep up the communication with Cuesta and with Sir Robert Wilson.

Joseph Buonaparte left Madrid on the 23d, and halted that night at Navalcarnero, designing to form a junction with Victor at Casalegas, and to order Sebastiani there as soon as that general, in pursuance of his instructions, should have returned from Consuegra and Madrilejos, where he was watching Venegas, to Toledo. Another object which he had in view was to check Sir Robert Wilson, whose force he supposed to be considerably greater than it was, and of whose enterprising spirit the French stood in great fear. But Victor, who was well informed of the plans of his enemies, and had retreated in time to avoid an action in which he must have been defeated, perceived, that if he fell back upon Naval Carnero to join the intruder, it would be easy to interpose between them and Sebastiani, in which case the junction of their whole force in this quarter would be rendered exceedingly difficult, if not impossible. Apprizing Joseph, therefore, of his movements, he retreated to the left bank of the Guadarrama, at its confluence with the Tagus near Toledo. Sebastiani reached that city the same day, and the intruder marching to the same point, fixed his head-

July 25.

quarters at Vargas, two leagues distant, so that the whole force which he could bring against the allies was now united. It consisted of 45,000 men, after 3000 were left to defend Toledo. They resolved immediately, now that this great object was effected, to act upon the offensive, and on the next day they began their march to Torrijos.

Cuesta had by this time advanced to St Olalla. He there learnt that Victor had turned off towards Toledo, and so far was he from divining the obvious intent of such a movement, that he supposed the French were in full retreat, and that he had nothing to do but to pursue them. From some strange misconception, too, he supposed the English were about to follow him; they were very short of provisions and means of conveyance, he informed his own government, but he was doing all in his power to persuade them of the necessity of putting themselves in motion. He thus deceived himself and his government, instead of making efforts to supply the wants of the English army, or assisting them with his own means of transport. These he possessed in sufficient quantity; and it was discovered when too late, that food in abundance might have been procured, had proper means been used for obtaining it. In the morning of the 25th Cuesta dispatched intelligence that he was in pursuit of the French; in the evening, he discovered that he was in some danger of being attacked by them, and on the following day his out-posts were attacked in Torrijos, and driven in. General Zayas advanced with the vanguard to meet the French; he was attacked by Latour Maubourg, with the French advanced guard, and suffered considerable loss; but Zayas was a good officer and main-

tained his ground against superior numbers while he sent to require support. Albuquerque had requested that his division might be the first sent to support the vanguard, either in case of its attacking the enemy or being attacked. While Cuesta made arrangements for the retreat of the whole army beyond the Alberche, he advanced time enough to save Zayas from a complete rout, and the army from the utter defeat which would have resulted from it. The vanguard was flying at the moment when he arrived; he charged the enemy, checked them, and gave the van time to form again, and fall back in good order. But for this timely success, the whole army would have been dispersed, for all the artillery and baggage were in the streets of St Olalla, carts of bread were there also blocking up the way, the commissaries had taken flight, and the men, catching that panic which want of order in an army never fails to occasion on the first approach of danger, had begun to throw away their arms, that they might neither be encumbered with them in running away, nor supposed to be soldiers if they were overtaken.

Albuquerque would have pursued his success, had he not been compelled to retreat by repeated orders from the commander-in-chief, at the moment when he was about to attack a disheartened enemy, with troops confident in their own courage and in the skill of their leaders, and heated by the advantage which they had gained. He had, however, done much in saving the army, for never were the movements of an army conducted in a more wretched and disorderly manner; like a rabble upon a pilgrimage, such was Albuquerque's description, they proceeded without any regard to distance, order, or method, and with the whole park of artillery; they had neither provisions, staff, nor settled plan, and they stopt upon their marches to repose like flocks of sheep, without taking up any position, so that, if the French knew the condition they were in, a defeat must have been inevitable whenever they were unexpectedly attacked. Saved from that total dispersion which must have ensued, had not Albuquerque checked the French in their career, the Spanish army retreated twenty miles from St Olalla to the Alberche unmolested, and crossed the river, thus again forming a junction with the British. Cuesta thought it very unlikely that the enemy would venture to attack them here: there was a report that they had detached 15,000 men towards Madrid, and this strengthened his opinion. In fact, had Venegas performed his part of the concerted operations, either this must have been done by the French, or Madrid would have fallen into the hands of the patriots. But though this general was under Cuesta's orders, and had been instructed how to act in pursuance of the plan arranged with Sir Arthur Wellesley, counter orders were sent him by the supreme junta; and he, obeying these orders, disconcerted the whole arrangement by employing himself in a useless cannonade of Toledo; thus leaving Madrid to the enemy, and permitting the French to bring their whole force against the allies. This grievous misconduct, which frustrated all their views, could not possibly have been foreseen either by the British or Spanish commander, and but for this it is highly probable, that, in spite of Cuesta's manifold blunders,

the Spaniards must have recovered their capital.

Sir Arthur, as soon as the Spaniards fell back to the Alberche, expected a general action, and immediately prepared for it, recalling General Sherbrooke from Casalegas to his station in the line. The position which he chose extended something more than two miles. The British army was on the left; here the ground was open, and commanded by a height upon which a division of infantry was stationed under Major General Hill. Still farther upon the left was a range of mountains separated from the height by a valley about 300 fathoms wide, and here a ravine running from N. to S. covered the left and centre of the position, and terminated at the beginning of the olive grounds on the right. The valley was not occupied, because it was commanded by the height, and because the mountains were thought too distant to be of any consequence in the expected battle. The right, consisting of Spaniards, extended immediately in front of Talavera down to the Tagus: this part of the ground was covered by olive trees, and much intersected by banks and ditches. The high road leading from the town to the bridge of Alberche was defended by a heavy battery in front of the Ermida, or chapel of Nuestra Senora del Prado, which was occupied by Spanish infantry. All the avenues to the town were defended in like manner; the town itself was occupied, and the remainder of the Spanish foot formed in two lines behind the banks, on the road which led to the position of the British. In the centre between the allied armies was a commanding spot, on which the British had begun to construct a redoubt. Brigadier General Alexander Campbell was posted here with a division of infantry, and General Cotton's brigade of dragoons, with some Spanish cavalry, in the open ground in his rear.

When General Sherbrooke was recalled from Casalegas, General Mackenzie was left with a division of infantry and a brigade of horse as an advanced post near Casa de Salinas, in a wood on the right of the Alberche, which covered the left of the British army. About two in the afternoon of the 27th, the enemy appeared in strength on the left bank; Victor forded the Alberche, and before General Mackenzie's division could be withdrawn, it was attacked by very superior forces under Generals La Pisse and Chaudron Rousseau. The British suffered considerably, but they withdrew in perfect order, and took their place in the line. Meantime the other divisions of the French crossed the Alberche, and advanced within cannon-shot of the allied army. They cannonaded the left of the British position, and they attacked the Spanish infantry with their horse, hoping to break through and win the town; but they were bravely withstood and finally repulsed. The action ceased a little before nine at night. Victor had marked the height on which General Hill was posted; this he considered to be the key of the position, and thought that, if he could beat the English from thence, it would be impossible for them to maintain the field afterwards. This might best be done during the night. He, therefore, ordered Ruffin to attack the hill with three regiments, Vilatte to support him, and La Pisse to make a feint upon the centre of the allied armies, which might

serve as a diversion. The attack was made soon after night had closed; for a moment it was successful, and the enemy got possession of the height; they were unable to maintain it. General Hill instantly attacked them with the bayonet, and recovered the post. At midnight the attempt was repeated, and failed again. According to the French account, one of the regiments destined for this service lost its way, owing to the darkness, and another was impeded by the ravine. Both sides suffered considerably at this well-contested point. The armies lay upon the field, the cavalry with their horses' bridles round their arms, but there was little rest during the night; both sides were on the alert and alarm, and in different parts of the field the videttes of each army were sometimes fired on by their own countrymen, being mistaken for enemies. Whole battalions of the enemy got into the English line, some crying that they were Spaniards, some that they were German deserters: the trick was soon discovered, and, in the reception which they met with, it is not unlikely that many a poor German, who really intended to desert, lost his life. These night-engagements were carried on with the most determined fury; the men, after they had discharged their muskets, frequently closed, and beat out each other's brains with the butt-end.

The French had ascertained in the course of the evening, that any attack upon the town, posted as the Spaniards were, was hopeless; that the centre also was very strong, both from the rugged ground and the olive yards which covered it, and the works which had been thrown up there. The left was the most practicable point of attack, and the difficulty of carrying that they had severely experienced. Here, however, they made a third attempt at day-break, with three regiments under General Ruffin advancing in close columns. The enemy proceeded triumphantly, as they supposed, nearly to the summit; there they were again charged and again beaten back, but they fell back in good order. Sir Arthur, for the farther security of this post, now sent two brigades of horse into the valley on the left. Albuquerque had at this time been ordered by the Spanish commander to go with his cavalry to a place near the town, where it was not only impossible for them to act, but there was not even room for them, the ground being thickly wooded. That able general ventured on this occasion to act from his own judgement; observing that the English cavalry were charged by very superior numbers, he hastened to support them, and his opportune arrival enabled them to occupy the position. Cuesta perceived the advantage of this movement, and suffered the duke to chuse his own ground, who accordingly took the post of danger with the English horse. To annoy this body, the French sent their riflemen to the heights on the left of the valley; thus occupying the ground which Sir Arthur had supposed beyond the bounds to which the action would extend. It proved of no advantage to them, for Cuesta, marking the movement, dispatched Camp-Marshal Don Luis Bassecourt against them with the fifth division of Spanish infantry, and dislodged them with great loss.

About eleven, the enemy having been baffled in all their attempts, intermitted the attack, rested their

troops, and, it is said, cooked their dinners upon the field. Wine and a little bread were served out to the British troops. A brook which flows into the Tagus separated the French and English in one part of the field, and during this pause, men of both armies went there to drink, as if a truce had been established. Their muskets were laid down and their helmets put off while they stooped to the stream, and when they had quenched their thirst, they rested on the brink, looking at each other. The heat and exasperation of battle was suspended; they felt that mutual respect which proofs of mutual courage had inspired, and some of them shook hands across the brook, in token that although they were met to shed each other's blood, brave men knew how to value a brave enemy. At such a moment it was natural for Englishmen to have no other feeling;—the atrocities by which Buonaparte's soldiers in the peninsula have disgraced their profession, their country, and their nature, were for a time forgotten. About noon, Victor ordered a general attack along the whole of the line. His own three divisions were to attack the hill once more. Sebastiani was to form his first division in two lines on the left of La Pisse; Leval, with a brigade just then arriving from Aranjuez, to be stationed to the left of the first division, a little in the rear; still further to the left, Milhaud, with his division of dragoons, was to observe Talavera; Latour Maubourg's division of infantry and Merlin's division of light-horse formed in the rear of Victor to support his corps, and advance into the open ground now occupied by him, as soon as he should have won the hill. The reserve was placed in a third line behind Sebastiani's corps.

From the moment this general attack commenced, the firing of musketry was heard on all sides like the roll of a drum, with scarcely a moment's interruption during the remainder of the day, and the deeper sound of a heavy cannonade rising above it like thunder. The operations of the French were deranged by a blunder of Leval's division, which they attribute to the ruggedness of the ground, and the impossibility of preserving the line among the olive-trees and vines. Instead of forming in *echellon* in the rear, it advanced to the front, and before it had finished deploying it was attacked. Leval, say the French, formed a square, and in his turn attacked the enemy with such success, that a whole English regiment surrendered and grounded its arms, when the colonel of the regiment to which it had surrendered was unhappily killed; his men made a retrograde movement, and the English found themselves at liberty, with the loss of only 100 prisoners. The truth contained in this ridiculous story is, that Leval's division was beaten from its station. Sebastiani sent a brigade to its support, and it fell back to the ground which it was designed to occupy. This occasioned some delay. When the line was formed, Sebastiani's corps waited till Victor's had begun the attack. La Pisse first crossed the ravine, supported by Latour Maubourg's cavalry, and by two batteries, each of eight pieces of cannon. Vilatte threatened the hills and covered the valley, and Ruffin, skirting the great chain of mountains to the left, endeavoured to turn the flank of the British army. The at-

tack upon the hill was exceedingly formidable, but, like all the former, it failed. La Pisse was mortally wounded, his men were driven back, and Victor himself rallied them, and brought them once more to the contested point; their retrograde movement had exposed Sebastiani's right, and there also the French suffered considerably.

While Victor led his troops once more to the foot of that hill which had so often been fatal to the assailants, Vilatte with the columns in the valley advanced to his support. General Anson's brigade, consisting of the 1st German light dragoons and the 23d dragoons, with General Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry, were ordered to charge them. The French formed in two solid squares; they were protected by a deep ditch, which was not seen till the horses were close to it, and they kept up a tremendous fire of artillery and musketry. This was the most destructive part of the whole action; numbers of men and horses fell into the ditch,—numbers were mown down,—still these regiments advanced, and made a desperate charge upon the solid and impenetrable squares of the enemy. They suffered dreadfully in this attack, the 23d especially, which was almost annihilated. The heavy brigade advanced to their support, and brought off the remnant who survived. They failed in breaking the enemy; but the matchless resolution with which they had advanced upon almost certain destruction, and the shock which their charge had given, effectually impeded the enemy's plans, and no farther attempt was made upon the hill, which was now covered with dead, dying, wounded, and exhausted troops.

The attack upon the centre was made at the same time. Here General Campbell was supported by the Spanish Generals Eguia and Henestrosa, and by a regiment of Spanish horse; the allies repulsed the enemy, and while the Spaniards turned their flank, the English took their cannon. The attack upon General Sherbrooke was repulsed by a charge with bayonets from the whole division; but the brigade of guards advanced too far, and laid themselves open on the left flank both to the fire of the enemy's batteries and of their retiring columns. The enemy seized the advantage, and it was of such importance, that at that moment the fate of the day appeared worse than doubtful. On this occasion, the foresight of Sir Arthur Wellesley secured the victory, which had been so long and so nobly contested. Seeing them advance, and apprehending the consequence, he moved a battalion of the 48th from the heights to their support, and this timely succour, with the assistance of the 2d line of General Cotton's brigade of cavalry, enabled the guards to return under cover. During this action, the same circumstance occurred as at the battle of Wagram. The shrubs caught fire, and many of the wounded were burnt.

When the day closed the enemy had been repulsed at all points; and it appears, by the official account of the French themselves, as well as by their unequivocal movements after the battle, that they were effectually defeated. They affirm, that the line which the allies occupied at the beginning of the action was in a great measure at its close in possession of the intruder's army. There were, however, two essential points in

this line,—Talavera on the right, and the hill which had so often been disputed on the left: these they could not pretend to have won; but they asserted, that the British artillery upon the hill was either withdrawn or silenced, and that it had been discovered, in some reconnoitrings about Talavera, that there was a much smaller number of troops there than there had been: every thing, in short, they say, announced that nothing but a vigorous blow was wanting to overthrow the enemy. Unluckily for the French it was too late to strike that blow; the intruder, however, had determined to strike it the next morning, when, still more unluckily, contradictory reports were brought him concerning the state of Victor's corps, some officers reporting that Victor was of opinion another attack must ensure the victory, others that his right had been turned, and that he could not possibly keep his ground. In this dilemma, Joseph, who had been a spectator of the whole action, wrote to Victor to ascertain which was the true report, and retired to rest, in full expectation of having the most favourable one confirmed, the reserve bivouquing round him. But at day-break he was awakened by Sebastiani, who had fallen back with his corps upon the reserve during the night, and who came with tidings that he had been compelled to make this retrograde movement, because Victor was retreating along the foot of the hills to Casalegas. This intelligence put an end to all doubt, and left no time for any deliberation. The intruder immediately began to retreat also, but in perfect order: Milhaud's division formed the rear, and Latour Maubourg brought off many of the wounded. Twenty pieces of cannon were taken by the conquerors; the prisoners were not many.

The French state their own loss at 600 killed, 4000 wounded; that of the allies at 10,000. The reversed statement would approach more nearly to the truth. Our loss had been very heavy; 801 killed, 3913 wounded, 653 missing. The Spaniards had 1250 killed and wounded. Generals Mackenzie and Langworth fell on our side. Two bullets passed through Sir Arthur's clothes, and he received a severe contusion on the shoulder from a spent musket-ball. Such being the loss on the part of the conquerors, it is obvious that that of the defeated army must have been materially greater, especially when it is considered that they were in the proportion of more than two to one to the troops whom they engaged. For during the second action no attack was made upon the main body of Cuesta's army; the position was too strong, and the French rightly judged, that if, by bringing their whole force to bear upon the English army, they could defeat that, Cuesta's discomfiture must necessarily follow. The British entered the field 18,300 effective men; they were opposed to not less than 48,000. Unquestionably the presence of the Spaniards was of vital importance, by the security which they afforded to the right of our army, and essential service was afforded by those who came into action on the second day, especially by Albuquerque and Bassecourt, and by two battalions under Brig.-Gen. Whittingham, an English officer of distinguished merit in their service, who came forward to support the guards; but the brunt of the battle was borne by the British, as the loss which they sustained evinces. From their loss that of the

defeated enemy might fairly be computed, if the numbers left upon the field had not afforded surer ground. Both Spaniards and English state it at not less than 10,000 men; the number of their dead was so great, that Cuesta ordered out his troops by battalions to burn them.

The Spaniards, where they were well commanded, behaved as was to be expected from brave men; but melancholy proofs were given of the inefficient state of their armies. The whole of their commissariat took flight as soon as the action began, with all the people belonging to them; so that after the battle the allies found themselves in total want of food and resources. To have hanged the commissaries would have been giving them the punishment which they deserved: but such an example of severity would have been of no avail, unless a thorough change in the whole management of the war department had followed it. Three or four corps behaved vilely; they threw down their muskets without having once discharged them, and dispersed; some of them even plundered the baggage. The most rigorous punishment was inflicted;—the men were decimated, and a third or fourth part of the officers put to death. Sir Arthur Wellesley remarked upon the occasion, with equal humanity and wisdom, that the fear of disgrace would affect the Spaniards more than the fear of death, and that for this reason, among others, exertions ought immediately to be made for clothing them in the national uniform. Marching to battle as they did, without any thing to distinguish them for soldiers, in the first moment of panic they threw away their arms and accoutrements, and pretended to be peasants. Men dressed as soldiers could not thus at once put off all the marks of their profession, and that being the case, they would feel that their safety depended upon keeping their arms and standing their ground; and when the whole army was uniformly clothed, it would be easy to deprive the soldier who should misbehave of a part of his uniform, or to affix some badge of disgrace,—a mode of punishment which would be the most effectual, as well as the most humane. Cuesta had just at this time experienced the good effect of such measures; the regiments whom he deprived of one of their pistols for their misconduct at the battle of Medellin, behaved so well from that time, and exerted themselves so strenuously on all occasions to wipe off their disgrace, that, after the battle of Talavera, the pistol was restored to them.

The day after the action a light brigade, 3000 strong, and a troop of horse-artillery, under Brig.-General Crawford, arrived from Lisbon to reinforce the British army, which thus found itself nearly as strong as before the action. But a battle so well contested, and so gloriously won, was rendered of no avail, by the complicated misconduct of the supreme junta and of the Spanish general. The same want of provisions and of the means of transport, which had compelled Sir Arthur to halt at Talavera, prevented him from pursuing his victory: the inhabitants of that town concealed the stores which they had laid in both from the English and from their own countrymen; and such was their brutality, the criminal negligence of the Spanish general, and the forbearance of Sir Arthur, in this instance carried too far, that in so large a city proper accommodations were not provided for the wounded, and many of these poor

wretches, French, English, and Spaniards, as they were brought in promiscuously from the field, were laid in the streets, and in the square. The intruder, ignorant of the almost incredible misconduct of the junta, and the distress of the British, trembled for Madrid, expecting every hour to hear that Venegas, Sir R. Wilson, and the combined forces were marching to that city, where the people were eagerly looking out for their deliverers. Some insurrectionary movements had already appeared, which Belliard had been able to suppress; but it was certain that the moment an army came to the assistance of the citizens, he would no longer be able to keep them down. Joseph's only hope, therefore, was from an attack upon the rear of the combined armies, to be made by the collected forces of Soult, Ney, and Mortier, under command of the former.

Soult, after his flight from Portugal and his retreat from Galicia, occupied Zamora, Salamanca, and Leon with the remains of his army, which he had now completely rested and found means to re-equip. Ney's corps was quartered at Astorga, Benevente, and Leon; Mortier's at Medina del Campo, and Valladolid. Apprized of the movements of the English, Soult gave orders on the 20th for collecting the whole at Salamanca, and four days afterwards was instructed by Jourdan, in the intruder's name, to advance as speedily as possible upon the rear of the enemy by way of Plasencia. Sir Arthur, from the commencement of the campaign, was aware of the existence of the enemy's force in the north, and the manner in which it would attempt to act; his own army was so small that it was not possible for him to spare detachments for securing the passes of the long mountain-ridge which the French must cross. He applied to Cuesta to perform this service, which was equally requisite for the security of both armies. Cuesta sent the Marquis de la Reyna, with two battalions from his own army and two from Bejar, to occupy the Puerto de Banos, and gave orders to the Duke del Parque to secure the Puerto de Perales, by detachments from the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo. The former point Sir Arthur now considered as perfectly safe; but, doubting the duke's power to spare a sufficient force for the latter, he directed General Beresford, with the Portugueze troops, to defend this pass, as the greatest service which, in their then state of discipline, they were capable of performing.

Two days after the battle intelligence was brought to Talavera that 12,000 rations had been ordered at Fuente Duenas for the 28th, and 24,000 at Los Santos on the same day for a French army, which it was supposed was on its march to the Puerto de Banos. Cuesta upon this discovered some anxiety respecting that post, and proposed that Sir R. Wilson with his corps should be sent thither. This could not be assented to, for his corps was stationed in the mountains towards Escalona, from whence he at that time kept up a communication with the people of Madrid,—an advantage too important to be foregone. Of this Cuesta himself appeared sensible; yet he could not be prevailed upon to send a detachment from his own army; and Sir Arthur, perhaps not fully aware of the strength of the enemy, considering also that they had no other grounds for believing this was the

point which was threatened than that the rations were ordered, which might be a feint, and hoping too that the troops already there might prove sufficient, and even that the news of his late victory might deter the French from proceeding, contented himself for a while, and did not press the Spanish general farther that day. Night brought with it the anxious feeling, that a point had now become of prime importance, concerning which he could not be satisfied that proper means had been taken for its defence, and in the *July* 31. morning he again pressed General Cuesta upon the subject, urging him to detach thither a division of infantry, with its guns, and a commanding officer on whose exertions and abilities he could rely. "Certainly," he declared, "he never would have advanced so far, if reason had not been given him to believe that pass was secure. The division would not be missed at Talavera; if it arrived in time it would perform a service of the greatest moment to the common cause, and even if the enemy should have crossed the mountains before its arrival, it would then be in a situation to observe him." Cuesta, with his usual obstinacy, was not to be persuaded. That day and the following elapsed; on the third came tidings that the French had entered Bejar. It was now obvious that the troops in the pass would make no defence, and now the Spanish general dispatched Bassecourt with a force which would have sufficed had it been sent in time.

Mortier began his march from Salamanca on the 27th, Soult followed on the 30th, Ney two days afterward, all taking the same route. The advanced guard of the French fell in with the Marquis de la Reyna's out-posts at La Calzala, and pursued them to Bejar and Col de Banos. The two battalions of the marquis, on which Cuesta had relied before the appearance of danger, consisted of only 600 men, and they had only been supplied with 20 rounds of ammunition. Even this was more than they employed; they attempted to blow up the bridge called Cuesper de Hombre, and failing in that, retired without firing a shot. The battalions of Bejar dispersed as soon as they saw the enemy. Yet such was the strength of this position, that the very sight of the Spaniards delayed Mortier's march, in consequence of the dispositions which he thought it necessary to make for forcing it if it had been defended, and he did not enter Plasencia till the first of August. The occupation of this place was of the greatest importance; the French had now intercepted Sir Arthur's communication with Portugal, and were enabled to manœuvre upon his rear if he advanced toward Madrid, or even if he remained at Talavera.

Cuesta now went to Sir Arthur, and proposed that half the army should march against Soult, while the other half maintained the post at Talavera. Sir Arthur said he was ready either to go or stay with the whole British army, but he would not divide it; the choice was left to him, and he preferred going, thinking his own troops were most likely to accomplish the object of the march, perhaps even without a contest. It thus appears that he was not aware of the enemy's force: Cuesta estimated it at 12 or 14,000, and Sir Arthur evidently did not at this time suppose it to be larger. He preferred the alternative of going for another reason also, feeling it of more im-

portance to him to open the communication through Plasencia than it was to the Spaniards, though highly important to them also. The movements of Victor in front induced him to suppose that the enemy on that side, despairing of any better success at Talavera than they had already experienced, intended to fall upon Sir R. Wilson, and force a passage by Escalona, and thus be enabled to act in concert with Soult between the Alberche and the Tietar. Sir Robert also felt himself seriously menaced, and some letters which he intercepted gave him sufficient information to ascertain that these were the plans of the enemy; he therefore informed the British general that he should remove his artillery to St Roman, occupy the Panada with 300 men, a strong height behind Montillo with 600 more, from whence there was a good retreat to St Valuela, and return with the rest to a position, in readiness either to occupy Valuela, or obey such instructions as he might receive. In this state of things, Sir Arthur perceived how possible it was that Cuesta might be forced to quit Talavera before he could return to it, and this made him uneasy for his hospital. At all events, he thought it was too far advanced, and was very desirous of removing it farther back. He therefore, before he set out, intreated Cuesta to make a requisition for carts, and remove the wounded as expeditiously as was consistent with their safety. "This might well be done," he said, "by first sending them to an intermediate station at no great distance, from whence they might gradually be passed to the place which should ultimately be fixed upon." He wrote to General Bassecourt, requesting that he, with that division which had been dispatched so tardily to secure the passes after they had been lost, would halt at Cenhiello, and watch the vale of Plasencia; and he again recommended to the Spanish commander, that Venegas should be ordered to threaten Madrid by the road of Arganda, that being the only means whereby it was possible to alarm the enemy, and make him divide his forces.

Aug. 3. Having thus, as he supposed, taken every needful precaution, he marched to Oropesa, with the intention of either compelling Soult to retreat, or giving him battle. At five in the evening he learned that the enemy were at Naval Moral, not more than 18 miles distant; thus having placed themselves between him and the bridge of Almaraz, as if they meant to cut off his retreat across the Tagus. An hour afterwards dispatches were brought him from Talavera, inclosing an intercepted letter from Jourdan to Soult, wherein the latter was told that the British army was at least 25,000 strong, and yet he was ordered to bring it to action wherever he could find it; from this the Spanish general inferred, that Soult could not have less than 30,000 men, and this was the precise number at which the friar, on whom the letter had been found, stated his army. But the most grievous part of the intelligence was, that Victor was again advancing, and had reached St Olalla, and that Cuesta, seeing himself threatened both in front and in flank, and apprehending that the British would require assistance, was determined immediately to march and join them. Painful as it was thus to abandon the wounded, he considered that he must have abandoned them if he were driven from the po-

sition, and that position being now open on the left, he did not think himself able to maintain it. Sir Arthur immediately wrote to represent that the danger was far less imminent than Cuesta apprehended; the enemy, he thought, were not likely to attack Talavera, nor to occupy the British long. It would be time to march when they knew that the French had forced their way at Escalona, or were breaking up from St Olalla. Victor was certainly alone, and Sebastiani and the intruder occupied by Venegas. At all events he urged him to delay his march till the next day, send off his commissariat and baggage before him, and halt in the woods till the wounded were arrived at the bridge of Arzobispo. Soult's force, he said, was certainly over-rated.

Sir Arthur's mistake upon this subject arose from his being ignorant that Mortier had formed a junction with this army. He imagined that it consisted only of the corps of Soult and Ney, who had brought out of Galicia 18,000 men, the remains of 36,000 with which they entered that country. Cuesta, however, was better informed; and he himself altered his opinion of the enemy's force when he considered the positive orders which the intruder had given for attacking the British army, supposing it to consist of 25,000 men. Cuesta had not asked Sir Arthur's opinion respecting his intended movement, and did not wait to receive it: he left Talavera before it reached him, marched all night, and joined the British at Oropesa soon after daylight on the 4th. Some excuse for Cuesta is to be found in the state of his army, and perhaps a latent distrust of his own talents for conducting it: his apprehension of danger also to himself was by no means unfounded; it was not without great exertions and heavy loss that the combined armies had repulsed the French at Talavera; well, therefore, might he despair of withstanding them alone if they returned to the attack. But the danger which by this hasty retreat he averted from himself, he brought upon Venegas and Sir Arthur; and the latter, in addition to the pain and mortification of having his wounded fall into the hands of the enemy, saw himself now exposed to an attack in front and in rear at the same time by two armies, each superior to his own. It was absolutely necessary to retreat, otherwise nothing but two victories could extricate the troops from their present perilous situation, and they were little capable of any extraordinary exertions, not having had their allowance of provisions for several days. The bridge of Almaraz had been destroyed, and when the Marquis de la Reyna abandoned his post at the pass, he made for this point, with the intention of removing the bridge of boats that had been placed there; the boats indeed might be still in the river, but it was probable that Soult would have destroyed them, and it was supposed to be impossible to reach Almaraz without a battle. If he moved on to give the enemy battle, the French from Talavera would break down the bridge of Arzobispo, and thus intercept the only way by which a retreat was practicable; the same danger would be incurred if he took a position at Oropesa. Nothing remained, therefore, but to cross at Arzobispo, while it was yet in his power, and take up a defensive post upon the Tagus: the sooner a defensive line should be taken, the more likely were the

troops to be able to defend it. On the day, therefore, that Cuesta formed his unfortunate junction, Sir Arthur retreated by this route, and crossed. Cuesta followed on the night of the 5th.

The British army was now stationed at Deleitosa, from whence they could well defend the point of Almaraz and the lower parts of the Tagus. Cuesta remained at Arzobispo; but so little was this general disposed to act in concert with Sir Arthur, that he moved his head-quarters from thence, and suffered three days to elapse without sending him any information of his plans or movements. On the night of the 7th, he removed to Peraleda de Garbin, leaving an advanced guard, consisting of two divisions of infantry and the Duke of Albuquerque's division of cavalry, to defend the passage of the river. This was an imprudent measure, for the enemy were at this time in considerable force on the left bank; they had already attempted to win the bridge, and were now erecting batteries. The bridge was barricaded, and defended by several batteries with embrasures connected by a covered way, and upon these works the general seems to have relied with such confidence, that he thought he might safely withdraw the greater part of his army to more convenient quarters. Cuesta ought to have understood the nature of this post perfectly; he had been much blamed for abandoning it in the former part of the year; satisfied, however, now with having well fortified the bridge, he never thought of examining whether the river might not be fordable. Mortier, who commanded the corps of the French which led the pursuit, erected batteries to call off the attention of the Spaniards,

Aug. 8.

while he ordered the chief of his staff, Dombrowsky, with two good swimmers, to sound the Tagus; they found a good ford, though rather deep, for foot as well as horse, only 80 fathoms above the bridge and the Spanish batteries. The Spaniards being, by the gross neglect of their commander, ignorant of this ford, had of course taken no measures for defending it, and Mortier gave orders for passing just at noon, that being the time when part of the Spaniards would be taking their customary sleep, and the army might most easily be surprised. They were in fact surprised, the passage was accomplished, and the works of the bridge taken in the rear and demolished. Albuquerque's cavalry was so unprepared that they could not form, but fell back upon the infantry. They retreated, or rather fled, through a mountainous country, which favoured their escape; but the whole of their artillery and ammunition waggons were lost. Some of the French were drowned in the ford; their loss was otherwise comparatively trifling.

The commonest precaution would have prevented this misfortune, in which, though the loss of men was not great, that of artillery and ammunition was considerable, and the moral effect which such a disaster must needs have upon the troops was of more importance than either. It seems, indeed, that Mortier advanced to Arzobispo, for no other purpose than the hope of profiting by the negligence of the Spanish commanders to strike some such blow, for the enemy had no intention at this time of carrying the war into Estremadura, finding Almaraz too well defended, and the fords, which were said to exist below the bridge, impassable. Ney had formed the

design of crossing them, and taking possession of the defiles of Deleitosa and Xaraicejo, thus to cut off the retreat of the English toward Portugal; but those points were secured by Sir Arthur, as well as the passage of the river, and the French marshal was ordered back to Salamanca to secure that part of the country, in concert with Kellermann, against the Duke del Parque and Romana, who had been prevented from occupying the enemy on that side for want of artillery and cavalry; the former, however, was now beginning to act on the offensive. Ney began his march on the 9th towards the Puerto de Banos, back towards Old Castile. This brought him in contact with Sir Robert Wilson's small force.

When the British commander left Talavera, Cuesta's advanced guard was in communication with Sir Robert, and that officer was informed by Cuesta of the intended retreat of the Spaniards, that he might in like manner fall back. But he was advanced too far for this to be easily practicable; after making a long march through the mountains, he found himself, on the night of the 14th, six leagues from the bridge of Arzobispo; the high road between Oropesa and Talavera was to be crossed, and he knew that Victor was in possession of Talavera; thinking it, therefore, too late to reach Arzobispo, he determined to move by Puerto de San Julien and Centinello, and cross the Tietar toward the mountains. On the 11th he reached Banos, and set out the following morning on the road of Grenadilla, to restore by this route his communication with the allied armies, when a cloud of dust was perceived on the road of Plasencia, and a peasant assured him it proceeded from a body of the enemy. Readily believing intelligence of what was so probable, he immediately turned back, and took post in front of Banos, placing 200 Spanish infantry under Colonel Grant in advance of Aldea Nueva. The enemy's chasseurs and voltigeurs advanced in considerable bodies under General Lorset, and Grant, after a resistance in which the Spaniards, both officers and men, demeaned themselves most gallantly, was compelled to fall back. The French then attempted to cut off Sir Robert's own legion, which was posted between Aldea Nueva and Banos: he had strengthened his position by every means which the time allowed, so that they could only advance gradually, and with a very severe loss from the commanding fire of musketry which was kept up upon them. At length part of the Merida battalion on the right gave way, and a road was thus left open by which the position might have been turned. Upon this Sir Robert ordered a retreat upon the heights above Banos, and from thence sent a detachment to secure the road of Monte Mayor, which turned the Puerto de Banos a league in the rear, and by which the French were directing a column. Don Carlos Marquis d'Espagne came up at this time with his battalion of light infantry, and took post in the most gallant manner along the heights commanding the road to Banos, and this enabled Sir Robert to detach a party to the mountain on the left, commanding the main road. On the Estremadura side the Puerto de Banos is not a pass of such strength as on the side of Castile. Sir Robert had no artillery, and the French were not less than treble the number of

his troops; nevertheless he maintained his ground for nine hours. At six in the evening three columns of the enemy succeeded in gaining the height on the left; his post was now no longer tenable, and he retired along the mountains, leaving open the main road, along which a considerable column of cavalry immediately hastened. It came in sight of the battalion of Seville, which had been left at Bejar with orders to follow on the morrow; but when Sir Robert was obliged to retire, and the action commenced, he ordered it to the pass to watch the Monte Mayor road and the heights on the rear of his left. As soon as the French cavalry came nigh, an officer and some dragoons rode on, and called out to the Spanish commanders to surrender. They were answered by a volley so well directed, that it killed the whole party; the Spaniards then began to mount the heights; they were attacked and surrounded by two bodies, one of horse, the other of foot; but they succeeded in cutting their way through and clearing themselves, and Ney, having forced the pass with a heavy loss, hastened on to Salamanca. He said, indeed, in his dispatches, that Sir Robert's legion was entirely destroyed, that it left 1200 men on the field, that it was pursued to Monte Mayor and Alcazada, and that the French desisted from the pursuit, because they discovered piquets of cavalry on the plain beyond. Sir Robert had no succours so near, and Ney, whose presence was required elsewhere, was neither disposed by policy or inclination to follow such an enemy over the mountains, where he must have foregone the advantage of artillery, to which, more even than to his superiority, he owed the advantage which he had gained. He stated his own loss at 35 killed and 150 wounded,—a statement not very consistent with the admission, that one regiment alone lost 40 horses. Several men dropt down dead in his ranks from heat and fatigue. Sir Robert's loss was not considerable, and after halting his men two days at Miranda de Castanas, to rest his men, and collect those who were dispersed, he proceeded on his march.

The retreat of Cuesta from Talavera, however much both the former and subsequent conduct of that general may deserve censure, was, under his circumstances, a necessary measure; and if he had exerted himself as much in providing food and means of transport for the English army as he did in removing the wounded, his own character would have appeared in a very different light to posterity, and the result of the campaign, according to all human probability, would have produced all the advantages which were hoped for at its commencement. Three thousand of the wounded were sent off towards the bridge of Arzobispo. There was no time to remove the remaining 1500, most of whom, indeed, were not in a state to bear removal. Cuesta himself had hardly begun his march before the French were in sight. When Victor entered the town he found the wounded French and English alike lying on the ground in the Plaza. After complimenting the latter, and observing that they understood the laws and courtesies of war, he told them there was one thing which they did not understand, and that was how to deal with the Spaniards. He then sent soldiers to every house, with orders to the inhabitants immediately to receive and accommodate

one, two, or more of the wounded till all were taken in. Sir Arthur Wellesley, as soon as he knew of Cuesta's retreat, had written to Mortier, being the nearest French general, recommending the wounded to his protection; a courteous answer was returned; the protection which Sir Robert Wilson had afforded to the French at Porto was remembered, and it so happened that both Mortier and Victor were better men than most of their colleagues: the former had been educated in England, at the same school with one of our officers who died at Talavera, and whom he buried with military honours; the latter was a grey-headed man, who retained some of those honourable feelings and humanities upon which the French prided themselves before the revolution. By his orders the wounded of the two nations were lodged together, one English and one Frenchman, and he expressly directed that the Englishman should always be served first. Many had already died in the square, and the stones were covered with blood; Victor ordered the townsmen to come with spades and besoms, remove and bury the dead, and cleanse the Plaza; he was speedily obeyed, and then the French said the place was fit for them to walk in. This was done a few hours after they entered the town. The next day the troops were assembled at noon, and liberty of pillaging for three hours was allowed them. Every man was provided with a hammer and a small saw for this purpose in their knapsack, and they filed off by beat of drum in regular parties to the different quarters of the town upon this work, as a business with which they were well acquainted. Nothing escaped their search: they discovered corn enough to supply the whole French army for three months; these magazines had been concealed both from the Spanish and English generals, and the sordid owners were now justly punished for their treachery to their countrymen and their allies, by the loss of the whole. Dollars enough to load eight mules were also found hidden beneath some broken wheels and rubbish in a yard belonging to one of the convents.

The behaviour of Mortier and Victor to the wounded English who had fallen into their hands deserves more especially to be mentioned, because at this very time Soult was carrying on the war with the most ferocious and unrelenting cruelty. From Plasencia, he laid waste the fertile vale in which that city stands with fire and sword. Serradilla, Pasanon, Arroyo-molinos, El Barrado, Garganta la Olla, Texada, Riolobos, Malpartida, and La Oliva, were burnt by this ruffian, whose troops, when they were not otherwise employed, went out upon the high-ways, robbed every person whose ill fortune compelled them to travel in this miserable country, and usually murdered all whom they robbed. Near Serradilla they fell in with twelve carriers; they plundered them, bound them, and then butchered them in sport, one of them only surviving to tell the tale. D. Juan Alvarez de Castro, the Bishop of Coria, in his eighty-sixth year, was murdered by these wretches with circumstances of peculiar atrocity. When La Pisse, in the month of June, marched from Salamanca to Alcantara, the bishop with great difficulty and fatigue escaped; but the exertions and hardships which he then underwent were too much for one in such extreme old age, and when Soult quartered himself

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in this part of the country, he was confined to his bed, in the village of Los Hoyos. Had he been removed now, he must have died upon the road; it was, therefore, not a matter of choice but of necessity that he should remain and take his chance. Three of his clergy and some of his domestics remained with him; and a few old men took refuge under the same roof, thinking the presence of the venerable bishop would render it a safe asylum. The French entered the village, and soon took possession of the house where the old prelate lay in bed. His chaplains met them, and intreated protection for their spiritual father, and his domestics waited upon them, hoping, by their obsequiousness, to obtain favour, or at least to escape injury. But after these villains had eaten and drank what was set before them, they first began to plunder the house of every thing which could be converted to their own use, then to destroy whatever they could not carry away. Then they fell upon the unhappy people of the house, one of whom they killed, and wounded six others; lastly, they dragged the bishop from his bed, and discharged two muskets into his body.

The plans of the enemy on the side of Estremadura were effected; they who had so lately trembled for Madrid had seen the allied armies recross the Tagus, and they gave themselves credit for the fortunate issue of a campaign, in which, if it had not been for the gross misconduct of the Spanish general and the criminal neglect of the central junta, they must inevitably have been driven to the Ebro. On the side of La Mancha they were not less successful. Venegas, on the 14th of July, had received orders from the government to occupy the attention of the enemy, in order to divert them from the allied armies as much as possible, without endangering himself. In consequence of these instructions he advanced his army from El Moral, Ynfanles, Puerto Elano, and Valdepenas, to Damiel, La Solana, El Corral de Caraquel, and Manzanares, keeping his head-quarters still at Santa Cruz de Mudela, and expecting intelligence which would justify him in advancing to Consuegra and Madrilejos. At this time he supposed it was the intention of the combined armies to march to Madrid; and when the want both of provisions and means of transports rendered it not merely difficult for the British army to proceed, but actually impossible, Cuesta gave him no intelligence whatever of this, thereby exposing him to be entirely destroyed, if the French, instead of marching upon Talavera, had directed their attack against him. Cuesta's whole conduct respecting the British army was so utterly unreasonable, that it can only be accounted for by ascribing it to obstinacy and folly. The wants of the British army were palpable; he had them before his eyes, and could at any moment have satisfied himself of the truth of every complaint which he received, yet he concealed the real state of things both from his own government and Venegas, to both of whom it was of such essential importance to be accurately informed. The Spanish government received true intelligence from Mr Frere, and in consequence they dispatched a courier to Venegas, directing him to suspend his operations, and take up a defensive position.

Cuesta's neglect rendered it prudent to dispatch these orders; but in this instance one evil most unfortu-

nately produced another in a manner which certainly could not have been foreseen. Two hours after the arrival of the courier, Venegas received intelligence of the victory of Talavera, which was the more unexpected, because the intruder, true to the French system, had published an extraordinary gazette, stating that he had defeated the allied armies on the 26th. Venegas ordered Te Deum to be sung in the neighbouring churches, and celebrated the victory by a general discharge; but he failed to improve it, and, instead of considering that the circumstances under which the junta had dictated his instructions were now entirely changed, he adhered strictly to those instructions, and lost the opportunity of advancing to Madrid; thus consummating the series of blunders by which a campaign so well planned, and a victory so bravely won, were rendered fruitless. Had he pushed for that city immediately, beyond all doubt he might have entered it, Sir Robert Wilson would instantly have joined him there, the resources of the city would have been secured for the allied armies, and the recovery of the capital would have raised the whole country far and near against the French. Had Albuquerque been appointed to the command of the army in La Mancha, according to the earnest wishes of Mr Frere and the recommendation of Sir Arthur, this momentous opportunity would not thus have been lost.

Venegas therefore remained with his vanguard at Aranjuez, and his head-quarters at Ocana, while another division of his army under Brig.-Gen. Don Luis Lacy was employed in an idle attempt upon Toledo, which, as he did not chuse to destroy the houses from which the enemy fired at him, because it was a Spanish town, could not possibly succeed, and therefore ought not to have been made. On the 31st, the third day after the battle, Cuesta wrote to Venegas, directing him to advance with all his force upon Madrid. "This operation," he said, "must necessarily oblige Victor to detach a large part of his force toward the capital, in which case the allied armies would pursue him to that city, and if any unforeseen accident should compel Venegas himself to retire, he would be able to retreat by Arganda and along the skirts of the mountain." This letter was written at eleven at night. Twelve hours afterwards Cuesta forwarded a second dispatch, stating that Victor's army had marched in the direction of Torrijos and Toledo. Venegas, upon receiving the first, immediately ordered his whole force to unite at Aranjuez, meaning to lose no time in reaching the capital. The contents of the second staggered him; if the enemy marched for Toledo, they would fall on his rear guard, if they went through Torrijos direct upon Madrid, they had the start of him, and would get between him and that city. He determined therefore still to collect his force in the neighbourhood of Aranjuez, and there wait for fresh orders; and he reminded Cuesta how indispensably necessary it was that their movements should be combined.

His army was collected on the night of the 3d, leaving only 600 foot and 200 horse in the neighbourhood of Toledo. The next day he received another dispatch from Cuesta, telling him of his march from Talavera to reinforce Sir Arthur. This letter was written with the most

preposterous confidence; he was going, he said, to secure the victory against Soult, after which they should return to attack Victor. Meantime he advised Venegas to bear in mind, that general actions with better disciplined troops than their own did not suit them. Venegas now felt the danger of his own situation, but his prevailing feelings were indignation and resentment at the multiplied proofs of incapacity which Cuesta had given. He wrote to his government, stating, "that he was thus left to himself with an army inferior in number to the enemy, and, by the acknowledgement of the captain general himself, inferior in discipline also: how much more deeply should he have been committed, if, in obedience to that general's orders, he had marched upon Madrid, relying on the promised support of the allied armies." The reflection was just as well as natural; but Venegas ought to have reflected also, that if he had marched upon Madrid in time, that support would not have failed him. He added, that no choice was left him, save of commencing a retreat, which would dispirit the troops, diminish their moral strength, and destroy the national enthusiasm of the inhabitants of all the places which they had occupied and must now abandon. Consequences like these, which were immediately before his eyes, made him determine to remain where he was, and fight if he were attacked, preferring to be cut to pieces rather than submit to a shameful flight.

The enemy were well aware of the danger to which they had been exposed from the army of La Mancha. The intruder, after his defeat at Talavera, retreated to Santa Olalla, leaving Victor to take up a position behind the Alberche, and watch the combined armies. The next day he moved to Bargas and Olias, near Toledo. On the night of the 31st, he received advices from Victor, who being alarmed by Sir Robert Wilson's movements, was about to fall back to Maqueda; at the same time he learnt that Venegas was collecting his forces at Aranjuez and threatening Madrid. Alarmed at this, he ordered Sebastiani and the corps of reserve to take up a position at Illescas, from whence they might either advance rapidly to support Victor, or to attack Venegas. Victor's next advices expressed farther fears from the troops at Escalona, whose force he evidently supposed to be far greater than it was: "If the enemy advanced in that direction," he said, "as seemed probable, he should retire to Mostoles." Joseph, trembling for the capital, moved to that place himself in the night between the 3d and 4th: Mostoles is only twelve miles from Madrid,—so near had the scene of action been brought. From thence, having learnt that Victor's apprehensions had subsided, he turned back on the following night to Valdemoro, summoned Sebastiani there, and ordered an attack to be made upon Venegas.

That general expected such an attack from the moment when he was apprized of Cuesta's retreat. At day-break on the 5th, he went from his head-quarters at Tembleque to reconnoitre the position at Aranjuez. The Queen's Bridge was the only one which had not been broken down; his first measure was to recall Brigadier Lacy with the advanced guard from Puente Largo on the Xarama, that he might secure his retreat over this bridge in time; then he resolved to occupy the range of

heights adjacent to Ontigola, beginning from Mount Parnaso, and to defend the passage of the river to the utmost. Having directed these measures, he returned to his quarters, leaving Don Pedro Agustin Giron in command of the three divisions upon the Tagus. Three hours had hardly elapsed before Giron sent him word that large columns of horse and foot and artillery were marching upon Puente Largo, and that some had already crossed the Xarama; this was followed by tidings that a great dust was seen in the direction of the ford of Anover. It could not now be doubted that a serious attack was about to be made, the ford would certainly be attempted, and Venegas was apprehensive that he should be assailed in the rear at the same time by troops from Toledo. He therefore ordered Lacy immediately to cross the Queen's Bridge, and break it down, and marched his reserve from Ocana to the height on the left of the road between that town and Aranjuez, where they might be ready to resist an attack on the side of Toledo or the ford, and to support the retreat of the other three divisions, who, if they found themselves unable to guard the river, were instructed to retreat to Ocana; but their orders were to defend the passage to the utmost, and maintain every position inch by inch.

Lacy could not commence his retreat from Puente Largo soon enough to avoid an attack; a strong body of cavalry from the Cuesta de la Reyna fell upon his rear, but they resisted the enemy, and, retiring in good order over the Queen's Bridge, broke it down, and took post upon some heights which protected it: the bridge itself was defended by Don Luis Riquelme with three battalions and four pieces of cannon, another battalion was stationed in the Plaza de S. Antonio. D. Miguel Antonio Panes, a captain of artillery, only son of the Marquis of Villa Panes, defended the broken Puente de Barcas with two eight-pounders and two companies. Other troops were stationed at the ford of the Infante Don Antonio's garden, at the Puente Verde, at the Vado Largo, or broad ford, and in the Calle de la Reyna. A reserve was placed on each side the road to Ocana, and in the walks immediately adjoining the palace, on the left of which the whole of the cavalry stood ready to charge the enemy in case they should win the passage of the river, or attack the Spaniards in the rear by a party which might have crossed at some remote point. Thus the banks of the Tagus at Aranjuez, and the gardens which it had so long been the pride and pleasure of the Spanish kings to embellish, were now made the scene of war. They are said to exceed in beauty those of any other royal residence in Europe; for, though laid out originally in the old formal style of French gardening, the groves in the growth of two centuries concealed the insipid uniformity of the design; and the vicious taste of the magnificent fountains, which are placed at the end of every walk, was easily forgiven for the delight which they afford in such a climate.

About two in the afternoon the French appeared upon the right bank of the river, and began the attack along the whole line. They opened a heavy fire on all points, but more especially upon the ford of Don Antonio's garden, and the reserve from the walks were sent to strengthen that post. Panes at the Puente de Barcas was struck by a ball, which

carried away his leg; a glance convinced him that the wound was mortal: "Comrades," said he to his men, "stand by these guns till death—I am going to heaven:" and, as they bore him from the field, the only anxiety he expressed was, that another officer should take his place without delay. Don Gaspar Hermosa succeeded him, after planting a mortar at the Puente ford in the midst of the enemy's fire. The Spanish artillery was excellently served this day, and frequently silenced that of the French. One mortar, placed in the thicket opposite the islet, made very great havock among the enemy. Lacy, perceiving that his own post was secure, and that the main attack was made upon the left, at the Puente Verde, the gardens of the prince and of Don Antonio, removed his division there without waiting for orders. The battle continued till the approach of night, when the French, baffled in all their attempts, retired. The loss of the Spaniards was between 2 and 300 men in killed and wounded; they computed that of the French at 300 killed, and about 1000 wounded. The French force consisted of 14 or 15,000, being the whole of Sebastiani's corps. They themselves carefully avoided all mention of the action, saying only that they worsted the advanced guard of Venegas, and drove it beyond the Tagus. Giron, who commanded, for Venegas was not in the field, was rewarded with the rank of camp-marshal, and the junta testified its sense of the heroism of Panes, who died a few hours after he was wounded, by exempting the title in his family from the duties called *lanzas* and *medias anatas* for ever, appointing his father a gentleman of the bed-chamber, and ordering a letter to be written to him, expressing, in the most honourable terms, the sense which the country entertained of the services rendered to it both by father and son, in order that this letter should be preserved in the archives of the family.

The French after their defeat recrossed the Xarama, and, as Venegas foresaw, prepared to attack him from the other side. According to their official statement, they thought it would be a long and difficult work to rebuild the bridges at Aranjuez, and that it would be less dangerous to force the passage of the Tagus at Toledo, where they had remained masters of the bridges. The Spanish general, therefore, disposed his troops in *echellon* at Aranjuez, Ocana, La Guardia, and Tembleque, ready to march, as circumstances might require, to some point where he could only be attacked in front, and might therefore be freed from the fear that the enemy would cut off his retreat by way of Toledo, and, having disabled him, penetrate to the passes of the Sierra Morena, the armies of Cuesta and Sir Arthur being too far off to prevent this. The necessity of retreating was indeed obvious, and the junta were of opinion that he had no other course left than that of abandoning La Mancha, and taking post at the pass of Despena-perros. Mr Frere was of opinion that it would be better, if La Mancha were untenable, to occupy the passes with a part of his army only, (for it was not to be supposed that at this time the French could make any serious attempt upon Andalusia,) and march with or detach the rest upon the left of the enemy, through a country which they had never been able to occupy, Cuenca, Molina, and as far

as Aragon; a movement upon the two former points would threaten the capital, upon the latter it would give the patriots a decided superiority in that quarter, and immediately threaten the communication of the French with France. In the present state of things, Mr Frere perceived how desirable it was that the Spaniards should have as many small armies as possible, their system of military subsistence and discipline being so imperfect. Their defeats became dangerous and even destructive in proportion to the size of the army; in small bodies they were comparatively of little importance; in small bodies the Spaniards had almost uniformly been successful; and such diversions would harass and distract the French, and waste their force.

Mr Frere spoke upon this plan to one of the leading members of the war department, and would have delivered in his advice in writing, if Marquis Wellesley had not at that time been daily expected to arrive at Seville and supersede him. This circumstance, and the confidence which Venegas expressed in the spirit of his troops (for he seemed disposed to risk a battle rather than abandon La Mancha) induced him to wait for the marquis's arrival, and then it was too late. It was in fact already too late; for on the same day that Mr Frere spoke *Aug.* 8. upon the subject of this proposed diversion, Venegas received advices from the 5th division, under General Zerain, at Toledo, that the French had received a reinforcement of 8000 men, and that he was apprehensive they were about to attack him. Upon this the general ordered the 4th division from Tembleque to advance to his support. While they were on their way, Sebastiani, having collected his whole corps at Toledo, attacked Zerain, *Aug.* 9. who retreated in good order to Sonseca, and from thence turned to Almonacid to join the troops who had been sent to his assistance. At Almonacid Venegas assembled his whole army on the 10th, and, believing that the number of the enemy did not exceed 14,000, the same principle which had made him stand his ground at Aranjuez, after the retreat of the combined armies, induced him once more to give the French battle. He could not bear to think of retiring and abandoning the people of La Mancha, who had welcomed him with such enthusiasm on his advance: He well understood how injurious it was, not merely to the general character of an army, but to the individual feelings of the soldiery, to be perpetually giving way before the enemy, losing ground, and losing honour and hope also, and his success at Aranjuez made him confident in the courage and conduct of his troops. Before he delivered his own opinion, he summoned the different chiefs of division to council, and had the satisfaction to find that they perfectly accorded with his predetermination. This was on the 10th; he resolved to let the troops rest the next day, that they might recover from the fatigue of their march, and it was agreed upon to attack the enemy at day-break on the 12th. Meantime it was supposed more accurate information of their number might be obtained.

Delay has ever been the bane of the Spanish councils, and Venegas should have remembered, that in offensive war every thing depends upon celerity. Victor had now opened a communication with Soult, and the

intruder being thus delivered from all fear of the allied armies, joined Sebastiani, with the reserve, on the 9th. While Venegas was deliberating, his position was reconnoitred, and on the morning of the day which he had allowed for rest he was attacked by an army of little less than double the force at which he had computed it. The Spaniards, however, were not taken by surprise. The right wing, under Brigadier D. Gaspar Vigodet, extended to some rising ground beyond the village of Almonacid; the centre, consisting of two divisions, under Camp-Marshal Castegon, were in the plain before the village. Lacy commanded the left wing, which was supported by a height, detached from the range of hills that run north and south, beginning at Toledo. Giron was stationed, with three battalions, as a reserve, behind the centre; the rest of his division was posted, part on the heights to the left, part at an advanced battery, and the remainder upon the Castle hill, behind the village. The cavalry, under Camp-Marshals the Marquis of Gelo, D. Tomas Zerain, and the Viscount de Zolina, was placed in two bodies, one on each wing.

The intruder was in the field; but Joseph Buonaparte is equally a puppet in the field and in the cabinet, and Sebastiani was the real commander. That general perceived that the event of the day depended upon the possession of the hill on the patriots' left, and he ordered General Laval to attack it with his two divisions. Laval formed in close columns, by divisions and brigades, and attacked the hill both in front and on the right at once. The French suffered considerably in this attack. Count Sobolesky and another chief of battalion were killed, several of equal rank wounded; but they had the advantages of very superior numbers as well as discipline. The colonel who commanded on the hill was wounded, and before Giron could reach the spot with the reserve, the battalions which were posted there gave way. Now the imperfect state of the patriots' discipline was mournfully displayed: these battalions, instead of rallying when they found themselves supported, confused the troops who came to support them. Thus the height, upon which the fate of the day depended, was lost; and the enemy, having won it, attacked the Spaniards in flank. Lacy upon this wheeled to face the enemy, and for a while withstood them: 200 cavalry, led by Don Nicholas Chacon, charged one of their columns, which, forming itself into a square, withstood the attack, and Chacon, having his horse shot under him, and some of his best officers and soldiers killed, was compelled to withdraw. In the centre the enemy were equally successful, and at length the Spaniards fell back along the whole of their line. Nevertheless the ground was well contested, and Venegas took up a second position behind Almonacid, supported by the Castle hill. Here he was presently attacked at all points; his cavalry made another charge, which failed for lack of numbers, not of spirit, and the general perceived that there was no hope of recovering the day. He therefore commenced his retreat, and ordered Vigodet, whose division was at this time the least exposed, to bring up and cover the rear. Vigodet performed this service with great coolness and intrepidity, recovered and spiked one of the cannon which had been taken, and began at

length to fall back himself in perfect order. At this time some ammunition carts, which were blown up on his right, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands, frightened the horses of the little cavalry which covered his own retreat, and the French, taking advantage of their dispersion, charged him vigorously. The second in command of the division, D. Francisco de Reyna, distinguished himself greatly on this occasion; he checked the pursuers, while Vigodet rallied the scattered horse, and collected about 1000, under whose protection he left the field. They retreated by different routes to Herencia, meaning to fall back to Manzanares, Membrilla, and Solana. As far as Herencia the retreat was effected in good order, only a few soldiers, who were unable longer to endure their thirst, straggling from their ranks to drink at the few wells in that arid country; but when the van reached Manzanares, a cry arose among the cavalry that the French had got before them on the road of Valdepinas, to cut off their retreat. This false report, either originating in treason or in cowardice, spread through the troops: from that moment all subordination was at an end, and they forfeited the credit which had been gained in the action, by dispersing.

Sebastiani stated the loss of the Spaniards at 4000 killed, 4000 prisoners, an immense number wounded, 100 ammunition waggons, and 35 pieces of cannon. The whole of the artillery and baggage was certainly lost; but the number of prisoners must have been grossly exaggerated, because the Spaniards did not disperse till they had accomplished their retreat from the field; and the French themselves, with that inconsistency which so often betrays the falsehood of their official accounts, admitted that none of their corps could be overtaken. He gave no account of his own loss; Venegas estimated it at 8000,—an exaggeration certainly as great as that of the French general; but that the French suffered severely is evident, because they were for a long time crippled for any farther operations. Venegas retired to La Carolina, his men assembled at the passes of the Sierra, and in a few days he was again at the head of a respectable army. The French had now effected every thing which they proposed; they had driven Cuesta and the British beyond the Tagus on one side, and on the other had recovered possession of La Mancha; and the intruder, rejoicing in the issue of a campaign, which opened under such inauspicious aspects, returned triumphantly to Madrid. The disgrace of Talavera sate easy upon the French;—with their usual contempt of truth, they affirmed that they had won the victory, and the situation of the contending armies a few weeks after the battle gave credit to the impudent assertion.

CHAP. XXXI.

Sir Arthur Wellesley raised to the Peerage. Marquis Wellesley arrives in Spain. Cuesta removed from the Command. Distress of the Armies for Want of Provisions. Marquis Wellesley fails in his Attempts to introduce a better System. The British retire to the Frontiers of Portugal. Battles of Tamames, Ocana, and Alba de Tormes.

THE Spanish government expressed its sense of the services of Sir Arthur Wellesley, by nominating him one of the captain-generals of the army, (a rank nearly equivalent to that of our field-marshal,) and presenting him at the same time, in the name of Ferdinand, with some horses selected from the best breeds of Andalusia. "This tribute," they said, "was of small value in comparison with the eminent services which his excellency had rendered to Spain, and still more so in proportion to the wishes of those who offered it: but, for hearts elevated like his, the satisfaction resulting from great atchievements was their greatest recompence; nor was it in the power of man to bestow any reward which could equal the glory of being distinguished in the world as one of the principal deliverers of a great and generous people, of listening to their blessings, and of deserving their gratitude;—that gratitude would be eternal in the Spanish nation." Sir Arthur accepted the horses, and the appointment also, provided he received permission from his own sovereign; but he declined the pay attached to it, not thinking it becoming that he should burthen the finances of Spain during such a contest.

In England, also, he was recompenced with new honours. As soon as the news of his victory arrived, he was raised to the peerage by the titles of Baron Douro of Wellesley, and Viscount Wellington of Talavera, and of Wellington in the county of Somerset. His conduct, however, both in Portugal and Spain, was severely scrutinized; and he was condemned with all the asperity of party-malice and all the insolence of presumptuous ignorance. Soult, it was asserted, could not have escaped out of Portugal had it not been for the neglect of the British general to secure the bridge of Amarante, and to act upon the flank and the rear of the enemy. Now to act upon the rear of the enemy was impossible, unless Soult had remained still till Sir Arthur could get there. Marshal Beresford had acted upon his flank,

and had recovered the bridge of Amarante, over which, in consequence, Soult did not escape, but took a different road, where he was obliged to abandon his artillery and baggage. With equal injustice he was accused of falsehood in describing the state to which the fugitive army was reduced; that very army, it was said, having risen in judgement against him, endangered him after the battle of Talavera, and compelled him to make a precipitate retreat, abandoning his wounded. True, indeed, Soult was at the head of that army, to march against which Sir Arthur left Talavera, but two other corps under Ney and Mortier had been added to it. He was blamed also for neglecting to secure the Puerto de Banos; but this was Cuesta's fault; the British army was not strong enough to spare a detachment, and the service upon which Sir Robert Wilson was employed was judged of more immediate importance. The Duke del Parque, who, from his situation at Ciudad Rodrigo, had the earliest opportunities of discovering the plans of Soult, wished Marshal Beresford with the Portugueze army to take up the position of Tamames, or of the Sierra de Francia, as circumstances should require, and thus impede the march of the enemy upon Bejar and the Puerte de Banos. But Beresford had the same reasons for not advancing into Spain which had prevented Sir Arthur Wellesley from proceeding farther in it, want of supplies and means of transport, and there were other reasons peculiar to his army; it was the only disposable corps of Portugueze troops which at that time existed, the only body on which Portugal had to depend for its defence; it was without cavalry, and the men being newly raised, were as yet but imperfectly trained and disciplined. The object in collecting it upon the frontier, was to discipline it, to protect the country, and to give a support to Sir Arthur's left flank on his advance. Sir Arthur doubted whether the Portugueze government would consent, and whether he ought to recommend that an army so circumstanced should give up the defence of their own frontier, and commence operations in Castille, their own frontier being at the same time threatened,—for Soult's intercepted letter contained information that he designed to menace Portugal, and should make an incursion towards Braganza.

Sir Arthur's only error seems to have been in under-rating the force which could be brought against him from Old Castile; yet if Cuesta could have kept his ground at Talavera, the consequence of this error would probably have been, that he would have attacked Mortier before the other corps had joined him, and have defeated the French in detail. The failure of the campaign is attributable to the misconduct of Cuesta, particularly in postponing the attack upon Victor; to the error of Venegas in blindly obeying the instructions of the junta, after the victory of Talavera had so completely altered the circumstances which occasioned those instructions, and to the wretched mismanagement or imbecillity of the Spanish government, which took no effectual means for supplying its own armies, and suffered its allies to be absolutely in want of food.

Aug. 1. On the fourth morning after the battle, while the bells of Cadiz were ringing, the cannon firing, and the people rejoicing with higher hopes than had been felt since the surrender of Dupont, Mar-

quis Wellesley landed in that harbour to supersede Mr Frere as ambassador to the existing government of Spain. An immense concourse assembled to see him land, and as he set foot on shore, a French flag was spread before him, that he might tread upon it in honour of his brother's victory. The people drew his carriage, a mark of respect rather unusual in that country. The Marquis gave one of them a purse of gold to distribute among his comrades; the man, who was a shoemaker, by name Justo Lobato, immediately returned the purse to his excellency, and, in the name of the people, assured him they desired no reward, being happy that they had this opportunity of expressing the genuine sentiments of the whole Spanish nation. Both at Cadiz and at Seville the Marquis was received with every mark of public honour, and with the most cordial and enthusiastic expressions of attachment, respect, and gratitude to the British government and British nation. But the first dispatches which he received from Sir Arthur opened upon him a more disheartening prospect than he had reason to expect. The combined armies, amounting to not less than 60,000 men, and 16 or 18,000 horse, were at that time depending entirely for their daily supply upon the country, which did not contain a population in many square miles equal to the number of the army, and could not of course produce a sufficiency for its sustenance. Estremadura indeed is notoriously the worst peopled and least cultivated province of the whole peninsula. It was necessary therefore to send to a great distance for supplies, and supplies, scanty as they were, could not be procured regularly, nor without great difficulty. The troops were ill fed, and frequently received no food at all. Better and effectual measures Sir Arthur said must be taken, and that speedily, as equally indispensable for both armies. No army could serve to any good purpose unless it were properly fed; it was absurd to suppose that a Spaniard, or a man, or an animal of any country, could make exertions without a due supply of food, and in fact the Spaniards were more clamorous for their food, and more exhausted if they did not receive it regularly, than the English. The English, however, were in a state of great distress; from the 3d till the 7th they had had no bread,—then about 4000 pounds of biscuit were divided among 30,000 mouths, and the whole supply was exhausted. "The army," said Sir Arthur, "will be useless to Spain, and will be entirely lost, if this treatment is to continue. If any efficient measures of relief had been adopted by the government when they first received the account of the distress of the British troops, the benefit of those measures must ere this have been experienced. There had been no neglect or omission on the part of Mr Frere: the evil was owing to the poverty and exhausted state of the country, to the inactivity of the magistrates and people, to their disinclination to taking any trouble, except that of packing up their property, and removing when they heard of the approach of a French patrole, to their habits of insubordination and disobedience, and to the want of power in the government and their officers."

Aug. 8.

The impracticable and unaccommodating temper of General Cuesta aggravated this evil. He was applied to after the battle for 90 mules to draw the British artillery in place of those lost in the action; there were

at that time hundreds in his army employed in drawing empty carts, and yet he refused to part with any. Five guns belonging to Albuquerque's division having been taken at Arzobispo, the duke endeavoured to make over to the British army the mules attached to them,—for they escaped—but Cuesta took them for himself. His own cavalry were plentifully supplied with barley, while many hundreds of the British horses died for want of it. In other respects, his army suffered as many privations as the English, and vexation at this and at the untoward issue of the campaign, combined with a sense of bodily infirmity, seems to have bewildered him; he lent an ear to every complaint which was brought him against the British army; and at the time when that army was literally starving, both men and horses, he wrote a letter to their general, stating that his own troops were in want of necessary food, because all that he ordered for its use was intercepted by the British troops and by their commissaries. The English soldiers, he said, actually sold biscuit and meat; and he heard continual complaints and saw continual traces that they plundered and robbed all the places through which they past, and even followed the peasants to the mountains, for the purpose of stripping them even to the shirt. Sir Arthur absolutely and positively denied that any thing going to the Spanish army had been stopt by the British; as for the tale of his soldiers selling provisions, he observed, that it was beneath the dignity of his excellency's situation and character to notice such things, and beneath his own to reply to them. He was concerned that General Cuesta should conceive there was any reason for complaining of the British troops; but, continued he, when troops are starving, which those under my command have been, as I have repeatedly told your excellency since I joined you on the 22d of last month, and particularly when they have had no bread from the 3d to the 7th, it is not astonishing that they should go to the villages and even to the mountains to look for food where they think they can get it. The complaints of the inhabitants, however, should not have been confined to the conduct of the British; here in Deleytosa I have seen the Spanish soldiers, who ought to have been elsewhere, take off the doors of the houses which were locked up, in order that they might plunder the houses, and they afterwards burnt the doors."

To preserve discipline among starving troops is indeed impossible, and neither Cuesta nor Sir Arthur could be responsible for the conduct of their men under such circumstances; but the unjust and inconsiderate letter of the former brought the question respecting provisions to a point, and Sir Arthur called upon him to state distinctly whether he understood that the Spanish army was to have not only all the provisions which the country could afford, but all those also which were sent from Seville; whether any magazines of provisions had been formed, and from whence the troops were to draw provisions. "I hope," said he, "that I shall receive satisfactory answers to these questions to-morrow morning; if I should not, I beg that your excellency will be prepared to occupy the posts opposite Almaraz, as it will be impossible for me to remain any longer in a country in which no arrangement is made for provisioning my troops, and in which it is understood that all the provisions which are ei-

ther found in the country, or are sent from Seville (as I have been informed, for the use of the British army,) are to be applied solely and exclusively to the use of the Spanish troops." On the very day that this correspondence took place between the two generals, an English commissary arriving from Truxillo with bread and barley for the British army, was stopt on the way, and deprived of all his barley and part of his bread by a detachment of Spanish horse. Whatever momentary irritation might be occasioned by circumstances like these, Sir Arthur commiserated the sufferings of the Spanish army too sincerely to harbour any resentment, but he perceived the absolute necessity of withdrawing. "It is useless," he said to the British ambassador, "to complain; but we are certainly not treated as friends, much less as the only prop on which the cause of Spain can depend. But, besides this want of good-will, which can easily be traced to the temper and disposition of the general commanding the Spanish army, there is such a want of resources in the country, and so little exertions in bringing forward what is to be found, that if the army were to remain here much longer, it would become totally useless. The daily and increasing loss of horses in the cavalry and artillery from deficiency of food, and the badness of what there is, is really alarming." Ney's return to Old Castile strengthened him in this resolution; it confirmed him that no serious attack upon Andalusia was intended for the present, and he thought it not unlikely that this corps of the enemy was about to invade Portugal, for the sake of drawing him out of Spain.

The necessity of removing Cuesta from the command appeared so urgent to Mr Frere, that he thought it his duty to present a memorial upon the subject, though Marquis Wellesley was expected two days afterward at Seville. He dwelt upon his abandonment of the wounded at Talavera after he had agreed with the British general to occupy that post, and upon the imminent danger to which he had exposed Venegas by persisting in concealing from him, as well as from his government, the true state of the combined armies, and the inability of the English to proceed. The dismissal of Cuesta, he said, could not long be delayed, and it was important to the salvation of Spain that it should take place instantly, and another commander appointed, either the choice being left to Sir Arthur, or the junta itself appointing the Duke of Albuquerque, who possessed his confidence and that of the army, and whose abilities had been tried and approved. This was the only satisfaction which could be given to the British general and his army, and even this would be little; "the wound," said Mr Frere, "is very deep, and the English nation could not have received one more difficult to heal than the abandonment of their wounded at Talavera." This was the last act of Mr Frere in his public capacity, and it was consistent with the whole conduct of that minister, who, during his mission, never shrunk from any responsibility, nor ever, from the fear of it, omitted any effort which he thought requisite for the common welfare of his own country and of Spain. In presenting such a memorial, while his successor was, as it were, at the door, he was conscious that he might appear to be acting irregularly in his public character, and

Aug. 9.

in his private one, that it might alter the feelings with which he could have wished to take leave of his friends in Spain; but, in addition to the urgency of the case, he considered also, that it would be peculiarly unpleasant to Marquis Wellesley to begin his mission with an altercation in which his brother was concerned. Mr Frere's situation had been very unfavourable to any thing like a controuling influence; the intelligence which announced the intended assistance of a British force had been accompanied with an intimation of his recall, and for some months he had, as he expressed himself, literally been a minister only from day to day, looking for the arrival of his successor by the first fair wind. The junta expressed their sense of his zealous services by conferring upon him the rank of a grandee of Spain; and, in reply to the momentary outcry which misrepresentation and party spirit had raised against him in England, they represented his conduct to his own government such as they conceived it to be, and as it truly was. This had never prevented him from using the strongest language and taking the highest tone towards those very persons who had been foremost in the friendly act; but he felt how unfavourable his situation was, and, knowing that that of Marquis Wellesley would in all respects be very different, he hoped he would be able to remedy the existing evils as far as they were capable of being remedied. The task, however, was very difficult. "It might seem," he said, "that a British minister ought before that time to have established a regular system for securing the subsistence of the armies; but the evil lay deep; it arose from an old despotic government, and from a system of 18 years of the basest corruption, intrigue, and public pillage. The effects of all this still continued, the system itself was not wholly done away, and even a sovereign in ordinary times would find it difficult to remedy the evil."

Marquis Wellesley, on his arrival, did not think it expedient to insist on Cuesta's removal. That general, he observed, was said to be absolutely deficient in every quality necessary for an extensive military command, except in personal courage; his temper rendered him peculiarly unfit for acting with an allied army, and it was scarcely possible that another officer with equal disqualifications should be found in the Spanish service. But the government was under some apprehension of his influence, which was supposed to be extensive and dangerous, though it rested on no other foundation than the precarious one of undeserved popularity. The Marquis, therefore, limited his interference to a strong expression of his sense of the general's misconduct, being of opinion that his removal would be effected more willingly and with less danger if it appeared to be the necessary consequence of his own actions, rather than the result of a direct application from the British ambassador. The junta, however, were desirous that such a direct application should be made, and Marquis Wellesley then addressed a note upon the subject to D. Martin de Garay, stating that it was impossible to hope for any degree of concert or co-operation, or even for any aid from the troops of Spain to the British army, if the chief command remained in the hands of General Cuesta. Cuesta had wisely anticipated such a measure. Two days after the date of that letter to Sir Arthur, in which he complained so preposterously of the British troops,

he had a paralytic stroke, which deprived him of the use of his left leg; feeling himself now completely incapacitated, he delivered over the army to the second in command, D. Francisco de Eguia, and wrote to the junta requesting permission to resign, that he might go to the baths of Alhama, in the kingdom of Granada. When, therefore, the Marquis delivered in his note, he was informed that Cuesta's resignation had been accepted.

Eguia was well acquainted with the military topography of Spain, but had no other qualification whatever for the command of an army; so completely was he without decision, that at the battle of Medellin, he did not venture to depart from his orders without receiving fresh ones from Cuesta, at a time when it was impossible for Cuesta to communicate with him, and by this imbecillity he completed the destruction of the army that day. Mr Frere, knowing that the military junta would be most likely to confirm him in the command, because he was one of the old school, wrote a private note to D. Martin de Garay, deprecating such an appointment. Albuquerque was the most proper person for the command, but the junta was jealous of his rank, his popularity, his talents, and his enlightened views, and Marquis Wellesley soon discovered that, if he were named to the command, the army under him would certainly be reduced. Till, however, a successor to Cuesta should be chosen, the command devolved upon Eguia; and when that general notified this to Sir Arthur, he accompanied the intelligence with the fairest professions, desiring him to depute a confidential officer, who, with another appointed on the part of the Spaniards, might regulate the distribution of provisions in such a manner that the English army should be supplied in preference to the Spaniards. The national gratitude toward such allies, he said, demanded every kind of sacrifice, and the first should be to deprive themselves of every thing possible, in order that the brave army which had shed its blood at Talavera for their liberty should have no want. Lord Wellington expressed, in reply, his perfect confidence in the good wishes and intentions of Eguia, and sent some officers to Truxillo, there to meet any whom Eguia might appoint, and settle some practicable arrangement: a preference like that which was spoken of he well perceived was impossible.

When first the junta were informed of the distress of the British army, nothing appeared to hurt them so much as that their own troops should have been supplied while their allies were in want, and they ordered Cuesta, in every instance, to supply the British troops in preference to his own. They directed the junta of Badajoz to send two members of their body into the vale of Plasencia, to secure the persons of those magistrates who, having engaged to furnish means for the British army, had failed in their engagement; to supersede them also, and place at the disposal of the British commissary every thing which he might require. Before these measures could be executed, Soult entered from Old Castile, and the whole of the fertile country on that side of the Tagus fell into the possession of the enemy. When the complaints of the British general became louder, the junta, alarmed at the intended retreat into Portugal, deputed D. Lorenzo Calvo, one of their own body, to the armies, hoping

that his exertions, aided by his authority, would effectually remedy the evil. The choice of this member was singular: some plans against the junta had been discovered, which differed little from a conspiracy; Calvo was notoriously intimate with the persons concerned, and was suspected of having been privy to their designs. In other respects, he was considered a man of energetic character and activity, and, having been bred up in commerce, had acquired those habits of business which were necessary for the service in which he was now employed. True to that wretched system of dissimulation, which, by the old school, was esteemed essential to all business of state, he was charged to invest Cuesta with the order of Charles III. lest that general should take umbrage at the distinction conferred upon Sir Arthur, though at this very time the junta were so offended at Cuesta's conduct, that nothing but their fears prevented them from immediately displacing him.

Neither Eguia's professions, nor the measures of the government, nor the presence of one of their members, produced any relief to the British army. Had it been in a condition for service, and provided with means of transport, Sir Arthur had it in view to act against the French at Plasencia, for which purpose he ordered materials to be collected for repairing the Puente de Cardinal, but his cavalry had now consumed all the forage within their reach; they were obliged to go from 20 to 30 miles off to procure it, and frequently when they had gone so far, the Spaniards, being themselves in equal want, deprived them of it on their return. The horses were at length so much reduced that they were scarcely able to march as far as to relieve the outposts. More than a month had now elapsed since the British general informed Cuesta that, if he were not supplied, he could not co operate in any forward movement, nor even remain in Spain. In the course of that time, if proper measures had been taken, supplies might have been forwarded from the farthest part of Andalusia; instead of this, not a mule or cart, or article of provision of any kind had been obtained under any order from or arrangement made by the government. Sir Arthur applied for a remount for the cavalry of only a hundred mares, which could not be used in the Spanish cavalry, because they used stallions; even these he could not procure, nor did he receive an answer to his application. It was now become absolutely necessary to withdraw, and on the 18th of August, Sir Arthur requested Marquis Wellesley to give notice to the government that he was about so to do. "Since the 22d of last month," said he, "the horses have not received their regular deliveries of barley, and the infantry have not received ten days bread. I have no doubt the government have given orders that we should be provided as we ought to be, but orders are not sufficient. To carry on the contest with France, or to any good purpose, the labour and service of every man and of every beast in the country should be employed in the support of the armies; and these should be so classed and arranged as not only to secure obedience to the orders of the government, but regularity and efficiency in the performance of the services required from them. Magazines might then with ease be formed, and transported wherever the armies should be stationed. But as we are now situated,

50,000 men are collected upon a spot which cannot afford subsistence for 10,000, and there are no means of sending to a distance to make good the deficiency: the junta have issued orders, which, for want of arrangement, there are no persons to obey; and the army would perish here, if I were to remain, before the supplies would arrive."

Prepared as both the Spanish government and the Spanish general ought to have been for such a determination, both manifested the greatest astonishment when it was announced. Eguia wrote to Sir Arthur, repeating his protestations, that he should have every thing which he required, and that the Spaniards should go without any thing, rather than the British should be in want. "An English commissary," he said, "should reside at Truxillo, who should have a key of the magazines, and take from thence the stipulated proportion for the British army, though his own should perish. If," he continued, "notwithstanding these conclusive protestations, Sir Arthur persisted in marching his troops into Portugal, it would be apparent that other causes induced him to take that step, and not the want of subsistence." Upon this insulting assertion, Sir Arthur informed General Eguia that any farther correspondence between them was unnecessary. He entered nevertheless, in this last letter, into a sufficient explanation of the real state of affairs. The magazines of Truxillo, according to a return sent by Eguia himself, did not contain a sufficiency to feed the British army alone for one day. No doubt was entertained of the exertions of the Spanish general, nor of his sincerity. "The deficiencies," said Sir Arthur, "arise not from want of orders of your excellency, but from the want of means in the country, from the want of arrangement in the government, and from the neglect of timely measures to supply the wants which were complained of long ago." A letter from Calvo to Sir Arthur implied the same suspicion of the motives of his retreat as Eguia had done, though in more qualified terms. This member of the junta came forward with something more specious than vague promises and protestations. "He bound himself," he said, "to provide the army, within three days, with all the rations which it might require; and within fifteen days to have magazines formed in places appointed by the British general, containing all the articles which the army could consume in one or two months, and to provide also carts and mules, both of draft and burthen, sufficient for the transport of these magazines." He then protested that 7000 rations of bread, 50,000 pounds of flour, 250 *fanegas* of barley, 50 of rye, 100 of wheat, and 60 *arrobas* of rice were ready, with means of transport for them, and before the morrow noon would reach the British army in their present position. "My activity," said Don Lorenzo Calvo, "shall not rest until continual remittances of the same articles prove that my promises are not vain, and that they deserve to be confided in; and if there were in your excellency's intention any disposition to alter your purpose of retreat, I am certain I should obtain the satisfaction of hearing your excellency yourself confess that I had surpassed your hopes." At the time when Sir Arthur received this letter, he had in his possession an order dated only five days back, and signed by this member of the supreme junta himself, ordering to the Spanish head-

quarters, for the use of the Spanish army, all the provisions which the British commissary had provided in the town of Guadalupe and its neighbourhood. Well, therefore, might Sir Arthur reply to him, that he could have no confidence in his assurances. "As for the promise," said he, "of giving provisions to the British army to the exclusion of the Spanish troops, such a proposal can only have been made as an extreme and desperate measure to induce me to remain in Spain, and, were it practicable, I could not give my consent to it. The Spanish army must be fed as well as the British. I am fully aware," he continued, "of the consequences which may follow my departure, though there is now no enemy in our front, but I am not responsible for the consequences, whatever they may be. They are responsible for them who, having been made acquainted with the wants of the British army more than a month ago, have taken no effectual means to relieve them; who have allowed a brave army, which was rendering gratuitous services to Spain, and which was able and willing to pay for every thing it received, to starve in the midst of their country, and to be reduced by want to a state of inefficiency; who refused or neglected to find carriages to remove the officers and soldiers who had been wounded in their service, and obliged me to give up the equipment of the army for the performance of this necessary act of humanity."

Aug. 20. On the following day Sir Arthur began his retreat in the direction of Badajos.

The insulting conduct of Eguia, in accusing Sir Arthur of falsehood, and the manner in which he permitted troops to seize supplies by force from the British foraging parties, seem almost to have been designed to provoke a quarrel; and the deceitful promises of Calvo, belied as they were by his actions, subject him at least to the suspicion of treason; for, while he solemnly assured the British general that the army should be regularly supplied with provisions, he was giving orders for intercepting what they had provided for themselves. Sir Arthur halted at Merida, and eight days after his departure, being then four marches from Xaraicejo, he found none of the supplies on the road which had so confidently been promised. Having, however, been able to separate his troops, and being out of reach of Eguia's army, he now procured regular supplies. Marquis Wellesley meantime had been indefatigable in pressing upon the government the necessity of a regular plan for provisioning the armies, and he found, upon investigation, that orders enough had been issued to different officers and public authorities, requiring them to provide supplies, but no means had been employed either to enforce and secure the execution of those orders, or to ascertain to what extent they had been executed, in what respects they had failed, or what were the causes either of their total failure or of their partial success. No magazines or regular depots had been established, no regular means of transport provided, nor any persons regularly appointed to conduct and superintend convoys, under the direction of the general commanding the army; nor had any system been adopted for drawing from the more fertile provinces, by a connected chain of magazines, resources to supply the deficiency of those poorer countries in which the army might be acting. At the solicitation of the junta, Marquis Wel-

lesley delivered in a plan for remedying these evils. "To an army of 25,000 men in that country," he said, "1000 mules and 100 carts should be attached; these would provide for the transport of the hospital stores, military chest, and five days ration of biscuit, rice, and bacon, but they were necessary for the immediate service of the army, and were not to be considered as part of the train employed in conducting supplies from the magazines to the army. Two lines of magazines should be formed between the armies in their present position and Seville. The depots nearest the army should be at Villa Nova de la Serena, Don Benito, Almendralijo, and Asauchal; they should be formed of flour, biscuit, rice, bacon, barley, oats, wine, and brandy; that part of the country was equal to supply these depots, and mules and carts also as means of transport. The second depots should be at Monasterio and Olalla, and be entirely supplied from Seville and its vicinity both with stores and means of transport; this should be the principal magazine of wine and brandy, and of biscuit, for which Seville was famous. A military officer, named by the British general, and assisted by six or eight commissaries, should be at the head of each line of depots: the mules and carts should be divided into brigades, each brigade escorted by an officer and a sufficient number of men, under command of the officer at the head of the magazines, and these officers should be answerable for the regular and punctual delivery of the supplies. This system should commence at Cadiz, where all the articles both of provision and transport which could be collected from that vicinity and from Africa, if needful, should be placed under the direction of a proper officer. Cadiz should furnish the means of conveying these articles to Seville, and at Seville a similar arrangement should be made for communicating with Santa Olalla and Monasterio. Regular halting places should be fixed for the convoys, and provision made at each for the men and beasts employed; regular daily returns made to the British general, and to the government at Seville, of the state of each magazine and each convoy, and a proper system of rewards established for those who distinguished themselves in providing stores and safely delivering them."

This plan was submitted to the junta by their own express desire on the 21st of August. It was less easy of execution in Spain than it would have been in England, where the system of our stage-coaches and waggons has disciplined a great number of persons in the detail of such arrangements; yet, with due exertions on the part of government, it might speedily have been established. Two days elapsed, and no notice was taken of the marquis's proposal; he then requested a reply, and after two days more Don Martin de Garay put into his hand a long string of regulations for the internal management of the magazines when they should have been formed. Marquis Wellesley again anxiously inquired whether the junta was disposed to adopt the plan which he had formed at their request, and whether any steps had been taken for carrying it into effect. At length, after it had been nine days in their hands, he was informed that they assented to the plan,—but this was all, it was a mere verbal assent, and no measures whatever were taken for beginning arrangements of such urgent necessity. The government at the same time expressed its confi-

dence that the British army would now rejoin the Spaniards, and make a forward movement against the enemy. Marquis Wellesley evidently suspected some of the junta of treason. "This proposition," said he to his government, "accords with the general tenor of those professions of zeal for active war, which have particularly characterized the declarations of the junta since the army has been deprived of the means of movement and supply. Far from affording any just foundation of confidence in their intentions, such assiduous declarations of activity and enterprize, unaccompanied by any provident or regular attention to the means and objects of the war, serve only to create additional suspicions of ignorance, weakness, or insincerity. No person acquainted with the real condition of the British and Spanish forces at this time, could reasonably advise a forward movement against the enemy, with any other view than the certain destruction of the allied armies."

Aug. 30.

The conduct of the junta gave strong grounds for such a suspicion. The real cause which had checked the progress of a victorious army, and finally reduced it to a state unfit for service, could not be concealed; public opinion loudly imputed this evil to the negligence of government, and that government endeavoured, by the most ungenerous artifices, to divert the public indignation. With this view rumours were set afloat that the real cause of the retreat of the British army was very diffierent from the assigned one; they had not fallen back upon Portugal because there had been any deficiency either in their means of supply or of transport, but because of certain political considerations, inconsistent with the security and honour of Spain, and with the good faith of Great Britain. Demands, it was whispered, had been made in the King of England's name, for the cession of Cadiz, of the Havannah, and of the whole island of Cuba; changes had been required in the form of the Spanish government, as preliminary conditions to the farther operations of the British troops in Spain, and Sir Arthur Wellesley had retreated only because these demands were refused. These reports, which, if not invented by the government, certainly were not discountenanced by them, were absolutely and entirely false; nothing had been asked from Spain except subsistence for the army employed in her defence. Marquis Wellesley, however, though he perceived the criminal misconduct of the government, to call it by no worse name, and though he affirmed that in the last campaign no rational motives could be imagined for the conduct of some of the generals and officers, unless it were supposed that they concerted their operations with the French instead of the British general, did justice to the people of Spain. "Whatever insincerity or jealousy towards England existed, was to be found," he said, "in the government, its officers, and adherents; no such unworthy sentiment prevailed among the people." They had done their duty, and were still ready to do it; and, notwithstanding the vexations which he experienced, and the alarm and even ill-will which the retreat of the British excited, he remembered, as became him, that the cause of Spain and England was the same: while, therefore, he expressed his opinion that the Cortes ought to be assembled, and a more efficient government formed than that of so ill-

constituted and anomalous a body as the junta, he listened willingly to every suggestion for employing the British troops in any practicable manner. Might it not be possible, it was said, for the British army to take up a position on the left bank of the Guadiana, occupying Merida as an advanced post, their right at Almendralijo, and their left extending toward Badajoz. Portugal might be covered by this position, Seville protected at the same time, and a point of support given to the left of the Spanish army, which should in that case be cantoned in Medellin, Don Benito, and Villa Nueva de la Serena.

This plan the marquis proposed to Sir Arthur; but that able general was of opinion that the Guadiana was not defensible by a weaker against a stronger army, it being fordable in very many places, and affording no position. The Spanish army, he thought, was at that time in the best position in that part of the country, one which they ought to hold against any force that could be brought against them, if they could hold any thing; while they held it they covered the Guadiana effectually, and their retreat from it was always secure. He, therefore, recommended that they should send away the bridge of boats which was still opposite Almaraz, and remain where they were as long as possible. For the British army, Sir Arthur said, he saw no chance at present of its resuming offensive operations, and he desired that no hopes might be held out to the junta of any farther co-operation on his part with the Spanish troops, which in their present state were by no means to be depended on. He saw the difficulty to which this determination might reduce the Spanish government; their army might be seized with a panic, run off, and leave every thing exposed to instant loss. All he could say to this was, that he was in no hurry to withdraw from Spain; he wanted to refresh his troops; he should not enter Portugal at all events till he had heard Marquis Wellesley's sentiments; if he did enter it he should go no farther than the frontier, where he should be so near, that the enemy, unless in very great force, would not venture across the Guadiana, leaving the British army upon his flank and his rear; in fact, therefore, he should be as useful to Spain within the Portugueze frontier as upon the Guadiana, and even more so, as the nearer he went to Portugal, the more efficient he should become. The best way to cover the Guadiana and Seville, was by a position on the enemy's flank.

As an inducement to Sir Arthur, or Lord Wellington, as he must now be called, to remain, and co-operate with the Spanish army, the junta proposed to place the corps which they designed to leave in Estremadura under his command. This was to consist of 12,000 men, a number inadequate to the service for which they were required; but the true reason for this was perceived by the British general; he had by this time had ample opportunities of discovering that the junta, in the distribution of their force, did not consider military defence and military operations so much as they did political intrigues and the attainment of trifling political objects. The junta of Estremadura had insisted that Albuquerque should have the command in their province; the government was weak enough in authority to be obliged to yield to this, and weak enough in judgement to diminish as far as possible the army which they unwillingly entrusted

to this envied and most ill-treated nobleman. Lord Wellington, who could not have accepted the command unconditionally without permission from his own court, declined it altogether under the present circumstances, as being inconsistent with those operations which he foresaw would soon become necessary for the British army. He had intelligence that a council of war held at Salamanca had recommended an attack upon Ciudad Rodrigo: the loss of this place would cut off the only communication the Spanish government had with the northern provinces, and would give the French secure possession of Old Castile, and probably draw after it the loss of Almeida. It would, therefore, be incumbent upon him to make exertions for relieving Ciudad Rodrigo. The cabildo, or corporation of that city, just at this time when Lord Wellington was contemplating their approaching danger, and how best to succour them, gave an example of the spirit which too many of these provincial authorities displayed toward the British army. 100,000 pounds of biscuit had been ordered there, and paid for by a British commissary; and when Marshal Beresford sent for it, that it might be deposited in the magazines at Almeida, the cabildo seized 30,000 pounds of this quantity, upon the ground that debts due to that city by Sir John Moore's army had not been paid,—although part of the business of the commissary who was sent to Ciudad Rodrigo was to settle these accounts, and discharge the debts in question.

This was a specimen of that ill-will towards England, and that treacherous inclination towards France, which prevailed in many places among persons of this rank, and Marquis Wellesley perceived that such persons, if not favoured by the government, were certainly not discountenanced by them. The same spirit was manifested but too plainly by the persons employed about Cuesta's army. While they were professing that the English army should be served in preference to their own people, even to the exclusion of them, if needful, they never offered to supply them with a single cart or mule, or any means of transport from their own abundance. Lord Wellington, for want of such means, was compelled to leave his ammunition behind him,—and then no difficulty was found in transporting it to the Spanish stores. No difficulty was found in transporting the bridge of boats from Almeida to Badajoz; yet if these means of transport, with which the Spanish army was always abundantly provided, had been shared with the British army, many of the difficulties under which it suffered would have been relieved, and its separation, says Lord Wellington, certainly would not have taken place when it did. The distress for food which his army suffered would not have been felt in an equal degree by the French, or by any people who understood how to manage their food. Meat they had always in sufficiency, and their chief want was of bread,—they were not ingenious enough to make a comfortable meal without it, though the flour or rice was served out in its stead. But the want of food for the cavalry, and of means of transport, which actually rendered the British army inefficient, could not be remedied by any dexterity of the men, or any foresight of the general, and is wholly imputable to the conduct of the Spanish generals and the Spanish government.

Spain was grievously injured by this unpardonable misconduct. The

English ministry were at this very time proposing to increase Lord Wellington's force to 30,000 men, provided the supreme command were vested in the British general, and effectual arrangements made for their supply. In the present state of things, both the marquis and his brother perceived that any co-operation with the Spanish armies would only draw on a repetition of the same disasters. The intent was therefore abandoned, and Lord Wellington at the beginning of September proceeded to Badajoz, stationing his army, part within the Portugueze frontier, and part on the Spanish territory, in a position which would menace the flank and rear of the French if they advanced toward Andalusia.

The disposable force of the enemy in Spain at this time was estimated at 125,000 men, well provided with cavalry and artillery, exclusive of the garrisons at Barcelona, and the strong places upon the Pyrenean frontier. Of these, about 35,000 were employed in Aragon and Catalonia, a considerable force being at that time besieging Gerona, the rest were in the two Castiles and Estremadura, 70,000 in the field under Victor, Soult, Ney, Sebastiani, and Mortier, the rest were employed in garrisons, and in keeping up the communication between the different places in their possession. Sick and wounded were not included in this estimate, and an allowance was made for the loss of 10,000 men at Talavera. At the lowest estimate, this was the number of the enemy; the force of the Spaniards was miserably inferior. Blake, who had succeeded Romana in Catalonia, after a victory at Alcaniz, which raised the highest hopes of future success, had the mortification, when he expected nothing less than the recovery of Zaragoza, of seeing his army at Belchite seized with a sudden panic at sight of the enemy. Whole regiments fled without firing a gun; *June* 18. they threw down their arms, and even their clothes, abandoned all their baggage, and dispersed in such utter confusion, that it was not possible to collect two hundred men to make head against the enemy. He had now reassembled a small army, scarcely exceeding 6000 men, with which he was endeavouring, from time to time, to relieve Gerona. Romana had 15,000 men in Galicia; a tenth part of these were without arms, and he had neither cavalry nor artillery. The Duke del Parque had 9000 men at Ciudad Rodrigo, and Eguia and Venegas had about 50,000 in their two armies. But the inefficient state of these troops had been lamentably proved; both cavalry and infantry were for the most part indisciplined, and the latter neither properly clothed nor accoutred, notwithstanding large supplies of all things needful had been sent from England. There were men in abundance whose patriotism was undoubted, and whose courage was proved whenever small parties were engaged; then, when the French had no room to display their fatal superiority in discipline and tactics, the spirit which animated the patriots made them, almost in every instance, victorious. The system which the Spanish government ought to have pursued was apparent; they should have remodelled their army by the assistance of British officers, and, till the army was in a state of thorough discipline, they should have contented themselves with carrying on a war of partizans, so as to harass the enemy day and night, defending their passes and towns, and avoiding

all general actions, as certainly and inevitably destructive in the present state of their armies.

The intruder meantime, now that his immediate danger was past away, had leisure to feel the wretched state to which his criminal subserviency to a wicked brother had reduced him. He was, indeed, in possession of Madrid, and half the kingdom was overrun by his troops; but how were those troops to be paid, or how was he to support the expences of his court and government? Whatever might be the issue of the war in the peninsula, the vast colonial empire of Spain could never be his, and the resources which still continued to arrive from thence were enjoyed by the legitimate government. The great trading cities of the south were still out of his power; wherever his authority extended, trade was at an end, the people were impoverished, and the sources of revenue destroyed. The first-fruits of plunder also had now been consumed. Andalusia, indeed, offered a harvest which had yet been untouched, and which there was now little reason to doubt would ere long be at his disposal; but till the opportunity arrived, it was necessary to glean whatever had been spared in the former pillage. An edict was issued, denouncing severe punishment against any person who should secrete papers or effects belonging to the suppressed monasteries, and offering a reward for the discovery of any such concealed property, proportionate to its value. He had previously confiscated the property of all Spaniards in foreign countries, who did not forthwith return in obedience to his command; he now called upon all persons in whose hands property, papers, or effects had been left by others when forsaking their place of residence, to deliver them up for the use of the treasury. Any person buying or selling gold, silver, or jewels, which had belonged to a suppressed convent, or to a patriot, were to be severely punished; and any person assisting the insurgents in any manner, to be put to death. Another decree sequestered the revenues of all archbishops and bishops, who, for the future, were to receive pensions from the state instead. Another commanded all persons possessing plate to the amount of more than ten dollars, except in plates, knives, and spoons, to give in an account thereof within three days to the superintendent of the mint at Madrid, or to the magistrates in the provinces; the mint would immediately pay a fourth of its value, and the remainder was promised within four months. All plate which should be concealed after this decree was to be forfeited, and a fourth of its value given to the person who gave information where it was to be found; and silversmiths were forbidden to purchase any articles in silver, except such as were permitted to be in use by the present decree.

These measures proved the neediness of the intrusive government. Its atrocious character had already been amply demonstrated; it was, however, reserved for this government to introduce a new species of barbarity, which had never before been heard of in war. Kellermann, whom the English rescued with such difficulty from the vengeance of the Portugueze at Lisbon, was at this time governor-general of what it pleased the French to call Upper Spain, that is, of the provinces of Salamanca, Zamora, Toro, Leon, Valladolid, Palencia, Burgos, Soria, Santander, Vizcaya or Biscay, Guipuzcoa, and Alava. Through- *Oct.* 28.

out this whole track of country he placed all horses and mares above a certain height in requisition for the French armies, ordering them immediately to be taken to the respective country towns, and there delivered for that purpose; and every horse or mare below the size named, or under thirty months old, with every mare that should be three months gone with foal, was to have the left eye put out by the owner, and to be in other ways rendered unfit for military service. A fine of four times the value of the beast was to be exacted from all who disobeyed this edict, and all French officers were charged to see it carried into execution.

Nothing can more strikingly evince the moral degradation of the French officers, than that their general should dare to order them to see to the execution of an edict like this. These were the humane measures of Joseph Buonaparte, the philosophic and humane Joseph, who was to bring back the golden age in Spain, and restore that country to its ancient splendour. He has, indeed, given it a glory beyond that of its most prosperous ages, the glory of having been the first nation of the continent which manfully resisted both the artifices and arms of France; and when the struggle shall be over, and Spain become the free country which her enlightened patriots will ultimately make it, unquestionably much of their work will have been done by the intruder; for thus it is, that, in the moral order of the world, evil is made instrumental to good. Neither the old despotism nor the inquisition can ever be restored in Spain. The intruder's resentment against the clergy who had so eminently distinguished themselves in the besieged cities and in Galicia, made him, by one sweeping decree, abolish all the regular, monastic, mendicant, and clerical orders in Spain, commanding all the individuals belonging to them within 15 days to quit their convents, resume their secular habits, and repair to their native places, where pensions were promised them. It was certain that the intrusive government could not pay these pensions; but the whole property of the suppressed orders was seized for the use of the state. This, also, is a measure which will lessen the difficulties of the Spanish patriots in the general reformation which their country must undergo, for it will be easier to re-establish these institutions in an amended state than it would have been to reform them. By the same edict, the intruder affected to abolish all dignities and titles which had not emanated from himself, and all the wretched slaves of rank in his service were required to receive a confirmation of the titles which they had sullied.

Ney was at this time in Salamanca. There were about 15,000 men there and in its vicinity. Soult's head quarters were at Plasencia; he occupied Coria, Galesteo, and the banks of the Tietar and the Tagus, as far as the Puente del Arzobispo; Mortier's corps was at Talavera, Oropesa, La Calzada de Oropesa, and Naval Moral; Victor's advanced posts were at Daymiel, his head-quarters at Toledo, Sebastiani was at Fuenlebrada, and his corps extended from Aranjuez to Alcala. On the side of La Mancha or Estremadura, they could not hope to open a way to Seville, unless the treachery or folly of the government should sacrifice the patriots, by exposing them to the certain consequences of a general action. Here, therefore, their policy was to remain on the defensive,

and tempt the Spanish armies on. On the side of Salamanca, they prepared for offensive operations, with a view to the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. For this purpose, they thought it necessary first to destroy the army under the Duke del Parque, who had now taken a strong position on the heights near the town of Tamames. Marchand had the command of the French corps, consisting of 10,000 foot, 1200 horse, with 14 pieces of cannon, and nothing but his contempt of the enemy could have induced him to attack them in their present post, which was noted for its strength. He came on in full confidence of victory, forming his columns with an ostentatious display in sight of the Spaniards, as if to dismay them by their formidable appearance, and the perfect facility with which all their evolutions were made. It was soon apparent that the main attack would be upon the left of the Spaniards, that being the weakest part of their position; the duke perceived this, and ordered Count de Belveder, with half the rererve, to support this point. Carrera, who commanded the left wing, stood the attack well; a small party of cavalry, still further to the left, were posted in a wood, from whence it was intended that they should issue, and charge the flank of the enemy; but Carrera's second brigade making a movement to allow their artillery to play, the French horse charged them at full speed before they were well formed, broke in upon them, and cut down the Spaniards at their guns,—for a moment the day seemed to be lost. The duke, with his staff, came up in time to the place of danger. Mendizabal, who was second in command, sprung from his horse, and rallied those who were falling back; the young Principe de Anglona distinguished himself in the same manner; and Carrera, whose horse had received two musket balls, and one wound with a sabre, put himself at the head of his men, charged the French with the bayonet, routed them, and recovered the guns. Meantime an attack was made upon the right and centre; but here the Spaniards were more strongly posted, and D. Francisco de Losada, who commanded on that part of the field, repulsed them. The French retreated in great disorder, and, had the Spanish cavalry been in a situation to pursue, the victory would have been still more complete. More than 1100 French were found upon the field; their wounded were not less than 2000.

Oct. 18.

On the third day after the battle, the duke moved forward, hoping to surprize the enemy in Salamanca. He crossed at Ledesma on the 23d, and marched all the night of the 24th; at day-break, he reached the heights which command Salamanca to the northward, but the French had retreated during the night to Toro, carrying with them the church plate and all their plunder. A feint of the duke, who pushed on a column toward Motella and Jejo, had deceived the enemy; they imagined that he meant to approach by Muneguela, where the passage of the Tormes was difficult, and they were totally ignorant of the real point of attack till the Spaniards were within twelve miles of them; this, however, they discovered just in time to escape. A little before this, the French had made an unsuccessful attempt upon Astorga, from whence they were driven with the loss of about 300 men in killed and wounded. On this side,

Oct. 21.

every thing was favourable for the Spaniards. On the side of La Mancha, also, they were successful in many skirmishes; but the rashness, or rather the blindness, of the junta, and the incapacity of their general, exposed the patriots now to the severest defeat which they had sustained since the commencement of the war.

The government leaving only from 9 to 10,000 men in Estremadura under Albuquerque, collected their whole force in La Mancha, with the determination of pushing for Madrid. It is said by the French that Eguia and Venegas were so sensible of the folly of such a measure, that they both refused the command. Albuquerque and Romana were both objects of jealousy to this wretched junta. Blake was employed, Castanos out of favour; Don Juan Carlos de Areizaga, a man whose name had not been heard of before his most unfortunate promotion, was therefore brought from Lerida to be placed at the head of 50,000 raw troops, himself as little accustomed to service as the men under his command,—blind leader of the blind. A plan was suggested to him by an officer who had distinguished himself in the Austrian service, which was the best that could be devised when so perilous a determination had been taken. The army, which was at this time stationed at the foot of the Sierra Morena, was to pass rapidly through the flat country, push one of its divisions over the Tagus, while the rest took up a position in the mountains: if no tenable post could be found, they were to manœuvre so as to gain the mountains of the Guadarrama. Meantime Parque was to move upon the Escurial, and threaten Madrid on that side, while Albuquerque advanced in the direction of Talavera. On the 3d of November, the army, consisting of 43,000 foot, 6600 cavalry, and 60 pieces of cannon, began their march into the plains, taking with them eight days provisions. The advanced guard, consisting of 2000 cavalry under General Freire, were one day's march in front, the infantry followed in seven divisions, then the rest of the cavalry in reserve, and the head-quarters last. They marched from 20 to 30 miles a day; they had no tents, and took up their quarters at night in the towns upon the road. They advanced forces by Daymiel on the left, others along the high road to Madrid, by Valdepenas and Manzanares. The French retired before them, and in every skirmish which took place between the cavalry of the two armies the Spaniards were uniformly successful. Latour Maubourg, (a man whose name, respectable as it has been, ought never to have appeared in this wicked and detestable service,) escaped from being cut off with a considerable body of horse at Madrilejos by the treachery of a deserter, who apprized him of his danger just in time for him to get out of the town as the Spaniards entered it. The army continued its march through Tembleque to Dos Barrios, and thus lost three days in inactivity; then, by a flank march, they reached S. Cruz de la Zarza; there threw bridges over the Tagus, and past a division over. Here they took a position; the French pushed their patroles of cavalry near the town, and Areizaga drew out his army in order of battle, hoping to bring on an action. An action upon that ground did not suit the wary enemy, and the Spanish general was

frantic enough to determine upon leaving the mountains, and giving them battle in the plain.

Baron Crossand, who was employed in Spain on a mission from Austria, was with the army, and, dreading the fatal and unavoidable consequences of such a determination, he presented a memorial to Areizaga, reminding him, that only the preceding day he had admitted how dangerous it would be to hazard the welfare of his country upon a battle. None of the motives which could induce a prudent general to risk a battle were applicable in the present case; he had nothing to urge him forward, and the most fertile provinces of Spain were in his rear: by meeting the enemy upon their own ground, all the advantage of position was voluntarily given them, and the superiority of numbers which the patriots possessed was not to be considered as an advantage on their side in their present state of discipline; so far indeed was it otherwise, that it was well known, by the report of English officers who escaped from Madrid, that the French founded part of their hopes upon the disorder which they expected the Spaniards would fall into in consequence of their own numbers. A victory might procure the evacuation of Madrid and of the two Castiles, but these results were light in the balance when weighed against the consequences of a defeat. The wisest plan of operations which he could pursue, was to entrench himself upon the strong ground which the left bank of the Tagus afforded; from thence he might send out detachments toward Madrid and in all directions, and act in concert with the Dukes of Parque and Albuquerque, patience and caution rendering certain their ultimate success.

Nov. 16.

These representations were lost upon Areizaga; he marched back to Dos Barrios, and then advanced upon Ocana into the open country. About 800 French and Polish cavalry were in the town; they were driven out by the Spanish horse; a skirmish ensued, in which 4 or 500 men fell on both sides. In this affair the French general Paris was borne out of the saddle by a lancier, and laid dead on the field. He was an old officer, whom the Spaniards represent as a humane and honourable man, regretting that such a man should have perished in such a cause. Areizaga bivouqued that night; and the French, who had now collected the corps of Sebastiani and Mortier, under command of the latter, crossed the Tagus before morning, and prepared for battle. At day-break, as soon as the enemy were in sight, Areizaga ascended the church tower of Ocana, and, seeing the array and number of the enemy, it is said that his heart failed, and that he perceived, when it was too late, what would be the result of his blind temerity. The French accounts state their force at 24,000, the Spaniards make it 44,000; the usual number of a corps is 23,000, and the Spanish account therefore is most probably the nearest the truth. The disposition in which Areizaga arranged his army was not judicious; he arrayed it in two equal parts, one on each side the town, which thus divided his line: his second line was so near the first, that, if the first were thrown into disorder, there was not room for it to rally. Most of the cavalry were stationed in four lines upon the right flank, a disposition neither imposing in appearance nor

strong in reality. The artillery was upon the two flanks.

The action began about seven in the morning, and General Zayas, a young officer who had often distinguished himself, attacked the French cavalry with the advanced guard, and drove them back. Between eight and nine the cannonade began. Mortier having reconnoitred the ground, determined to make his chief attack upon the right wing, and, after having cannonaded it for a while from a battery in his centre, he ordered Leval, with the Polish and German troops, to advance, and turn a ravine which extended from the town nearly to the end of this wing of the Spanish army. Leval formed his line in compact columns; the Spaniards met them advancing along the whole of their right wing, and Mortier himself admits that his first line wavered. It was speedily reinforced; the Spanish artillery was well served, and some regiments displayed a resolution which has never been surpassed. 450 men of the 5th regiment of Seville were in the field; these were the men who behaved so well with Sir Robert Wilson at the Puerto de Banos,—and only 80 of them were accounted for when the day was over. The first battalion of guards, which was 900 strong, left upon the field 14 officers and 450 men. But the right wing was broken, and a charge of cavalry completed the confusion on this side. The left wing stood firm, and cheered Areizaga as he passed them; an able general might yet have secured a retreat, but he was confounded at the disaster which he ought to have foreseen, and quitted the field, ordering this part of the army to follow him. Lord Macduff, who was with the Spaniards, then requested the second in command to assume the whole command; but while he was exerting himself to the utmost, the French cavalry broke through the centre, and the rout was complete. Never indeed could the Spaniards have been defeated in a more unfortunate situation; they were upon an immense plain, exposed to the pursuit of cavalry, where they were followed and cut down on all sides. Victor, who crossed the Tagus at Villa Mensiger, pursued all night. All their baggage was taken, almost all their artillery, and, according to the French account, 4000 were killed, and no less than 20,000 made prisoners. The latter number may have been exaggerated, but on no occasion have the French had so little reason to exaggerate. Their own loss they stated at 400; this is unquestionably greatly below the amount: the people of the country reported it at 6000; half that number is probably not far from the truth, for Mortier himself admits that the Spanish fire both of artillery and musketry was most tremendous.

The defeat of Areizaga drew after it that of the Duke del Parque. Too confident in his troops, he remained in his advanced situation, amid the open country of Castile, till the army which he had defeated was reinforced by Kellermann's division from Valladolid. One great defect in the Spanish leaders seems to have been in procuring intelligence; the duke knew that there were 8000 French infantry and 2000 horse in Medina del Campo, and, thinking that this was all their force, took a position at Carpio, upon the only rising ground in those extensive plains, and waited for their attack. Carrera, with the van, was stationed to defend the village. Ballasteros commanded the right wing, which was posted with the village on its left, the cavalry

formed the left wing, a second line was formed about 400 paces behind the first, in columns of attack, and the fifth division remained as a reserve. The enemy advanced slowly, as if waiting for other troops to come up. Seeing this, the duke gave orders to march against them, and the French retreated in good order, fighting as they fell back, from about three in the afternoon till the close of day, when they entered Medina del Campo. The duke then discovered that a far greater body of the enemy than he had expected was at hand, and fell back to his position at Carpio, there to give his troops rest, for they had been 30 hours without any. At midnight the French on their part retired upon their reinforcements. During the following day the duke obtained full intelligence of the enemy's force; it now became too evident that he could no longer continue in his advanced situation, and he began his retreat from Carpio on the night of the 26th. In the evening of the next day he halted a few hours at Vittoria and Cordovilla to rest his troops, and at ten that night continued his march, being pursued by Kellermann, who did not yet come near enough to annoy him. On the morning of the 28th he reached Alba de Tormes, and then drew up his troops to resist the enemy, who were now close upon him. They were posted upon the heights which command the town on both sides of the Tormes, in order to cover his rear guard, the bridges, and the fords; the whole of the cavalry was on the left bank. General Lorcet began the attack, and was repulsed by the infantry and artillery: two brigades of French horse then charged the right wing of the Spaniards; their cavalry were ordered to meet the charge within pistol-shot of the enemy; whether from some accidental disorder, or sudden panic, they took to flight without discharging a shot, or exchanging a single sword stroke; part of them were rallied and brought back to their post, but the same disgraceful feeling recurred; they fled a second time, and left the right flank of the army uncovered: the French then charged the exposed wing with an overpowering force, and, in spite of a resistance worthy of the most veteran troops, succeeded in breaking through. The victorious cavalry then charged the left of the Spaniards; but here it was three times repulsed. Mendizabal and Carrera formed their troops into an oblong square, and every farther attempt of the enemy was baffled: night now came on, and this body, taking advantage of the darkness, retreated along the heights on the left bank of the town, and the duke then gave orders to fall back in the direction of Tamames. They marched in good order till morning, when, as they were within eight miles of that town, and of the scene of their former victory, a small party of the enemy's horse came in sight, and a rumour ran through the ranks that the French were about to charge them in great force. Part of the very men who had fought so nobly only twelve hours before, now threw away their firelocks, knapsacks, and whatever else encumbered them: the loss would have been very great had the enemy been near enough to avail themselves of this panic; fortunately they were so distant, that the duke, with the better part of his troops, reached the Pena de Francia, and in that secure position halted to collect again the fugitives and stragglers. Kellermann spoke of 3000 men killed and 2000

prisoners; all the artillery of the right wing was lost; but, heavy as this loss was, that of the reputation of an army, which had hitherto demeaned itself so gallantly, was most to be lamented.

By this last disaster the French were enabled without farther obstacle to direct their views against Ciudad Rodrigo, and threaten Portugal; and Lord Wellington removed in consequence from his position in the vicinity of Badajos to the north of the Tagus, there to take measures against the operations which he had long foreseen. Albuquerque's little army was now the only one which remained unbroken; but what was this against the numerous armies of the French? even if it were suffered to cover Estremadura, what was there on the side of La Mancha to secure Andalusia, and Seville itself? Every effort was made to collect a new army under Areizaga at the passes of the Sierra, and to reinforce the Duke del Parque also,—but the danger was close at hand. The junta had thought to strengthen themselves in popular opinion, as well as to secure themselves against Romana, whom they always feared, by recalling him from Galicia, and appointing him a member of their own body. This measure only served to make their weakness still more notorious, for Romana publicly expressed his utter disapprobation of their proceedings. They had given notice in May that the Cortes would be summoned on the first of January, and enter on their functions on the first of March: they now began to fear, that the authority which they had employed so ill would be wrested from them before that time by an indignant people; the interposition of Marquis Wellesley saved them from this humiliation. But a general view of their misconduct, its causes, and its consequences, must be reserved for the annals of the ensuing year.

CHAP. XXXII.

Siege of Gerona. Monjuic abandoned by the Garrison. Supplies thrown in by Blake. The French repulsed in a general Assault. Exploit of O'Donnell. Distress of the City, which capitulates after a most glorious Defence.

WHILE the attention of the Spanish government was almost exclusively directed towards operations which it was scarcely possible could terminate otherwise than disastrously, Catalonia, the province wherein the most uniform and universal energy was displayed, was left to itself. The two strongest and most important places in this province had been treacherously seized by Buonaparte, while he pretended to be the friend and ally of Charles IV.; yet, even with this mighty advantage at the commencement, the French had to win their ground there by inches. As soon as their armies were recruited from the losses and exhaustion which they had suffered before Zaragoza, they proceeded to lay siege to Gerona.

This city is situated upon the side and at the foot of a mountain near the place where the little river Onar falls into and loses its name in the Ter. When the siege commenced, it was surrounded by old walls in good repair, and had besides four forts with redoubts upon the high ground above it, but its principal defence was the citadel of Monjuic, which commanded it from an eminence about 60 fathoms distant. This was a square fort, in length 200 *varas* † on each side, with four bastions, and four out-works, called the towers of St Luis, San Narcis, San Daniel, and San Juan. The population of Gerona was between 13 and 14,000. In the Succession War, it distinguished itself by its faithful adherence to the Archduke Charles, and its desperate defence against his successful rival. After it had fallen, the Catalans blockaded it for eight months. Marshal Berwick raised the siege, and the French minister then proposed to him to demolish the works, upon the plea of saving the expence of garrisoning them, but in reality that the Spaniards might have one strong-hold the less upon their frontier. Berwick requested an order from Louis XIV. himself; but, though that ambitious prince

† About 720 feet.

manifestly wished to have Gerona destroyed, a sense of decency prevented him from directly ordering it to be done, and Berwick did not chuse to expose himself to the anger of Philip V. without possessing a warrant which might be produced in his justification.

After the fall of Rosas and Zaragoza, and the defeat of the Catalan army at Valls, in which Reding received his mortal wound, it could not be doubted that the enemy would endeavour to take vengeance for the shameful repulse which they had suffered before Gerona the preceding year. The French expected a brave resistance, and they made their preparations accordingly. On the 6th of May, they appeared upon the heights of Casa Roca and Castarroja, and began to form lines around without opposition. A battery of eleven mortars was planted upon Casa Roca, from whence it commanded the city; works were also erected against Monjuic. The garrison, consisting only of 3,400 men, was not numerous enough to impede these operations; no precautions, however, were wanting on their part, nor were any means of defence omitted. The citizens, like the crusaders of old, took the cross, and with this ceremony, which their cause sanctified, eight companies of 100 men each were formed and organized. The women also, maids and matrons alike, enrolled themselves in an association, called the Company of St Barbara, to perform whatever they were capable of, like their countrywomen at Zaragoza. Never did any people prepare more resolutely for the performance of their arduous duty. Their governor, Camp-marshal D. Mariano Alvarez, was worthy of the situation wherein he was placed; being himself fully determined to maintain the city to the last gasp, he thought it adviseable now, during the first enthusiasm of the people, to restrain by fear the few cowardly or treacherous spirits which might exist among them, and, with this intent, he forbade all persons from speaking of capitulation or peace, on pain of immediate death, without distinction of quality or condition. The garrison and the people received this edict with acclamations of applause, and throughout the whole course of the siege they did not belie the expectations which their governor formed of them. The military junta of the city proposed that the streets should be unpaved, to lessen the dangers of a bombardment. This was opposed by the junta corrigimental, or board of police, and the question was referred to the hospital board for decision; for the objection to the measure was, that it would be prejudicial to health. The medical men found it most convenient to avoid entering into a physical discussion, and they compromised the matter by deciding, that the paving should be taken up only in the plazas or squares, and in those streets through which the soldiers must necessarily pass.

The French meantime continued their works, and so sure were they of the firm and unalterable spirit, both of the Geronans and their governor, that they did not summon the place till their lines were completed, and every thing ready to commence the bombardment. Then they sent a flag of truce requiring Alvarez to spare himself and the city the evils which must inevitably attend a resistance. Don Mariano admitted the officer to his presence, and bade him say to his general, that

for the future the trouble of sending flags of truce might be spared, for he was determined to have no other communication with him than at the mouth of the cannon. This was on the 12th of June; on the night between the 13th and 14th, about an hour after midnight, the bombardment began. Then for the first time the *generale* or alarm was beat, a sound which afterwards became so frequent and familiar in this devoted city: roused from their sleep, the aged and the children repaired to those cellars and other places of imagined security, which they who could had provided for this emergency, and the female company of St Barbara hastened to their posts. An ill-judged sally was made early on the 17th against some works which were supposed to be the base of a battery against the Puerto de Francia: they succeeded in their object, but the success was in itself of little importance and dearly purchased, many brave men fell, 110 were brought back wounded. The bombardment continued, and, among the other buildings which it reduced to ashes, the military hospital was destroyed: the people, while it was burning, observed that its destruction was deserved, for, instead of proving a place of help and healing for the sick, covetousness and peculation had made their profit there upon human sufferings. The hospitals of St Domingo and St Martin were also rendered uninhabitable; one other had been made ready, another was to be prepared, and thus the labour and difficulty of providing for the sick and wounded increased at the time when their numbers were daily increasing. For about the end of the month, an epidemic affection of the bowels became very prevalent, occasioned partly by the perpetual agitation which the people endured, partly by their sleeping in damp subterranean places, where the air never circulated freely, and where many of them had nothing but the ground to lie upon. In July, a bilious fever is usually endemic in Gerona; it seized especially upon the lower classes, and upon the refugees from those places which had been either taken or burned by the enemy, and it affected the wounded also.

The main attacks of the enemy were directed against Monjuic; their tremendous artillery soon rendered the out-works untenable, though every foot of ground was defended with a heroism unexampled in modern times, except at Zaragoza. At the beginning of July, three batteries played upon three sides of this little fortress: that which was planted against the north front, consisted of 20 four-and-twenty pounders; while the French were battering it, that angle on which the flag was hoisted fell into the ditch, D. Mariano Montorro descended for it in the midst of the fire, brought it up in safety, and replanted it upon the wall. The breach was soon wide enough to admit forty men abreast. The fire of the garrison had ceased, for they perceived that the French were secured by their trenches, and ammunition was too precious to be used unless its effects were certain: The enemy, who had not learned the nature of the men with whom they were contending, judged from this silence, that their hearts or their ammunition had failed, and in the night between the fourth and fifth they assaulted the breach. It was for this that the garrison had reserved their fire, and they poured it so destructively upon the columns which approached, that

the French retreated with great loss. For three days they continued their fire upon the breach. Between two and three on the morning of the 8th, 6000 chosen men again assaulted it, at the same time the town was bombarded. D. Blas de Furnas, second in command at Monjuic, was in the thickest of the fight; he strained his voice till from exertion it totally failed him, but still his presence and his actions encouraged all who saw him; the enemy came on, filled the fosse and proceeded to the breach—"Woe to him," says Samaniego, the historian of the siege, "woe to him who sets his daring foot upon the fosse of Monjuic!" A mortar, which lay hidden among the ruins of the ravelin, and discharged 500 musket-balls at every shot, was played full upon the enemy by D. Juan Candy. The havoc which it made was tremendous,—three times in the course of the day, the assault was repeated, with the utmost resolution on the part of the assailants, who were never thrown into confusion, though all their efforts were unavailing, and though they left 1,600 of their number slain. The day, however, was disastrous to the Geronans also, though not from any evil which it was possible for strength or courage to have averted. The tower of St Juan, which stood between the west curtain of the castle, the city, and the Calle de Pedret, was blown up. In what manner the magazine took fire was never known. Part of its little garrison were fortunately employed in active service elsewhere, the rest were buried in the ruins, from whence twenty-three persons were extricated alive amid the incessant fire which the enemy kept up upon the spot. Their preservation was in a great measure owing to the exertion of D. Carlôs Beramende. The company of St Barbara distinguished themselves greatly that day: covered with dust and blood, under the burning heat of July, and through the incessant fire of the batteries and musketry, they carried water and wine to the soldiers, and bore back the wounded.

The severe loss which the French sustained in this second attempt, convinced them, that while one stone remained upon another, Monjuic was not to be taken by assault. From this time, therefore, they continued to batter it on three sides, and, practising the surest and most destructive mode of warfare, stationed sharpshooters in their trenches on every side, so that for one of the garrison to be seen was almost certain death. So perilous was the service become, that the centinels were changed every half hour, yet nine were killed in one day at one post, and scarcely one escaped unwounded. An instance of heroism worthy of record was displayed by Luciano Aucio, a drummer belonging to the artillery, who was stationed to give the alarm when a shell was thrown: a ball struck off his leg at the knee; but when the women came to remove him, he cried out,—No, no, it is only a leg: my arms are left, and I can still beat the drum to give my comrades warning in time for them to save themselves. This brave lad was the only person during the siege who recovered after an amputation of the thigh. It became at length impossible to observe the operations of the enemy, so thick were their marksmen, and with such fatal certainty did they take their aim: no other means remained than that of sending some one into the fosse, who, lifting up his head with the most imminent ha-

zard, took a momentary glance. By the beginning of August the besiegers had pushed their parallels to the edge of the fosse; their labour was impeded by the stony nature of the soil, which rendered it necessary to bring earth from some distance; for this, however, they had hands enough, and they had no apprehension to hurry and disturb them, that any army powerful enough to raise the siege could be brought against them.

The ravelin was the particular object at which the enemy aimed; while it was possible to maintain it, the garrison contended who should be stationed there, as at the post of honour. It was repeatedly attacked by night, but the defenders were always ready, and always repulsed the assailants. It was now discovered that the enemy were mining; this was distinctly ascertained by the sounds which were heard in the direction of the fosse. The castle was founded upon a rock, and therefore the officers did not apprehend any immediate danger from any operations of this nature. The purpose of the French was to destroy a breastwork which protected that gate of the castle through which was the passage to the ravelin: the breastwork was almost wholly of earth, and its explosion did no hurt, but it left the gate exposed. A battery, already prepared, began to play upon it, and the communication between the castle and the ravelin was thus made exceedingly difficult. A sally was made against this battery, and the guns were spiked; a priest was one of the foremost: he received a ball in his thigh and fell; the enemy pressed on to kill him; one of their officers, at the hazard of his own life, protected him, and in the very act of thus defending him was slain by the Spaniards,—a circumstance which their journalists record with becoming regret. The success which had been obtained was of little avail, for the French had artillery in abundance: in the course of a few hours they mounted other pieces in the place of those which had been rendered useless, and continued their fire upon the gate and the ravelin. At the same time they formed a covered way from their own parapet to the breach of the ravelin; by this, on the night between the fourth and fifth of August, they poured a sufficient body of troops through the breach to overpower the forty men who were stationed there; but having won the place, they could not maintain it, exposed as it was to musketry from the castle. It remained, therefore, deserted, like a place left for the dead who covered it. About forty hours afterwards a few Spaniards determined to go and bring off the arms which the French had not had time to carry away: they found a lad of sixteen who had lain this whole length of time among the carcasses; he was the only one of his comrades who escaped death or captivity,—they brought him off, and he was sent to the hospital half dead with exhaustion.

All the guns of Monjuic had now been silenced; the enemy were so near, that sometimes the Spaniards knocked them down with stones: it was with difficulty that the governor of Monjuic, Lieut-Col. D. Guillerme Nasch, could restrain the brave men whom he commanded: impatient at remaining inactive in sight of the enemy, they earnestly solicited permission to sally out upon the most desperate attempt. The garrison had held out seven-and-thirty days since a practicable breach was made. A

week had elapsed since the ravelin was lost, and the three sides of the castle were now entirely in ruins; there was but little water left, and that little, foul, nauseous, and unwholesome; the number of soldiers was every day diminished by disease as well as the chances of war. Under these circumstances it was the duty of the governor to preserve the men who were still left, that they might assist in the defence of the city. On the evening of the 11th he abandoned the ruins of Monjuic, and retired into Gerona, every man taking with him two hand-grenades and as many cartridges as he could carry. Matches were left in the magazine, and the retreat was effected with only the loss of one man, who was killed by a shell when he had entered the gates.

Elated with this success,—a success dearly purchased, and bringing no glory to the conqueror,—the French general assured his government that Gerona could not now hold out longer than from eight to fifteen days. He planted one battery against the bulwark of St Pedro, and another upon Monjuic, which commanded all the works in the plain, and the whole line of the city from St Pedro to the tower of Gironella. Other batteries, placed by St Daniel's Tower, commanded Fort Calvary, the Castle of the Constable, and one of its advanced posts. While they were forming these, and throwing up works nearer the city than they could approach before the fall of Monjuic, a little respite was necessarily afforded to the besieged; but, that no rest might be given them, shells were thrown in from time to time by night and day. From the commencement of the siege Alvarez had felt the want of men, and had repeatedly solicited a reinforcement of 2000; even then the garrison would hardly have amounted to half its complement. Nothing but this prevented him from making more frequent sallies,—in all that were made, the desperate courage and high sense of duty which inspired the Spaniards gave them a decided advantage. "Never," said he, in his report to the government,—"never have I seen the precious enthusiasm of all who are within this city, abated even for a moment, and a thousand times would they have sallied out, if I had not, because of their scanty numbers, been compelled to forbid them." Just after the fall of Monjuic, D. Ramon Foxa, and D. Jose Cantera, brought him 700 men, a trifling number considering the state of Gerona, and theimportance of defending it; but they were volunteers, and went with willing and prepared minds to make the sacrifice which was required of them.

Alvarez now planted upon the roof of the cathedral a battery of three cannon Some little opposition was made to this as an act of profanation: this, however, was soon overcome, for the clergy felt that, as when fighting in the field they were employed in the service of the altar, so, in a war like this, the temple could not be desecrated by using it as a fortress. Till now a watch had been kept upon the tower, to observe the movements of the enemy, and ring the alarm whenever an attack was about to be made. It was composed of the clergy of the cathedral, with one of the Canons at their head: now that the battery was planted there, this guard also made their station a place of arms, and annoyed the besiegers with musketry. The cathedral had been made the hospital for wounded officers, and it now became necessary

to remove them to a safer quarter, for the enemy directed their fire thither with a perseverance that discovered how much they were annoyed from thence. In the frequent removal of the hospitals which the bombardment occasioned, the company of St Barbara were of the most essential service; throughout the whole siege, indeed, these heroic women shrunk from no duty, however laborious, however perilous, or however painful. Three of the leaders are especially mentioned, Dona Lucia Joana de Fitzgéralt, D. Mariangela Vivern, and D. Maria Custi, Commandants of the three divisions of St Narcis, St Dorothy, and St Eulalia.

At the end of August several breaches had been made by the batteries on Monjuic, and it was every day apprehended that they would be made practicable. Alvarez then declared in his general orders, that, as every foot of ground in that city ought to be defended, he gave notice, that if any of the defenders flinched from the breach when it was attacked, they would immediately be considered as enemies, and fired upon accordingly. The enemy continually constructed new works, they had troops at command, artillery in abundance, and engineers of the greatest skill. The garrison was considerably reduced; the hospitals were no longer able to contain the numbers who required admission: the contagion increased, and became more dangerous; the magazines were exhausted of all their provisions except wheat and a little flour, and famine began to be severely felt. Not a word of capitulation was permitted within the city, nor a thought of it entertained; but Blake, who commanded in Catalonia, was well aware that it was now absolutely necessary to make a great effort for the relief of the place, and throw in troops and supplies. This was exceedingly difficult; for, although the enemy occupied an extensive line, it might easily be contracted, and he would certainly employ his whole force to prevent the entrance of supplies into a place which he had strictly blockaded for more than three months. The only means of succeeding was to divert his attention to various points, and make him suppose that the Spaniards intended to give him battle in the quarter directly opposite to that by which the convoy was to proceed. Blake's head-quarters were at S. Ilari when he began his movements; he ordered Don Manuel Llanden, lieutenant of the regiment of Ultonia, with as many troops as could be allotted for this service, and as many of the Somatenes as he could collect on the way, to march to the heights of Los Angeles, which is to the north of Gerona, dislodge the enemy from that position, where they had only a small body of infantry, and protect the convoys which were to be introduced on that side. Blake then advanced two hours march towards the Ermida, or Chapel of Pradro, with the reserve, that he might be ready to give assistance wherever it was wanted; from thence he dispatched the colonel of the regiment of Ultonia, D. Enrique O'Donnell, with 1200 foot and a few cavalry, to attack the French at Brunolas, his object being to make them suppose that the convoy was proceeding in that direction.

O'Donnell, by the error of his guides, was led more than two hours march out of the direct road, and thus prevented from attacking the enemy at day-break, according to his intentions. This, however, did not frustrate his plan. Brunolas was

a strong position, the enemy were posted in two bodies, and they had a redoubt with entrenchments on the top of the mountain. Stationing one part of his men at the foot of the ascent, to defeat the purpose of the enemy, which he perceived was to attack his principal column in flank, he ordered D. Pedro Sarsfield, with the greater part of his force, to attack the French in front; it was done with complete success, they were driven from their entrenchments, and reinforcements came hastening towards them, this, as Blake had designed, being supposed to be the point which it was of most importance to secure. O'Donnell having succeeded in this diversion, now descended into the plain, lest he should be turned by superior numbers. There was some difficulty in the descent, from its steepness and the proximity of the enemy, nevertheless it was effected in perfect order, and having reached the plain, he halted, and formed in order of battle. Another division of the patriots under General Loygorri joined him, and they continued in that position to occupy the attention of the French, and draw more of their troops from the side of the Ter during the whole of the day.

While O'Donnell thus successfully executed his orders on one side, Don Juan Claros acted on another in concert with Doctor Colonel Rovira, as he is called. In England the appellation may seem strange and incongruous, but in the dreadful state of misery which Buonaparte's wanton ambition brought upon Spain, all distinctions of ranks and professions, almost even of age and sex, were forgotten; and priests and men of learning, and women and children, as they were not exempt from the miseries of war, bore their part in the sacrifices and exertions for which it called. The Doctor-Colonel Rovira is one of those men who have most honourably distinguished themselves in Catalonia. He dislodged the enemy from the castle of Montagut, which they had fortified. Claros at the same time attacked them on the left bank of the Ter, dislodged them from the height which they occupied on that part of the river, killed the Westphalian General Hadelin, burnt their encampments at Sarria and Montrospe, and won the battery of Casa Enroca. Llanden meantime obtained possession of the heights of Los Angeles: this opened a way for the convoy, with which General Garcia Conde, at the head of 4000 foot and 500 horse, advanced from Amer, crossed the Ter, and hastened along the right bank toward Gerona. The attention of the enemy had been so well diverted by the attacks which were made on other points, that they were enabled to break through the force which had been left there, set fire to their tents, and effected their entrance. Six hundred men sallied at the same time from the city to the plain of Salt, partly to assist in confusing the enemy, but more for the purpose of restoring water to the only two mills within the walls. In this they failed; for, since the French had broken the water-courses, it was discovered that the weather had completed their destruction;—had not this detachment thus uselessly employed their time, they might have carried off the besiegers' magazines from Salt.

These operations, so honourable to Blake who planned, and to the officers who executed them, were performed during a day of heavy and incessant rain. Of the troops who got into *Sept.* 1.

Gerona, 3000 remained there. Alvarez did not conceal from them the desperate nature of the service in which they were embarked; he addressed both officers and men, telling them, "that if any one among them dreaded the thoughts of death, now was the time to leave the city, for the Geronans and their defenders had sworn to perish rather than surrender. Will you," said he, "swear the like?"—They readily took the oath. Conde, with the rest of the army and the beasts of the convoy, accomplished his return as happily as his entrance. Of all Blake's actions this was the only one which was completely successful, and this was considered as a masterpiece of skill, inferior as he was to the besieging army. Unhappily the convoy, which had been so ably introduced, was but poor in proportion to the exigency of the times; it contained only a supply for fifteen days. Hopes indeed were held out of other succours which were to follow, but it was impossible not to perceive that the enemy would be more vigilant hereafter, and that the introduction of a second convoy would be far more difficult than that of the first.

The besiegers now directed their fire upon the three points of St Lucia, St Cristobal, and the Quartel de Alemanes, or Quarter of the Germans. This latter building rested in part of its foundation upon the wall itself, and the object of the enemy was to beat it down, that they might enter over its ruins as by a bridge. The fire from the cathedral, from the Sarracinas, and from the tower of Geronella, was well kept up in return; but the French had so greatly the advantage both in the number and size of their artillery, that Alvarez ordered a sally for the purpose of attempting to spike their guns. That it might be the more unexpected, the gate of S. Pedro, which had been walled up since the loss of Monjuic, was reopened, and the Spaniards advanced with such rapidity to the enemy's works, that the attack was made almost as soon as they were seen. In many points it was successful, in some the Spaniards failed, and whenever they were thrown into confusion they were unable to rally, whereas there is nothing in which the French soldiers are so expert as in the rapidity with which they form again. In some few of the persons chosen for the sally, something worse than want of discipline discovered itself,—they lagged behind in the assault, and, without sharing the danger, fell in with their braver comrades on their return. So much was done, and so much more must have been done, if all the men had behaved equally well, that Colonel Marshal, a brave Englishman in the Spanish service, exclaimed, "We have lost a great victory!"

Sept. 15.

The guns which had been rendered useless were soon replaced, and an incessant fire was kept up upon the three great breaches; on the 18th, the French engineers declared that all three were practicable. Monjuic had taught the enemy not to be too confident of success; the breaches indeed were of such magnitude that it seemed scarcely possible they should fail in storming them, but they knew that victory must be dearly purchased. In the evening, therefore, they sent a white flag; it was not noticed from the town, and the officers who accompanied it there made signs to the Spaniards; there was no firing at this time, and the men, both of the

besieging army and the town, were looking silently and intently on, to see what would be the issue. Alvarez at length sent a verbal order to the French officers to retire,—they requested to be heard, and were then told from the walls to retire on peril of their lives; they persisted in offering a letter, and then both the castle of the Constable and the tower of Geronella fired. As soon as the officers reached their own lines, the batteries were again opened, some to play upon the already opened breaches, others throwing shells into the town. All night they were kept up, and during the night the enemy collected troops upon the heights of Campdura and in Monjuic, for the intended assault. At day-break, they were seen in motion in different parts, with the purpose, it was supposed, of calling off the attention of the Geronans from the real points of danger. The whole of the forenoon was employed in preparation. Between three and four, the watch on the cathedral informed Alvarez that troops were descending from Monjuic to St Daniel. At the same time the like intelligence arrived from the forts of the Constable and of the Capuchines; and another messenger from the cathedral followed with tidings that the enemy in collected force were advancing both from Monjuic and St Daniel against the breaches, and that many of them carried instruments for sapping.

Sept. 19.

The *somaten*, or alarm bell, was now rung from the cathedral, and the *generala* beaten through the streets; there was scarcely any interval between the alarm and the attack, so near to the walls were the points of which the enemy were in possession; 2000 men came on straight from Monjuic, an equal number advanced between Monjuic and St Daniel, a third body from S. Miguel; at the same time a movement of troops was seen in the woods of Palau; they advanced against the three bridges, the Puerto de Francia, and forts Calvary and Cabildo. It was not without surprise that the enemy found the Geronans prepared to receive them at all these points. Nasch, the defender of Monjuic, had his post at the Quartel de Alemanes, where one of the principal breaches was made. Colonel Marshal was at the breach of St Lucia; a company of crusaders, composed entirely of clergy, were stationed at the breach of St Cristobal; the rest of the garrison, and crusaders, and all the other townsmen, manned the walls. The excellent company of St Barbara were distributed among the difficult posts, to perform their important functions, and proclamations were made, inviting the other women of Gerona to assist them in this important hour.

At the Quartel de Alemanes the enemy mounted the breach with the utmost resolution, and they succeeded in forcing their way into the first quadrangle of that great building; the French batteries continued to play upon the walls and the buildings adjoining the breach, and a huge fragment fell upon them who were foremost in the assault, just at the moment when a part of the Ultonia regiment were about to charge them: a few of the Spaniards were buried with them in the ruins. The Geronans then rushed on, drove back the enemy, presented themselves in the breach, and fought hand to hand with the assailants. Frequently such was the press of the conflict and such the passion which inspired them, impatient of the time required to

reload their muskets, the peasants caught up stones from the breach, and brained their enemies with these readier weapons. Four times the assault was repeated in the course of two hours, and at every point the enemy were withstood and beaten off. Alvarez, during the whole assault, hastened from post to post, wherever there was most need of his presence, providing every thing, directing all and encouraging all; he had prepared cressets to light up the walls and breaches in case the enemy should persist in their attempt after darkness closed; but they withdrew long before night set in, hastily and in disorder, leaving behind them 800 of their best men slain. Among them was a colonel, by name Floresti, who on a former occasion had escaped destruction from the hands of this very Mariano Alvarez, at a moment when he little expected danger. Alvarez was the governor of Monjuic at Barcelona, when the French treacherously possessed themselves of that fortress, and Floresti was the officer who went to take possession of it. Before the gate was opened, he and his company stood upon a spot where they might have been blown up, and Alvarez * had almost resolved instead of admitting them to fire the train; could he have foreseen what a spirit was about to display itself in the peninsula, this he would undoubtedly have done; but the spirit of Spain was still weighed down by its old wretched government, and it is not surprising even if so true a Spaniard was deterred at that moment from taking upon himself the whole responsibility of involving his country in direct hostilities with Buonaparte.

Of the besieged 44 fell in this glorious day, and 197 were wounded. Our brave countryman, Colonel Marshall, died of his wounds, as did D. Ricardo Maccarty, another officer of the same regiment, who was Irish either by birth or extraction. A glorious victory had been won, one that filled the conqueror with the highest and most ennobling pride; this joy it brought with it, but it brought with it no rest, no respite, scarcely even a prolongation of hope. The supplies which Blake had thrown in were only sufficient for 15 days consumption, 10 had now elapsed. There was no wine to distribute to the soldiers after their exertions, not even bread; a scanty mess of pulse or corn, with a little oil, or a morsel of bacon in its stead, was all that could be served out to them, and this not from the public magazines, but given by the inhabitants, who, in the general extremity, shared their stores with the soldiers, lamenting that they had nothing better to bestow. "What matters it?" replied these brave Spaniards, "the joy of having saved Gerona to-day will give us strength to go on." A party went out to bring in any of the wounded enemies who might have been left among the dead; one had been stript by a miquelet, but upon perceiving what was the object of their search, he discovered himself to be living. "Having been wounded," he said, "he feigned death as the only chance of escaping death, either from his own party or his enemies; for it was the custom of the French to kill their own

* There can be no doubt of the fact. The government gazette mentions it in an extract from the Gerona journals, which were published under the authority of Alvarez himself.

wounded when they could not carry them away, and he had been taught that the miquelets and the peasants gave no quarter." The man who had stripped him was present when he spoke; he immediately re-clothed him, ran to bring him water, and took charge of him till he could be removed to the hospital. While the Spaniards were employed in this humane office, a fire was opened upon them from the enemy's works, occasioned, no doubt, by some error of the French centinels: it drove them in, and the remainder of the wounded were consequently left to perish: one wretched German, by the breach of St Lucia, lay groaning and writhing for twenty hours before death relieved him.

Every day now added to the distress of the besieged; their flour was exhausted, wheat they had still in store, but men are so much the slaves of habit, that it was considered as one of the great evils of the siege, that they had no means of grinding it; two horse-mills, erected just before the siege, were so clumsily constructed, that they did not perform half the work which was wanted, and the Geronans, rather than prepare the unground corn for food in any way to which they had not been accustomed, submitted to the labour of grinding it between two stones, or pounding it in the shell of a bomb with a cannon-ball. For want of any other animal food, mules and horses were now slaughtered for the use of the hospital, and for the shambles. A list was taken of all within the city, and they were taken by lot. Fuel was exceedingly scarce, yet, notwithstanding this, the heaps which were placed in cressets at the corners of all the principal streets, to light them in case of danger, remained untouched, and not a billet was taken from them during the whole siege. The summer fever became more prevalent; the bodies of the sufferers were now frequently covered with a minute eruption, which was usually a fatal symptom. Fluxes also began to prevail. Two singular cases of contusion of the brain were observed at this time in the hospitals: one man did nothing but count with a loud and deliberate voice from forty to seventy, always beginning at one number and ending at the other, and this incessantly through the whole night. Another continually uttered the most extraordinary blasphemies and curses, exhausting the whole vocabulary of malediction, but the words were uttered without any apparent emotion of anger: this man lived, but remained a helpless idiot.

The hope of relief was now the only thing talked of in Gerona, and day and night the people, as well as the watchmen, looked eagerly on all sides for the succours of which they were so greatly in need, and which they knew Blake was preparing. That general on the 21st of September had assembled a convoy at Hostalric; on the morning of the 26th a firing was heard towards Los Angeles, and a strong body of the garrison sallied out to assist the convoy. D. Luis Wimpfen had the command of the advancing army. When they reached the heights of S. Pelayo, before La Bisbal, O'Donnell was sent forward, with 1000 men, to open a way through the enemy: This brave officer, who was generally not less successful than enterprising in his attempts, broke through the enemy, set fire to one of their encampments, and made way for 160 laden beasts, which entered safely through the Puerto del Areny. The joy of the be-

sieged was but of short endurance; they looked with the utmost impatience to see more troops and more supplies hastening on: 10,000 men they knew had been sent upon this service, 1000 had effected their part, why could not the nine follow?—After gazing for hours in vain, they were compelled to confess to themselves that there was no longer a hope, but that the rest of the convoy had fallen into the enemy's hands. They then began to censure the general who had attempted to introduce it on that side, where the way was so craggy, and led through such defiles, that a handful of men would be sufficient to defeat his purpose: their disappointment vented itself in exclamations against Blake,† and they blamed him for remaining at the head of an army after so many repeated misfortunes as he had sustained.

It was O'Donnell who first formed the Geronans into companies, and disciplined them: He had not remained in the city during the siege, because it was thought, from his activity and enterprizing spirit, he would be better able to assist it from without. Twelve days before the last atchievement, in concert with Doctor D. Esteban Lovera, he intercepted a convoy at Bascara, displaying such skill and intrepidity in this affair, that the central junta promoted him to the rank of brigadier. He now, with his thousand men, took up his station between the foot of the Capuchins and of La Reynana; but what Gerona now stood in need of was provisions, not men; a thousand troops added nothing to her useful strength, the Geronans were strong enough without them to resist an assault if another were made, with them they were not numerous enough to sally and raise the siege; the continuance of O'Donnell, therefore, could only serve to hasten the fall of the city, by increasing the consumption of its scanty stores, and to weaken his own men by the privations in which they shared. It was agreed with Alvarez that he should cut his way through the enemy, and a few families thought it better to follow him in this perilous attempt, than to remain in a city where it now became apparent that they who escaped death could not long escape captivity. The city was completely surrounded, so that to elude the enemy was impossible; the only hope was to surprise them, and then force a way. One night, after the moon was down, they left their position in silence;

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the Geronan centinels at St Francisco de Paula mistook them for an enemy, and fired: it is not unlikely that this provoking accident, which might so easily have frustrated the attempt, facilitated it, by deceiving the French, who, when they heard the alarm given from the city, could never have imagined that an attempt was about to be made upon their camp. To make his way by the mountains, O'Donnell knew would be impossible, in the darkness, without confusion; and though the enemy's posts were more numerous on the plain, he judged it safer to take that course. The plan was most ably carried into effect; his men surprised the first post, fell upon them with

† It is observable, that Samaniego, in his history of the siege, carefully avoids all mention of Blake's name, while he evidently agrees with the people in their exclamation, "*Ozalá que no emprendiera grandes cosas el que no tiene gran fortuna.*"

sword and bayonet, not firing a gun; cut them off without giving the alarm, and sparing two prisoners, made them their guides through the encampment. The attempt was as fortunate as it was daring; they passed by five-and-twenty posts of the enemy, through many of which they forced their way: Souham, a French general of division, was surprised in his quarter, and fled in his shirt, leaving behind him as much booty as the Spaniards had time to lay hands on. The alarm spread throughout the whole of the lines, but it was too late; by day-break the Spaniards reached S. Colona, where D. Francisco Milane was posted with part of Blake's army, and it was not till they were thus placed in safety that a body of 2000 foot and 200 horse, who had been sent in pursuit of them, came up. O'Donnell was promoted to the rank of camp marshal for this admirable retreat.

The long and resolute resistance which the Geronans made exasperated Buonaparte: 17,000 men, under General Verdier, had been now six months employed in the immediate operations of the siege, and 18,000, under St Cyr, in covering it. They were chiefly Germans and Italians; for it is the wicked policy of the tyrant to expose the conscripts from the conquered countries upon all services of the greatest danger, their death as well as their success being his gain. A Tuscan division, which at the commencement of the siege consisted of 5600 men, was reduced to less than 600 in the course of five months. Verdier had involved himself in disgrace by his declaration, that Gerona could not hold out beyond a fortnight after the fall of Monjuic; St Cyr also was now called to Paris, and Marshal Augereau (Duke of Castigliano) appointed to take the command of the army, which was reinforced to its full number. The new commander, being desirous of distinguishing himself by some exploit on his arrival, attacked the town of Hostalric, where magazines were collected for Blake's army and for the relief of Gerona: the town was occupied by 2000 troops, against whom General Pino was sent with part of his division. Blake was at too great a distance to act in support of this important post, and the Spaniards, after a gallant resistance, were driven into the citadel by the superior numbers of the enemy; the magazines were lost, and the greater part of the town burnt.

The French purchased their victory dearly; but it cut off the last possibility of relief from Gerona. The besieged now died in such numbers, chiefly of dysentery, that the daily deaths were never less than 35, and sometimes amounted to 70. The way to the burial place was never vacant. Augereau straitened the blockade, and, that the garrison might neither follow the example of O'Donnell, and effect their escape, nor receive any supplies, however small, he drew his lines closer, stretched cords with bells along all the interspaces, and kept watch-dogs at all the posts; the bombardment was continued, and always with greater violence during the night than the day, as if to exhaust the Geronans by depriving them of sleep. He found means also of sending letters into the city, sparing no attempts to work upon the hopes and fears of the people; he told them of his victory at Hostalric,—of the hopeless state of Blake's army,—of the peace which Austria had made,—he threatened the most signal vengeance if they persisted in

holding out, and he offered to grant an armistice for a month, and suffer supplies immediately to enter, provided Alvarez would capitulate at the end of that time, if the city were not relieved. There was a humanity in this offer such as no other French general had displayed in the course of the Spanish war; but Alvarez and the Geronans knew their duty too well to accept even such terms as these after the glorious resistance which they had made. With such an enemy, and in such a cause, they knew that no compromise ought to be made: they had devoted themselves for Spain, and it did not become them, for the sake of shortening their own suffering, to let loose so large a part of the besieging army as this armistice would have left at liberty for other operations.

Hitherto the few mules and horses which remained unslaughtered had been led out to feed near the walls of St Francisco de Paula, and of the burial ground:—this was now prevented by the batteries of Palau and Montelivi, and by the French advanced posts; and these wretched animals, being thus deprived of their only food, gnawed the hair of each other's tails and manes before they were led to the slaughter. It became dangerous to bury the dead, for the French seeing the way to the cemetery always full, now kept up a fire upon it. Famine at length did the enemy's work: the stores from which the citizens had supplied the failure of the magazines, were exhausted; it became necessary to set a guard over the ovens, and the food for the hospitals was sometimes seized upon the way by the famishing populace. The enemy endeavoured to tempt the garrison to desert, by calling out to them to come and eat, and holding out provisions. A few were tempted; they were received with embraces, and fed in sight of the walls,—poor wretches, envying the firmer constancy of their comrades more than those comrades did the food, for lack of which their own vital spirits were well-nigh spent! There was none of that individual animosity displayed here which characterized the street-fighting at Zaragoza: the nature of the siege was not such as to excite it, and some of those humanities appeared, which in other instances the French generals seem systematically to have outraged in Spain. The out-centries frequently made a truce with each other, laid down their arms, and drew near enough to converse; the French soldier would then give his half-starved enemy a draught from his leathern bottle, or brandy flask, and when they had drank and talked together, they returned to their posts, scoffed at each other, proceeded from mockery to insult, and often closed the scene with a skirmish.

The only disgraceful circumstance which occurred during the whole siege was the desertion of ten officers in a body, two of whom were men of noble birth; they had been plotting to make the governor capitulate, and finding their intentions frustrated, went over to the enemy in open day. Except in this instance, the number of deserters was very small. Towards the end of November many of the inhabitants, being utterly hopeless of relief, preferred the chance of death to the certainty of being made prisoners, and they ventured to pass the enemy's lines, some failing in the attempt, others being more fortunate. At this time, Samaniego, who *Nov. 29.* was first surgeon to the

garrison, delivered in to Alvarez a report upon the state of health; as he gave it into the hands of that noble Spaniard, he said something implying the melancholy nature of its contents. Alvarez replied, "This paper then, perhaps, will inform posterity of our sufferings,—if there should be none left to recount them." He then bade Samaniego to read it. It was a dreadful report. There did not remain a single edifice or habitation in Gerona which had not been injured by the bombardment; not a house was habitable; the people slept in cellars, and vaults, and holes amid the ruins; and it had not unfrequently happened that the wounded were killed in the hospitals. The streets were broken up; so that the rains and the contents of the sewers stagnated there, and the pestilential vapours which arose were rendered more noxious by the dead bodies which lay rotting amid the ruins. The siege had now endured seven months; scarcely a woman had become pregnant during that time; the very dogs, before hunger consumed them, had ceased to follow after kind; they did not even fawn upon their masters; the almost incessant thunder of artillery seemed to make them sensible of the state of the city, and the unnatural atmosphere affected them as well as humankind. It even affected vegetation. In the gardens within the walls the fruits withered, and scarcely any vegetable could be raised. Within the last three weeks above 500 of the garrison had died in the hospitals; a dysentery was raging and spreading; the sick were lying upon the ground, without beds, almost without food; and there was scarcely fuel to dress the little wheat that remained, and the few horses which were yet unslaughtered. Samaniego then adverted with bitterness to the accounts which had been circulated, that abundant supplies had been thrown into the city, and he concluded by saying, "If by these sacrifices, deserving for ever to be the admiration of history, and if by consummating them with the lives of us who, by the will of Providence, have survived our comrades, the liberty of our country can be secured, happy shall we be in the bosom of eternity and in the memory of good men, and happy will our children be among their fellow-countrymen."

The breaches which had been assaulted ten weeks ago were still open: it was easier for the Geronans to defend than to repair them, and the French had suffered too much in that assault to repeat it. A fourth had now been made. The enemy, learning from the rascally officers who had deserted that the ammunition of the place was almost expended, ventured upon bolder operations. They took possession by night of the Calle del Carmen; from thence they commanded the bridge of S. Francisco, which was the only means of communication between the old city and that part on the opposite side of the Ter; from thence also they battered Forts Merced and S. Francisco de Paula. During another night they got possession of Fort Calvary, which they had reduced to ruins, and of the redoubt Cabildo: this last success seems to have been owing to some misconduct, for the historian of the siege inveighs upon this occasion against the pernicious measure of entrusting boys with command, as a reward for the services of their fathers. The city redoubts fell next. The strength as well as the ammunition of the Geronans was almost exhausted, and these successes were now gained with

comparative ease. The enemy were now close to the walls, and thus cut off the forts of the Capuchins and of the Constable, the only two remaining out-works. The garrison of both amounted only to 160 men; they had scarcely any powder, little water, and no food. These posts were of the last importance; it was resolved to make a sally for the sake of relieving them, and the garrison of the town gave up for this purpose their own miserable rations, contributing enough for the consumption of three days. The ration was at this time a handful of wheat a-day, or sometimes, in its stead, the quarter of a small loaf, and five ounces of horse or mule's flesh, every alternate day.

The few men who could be allotted for this service, or indeed who were equal to it, sallied in broad day through the Puerto del Socorro, within pistol-shot of the redoubts which the enemy now possessed; they were in three bodies, two of which hastened up the hill towards the two forts, while the third remained to protect them from being attacked in the rear from the Calle del Carmen. The sally was so sudden, so utterly unlooked for by the besiegers, and so resolutely executed, that its purpose was accomplished, though not without the loss in killed and wounded of about forty men, which was nearly a third of those who were employed in it. This was the last effort of the Geronans. The deaths increased in a dreadful and daily accelerating progression; the burial places were without the walls; hands could not be found to carry out the dead to the deposit-house, and from thence to the grave; and 120 bodies were lying at once in the deposit-house, uncoffined, in sight of all who passed the walls.

The besiegers were now erecting one battery more in the Calle de la Pulla; it was close upon one of the breaches, and commanded the whole space between Forts Merced and S. Francisco de Paula. It was now the beginning of December; on the 4th Alvarez was seized with a nervous fever, the effect undoubtedly of the hopeless state of the city. On the 8th, it was greatly increased, and he became delirious. The next day the junta assembled, and one of their body was deputed to examine Samaniego and his colleague Viader, whether the governor was in a state to perform the duties of his office. They required a more specific question, and the Canon who had been deputed then said, it was feared that, in the access of delirium, the governor might give orders contrary to his own intention, if he were in perfect sanity of mind, and contrary to the public weal, when the dreadful situation of the city was considered. The purport of such language was obvious, and they replied, that, without exceeding the bounds of their profession, they could affirm, that his state of health was incompatible with the command, and with the measures which were necessary for his recovery.

Samaniego and his comrade went after this consultation to visit the governor, and they found him in such a state, that they judged it proper for him to receive the *viaticum*, thinking it most probable that, in the next access of fever, he would lose his senses and die,—for this was the manner in which the disorder under which he laboured usually terminated at this time. Being thus delivered over to the priests, Alvarez, before the fit came on, resigned the command, which then devolved upon Brigadier

D. Julian de Bolitar, a council was held during the night, composed of the two juntas, military and civil, and the result was, that on the morning, D. Blas de Fumas, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself during the siege, should treat for a capitulation. The whole of the 10th was employed in adjusting the terms. They were in the highest degree honourable. The garrison were to march out with the honours of war, and be sent prisoners into France, to be exchanged as soon as possible for an equal number of French prisoners then detained in Majorca and other places. None were to be considered prisoners but those who were ranked as soldiers; the commissariat, intendants and medical staff were thus left at freedom. The French were not to be quartered upon the inhabitants; the official papers were neither to be destroyed nor removed; no person was to be injured for the part which he had taken during the siege; those who were nôt natives of Gerona should be at liberty to leave it, and take with them all their property; the natives also who chose to depart might do so, take with them their moveable property, and dispose as they pleased of the rest.

While the capitulation was going on, many of the enemy's soldiers came to the walls, bringing provisions and wine, to be drawn up by strings,—an honourable proof of the respect with which they regarded their brave opponents. During the night, the deserters who were in Gerona, with many other soldiers and peasants, attempted to escape: some succeeded, others were killed or taken in the attempt, and not a few dropped with weakness upon the way. To those who remained, the very silence of night, it is said, was a thing so unusual that it became a cause of agitation. At day-break, it was found that the soldiers had broken the greatest part of their arms, and thrown the fragments into the streets or the river. When the garrison were drawn up in sight of the French, their shrunken limbs and hollow eyes and pale and meagre countenances sufficiently manifested by what they had been subdued. The French observed, not without admiration, that of the artillery of the city, as well as of Monjuic, most of the guns had been fired so often that they were rendered useless: brass itself had given way, says Samaniego, before the constancy of the Geronans.

The first act of the French officer who was appointed governor, was to order all the inhabitants to deliver in their arms, on pain of death, and to establish a military commission. *Te Deum* was ordered in the cathedral; it was performed with tears, and a voice which could difficultly force utterance. Augereau would fain have had a sermon like that which had been preached before Lasnes at Zaragoza, but not a priest in the city could be found who would sin against his soul by following that impious example. A guard was set upon Alvarez; he amended slowly, and the physicians applied for leave for him to quit the city, and go to some place upon the sea shore; it was replied, that Marshal Augereau's orders only permitted him to allow the choice of any place in the French frontier, or in the direct road to France. He chose Figueras, and was hurried off at midnight *Dec. 24.* without any previous notice, and under a strong escort. The

friars who had been all confined in the church of St Francisco, with a cannon pointed against the door, and a match lighted, were marched off at the same time. The sick and wounded Spaniards were hastily removed to St Daniel; they were laid upon straw, and, being left without even such necessaries as they had possessed in the city, except that they were better supplied with food, many died in consequence. There was a grievous want of humanity in this; but no brutal acts of outrage and cruelty were committed here, as at Zaragoza; and, when Junot, Ney, Soult, Massena, Bessieres, Loison, Kellermann, and so many other of the French generals, have rendered themselves infamous for their atrocities in the peninsula, Augereau, and the few who have observed any of the old humanities of war, deserve to be distinguished from their execrable colleagues.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Lord Collingwood destroys a Convoy bound from Toulon to Barcelona. Duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr Canning, and Changes in the Ministry. Buonaparte's Divorce.

It is not possible to call to mind without humiliation and indignant regret, in what manner the great disposable force of England was employed while the Catalans struggled without assistance, and Gerona was left to fall. Forty thousand men were miserably squandered at Walcheren,—18,000 more, less miserably indeed, but not less uselessly sacrificed to an alliance with the wretched court of Palermo. With this army, Sir John Stuart undertook an expedition against Naples,—the only part of Italy, and perhaps of Europe, where the French are less detested than the government of which they have rid the inhabitants. It served as a diversion in favour of the Archduke John, which, according to Sir John Stuart, was all he intended by it, and which was utterly unimportant. After some display of ill-directed enterprize the troops returned again to Sicily. This army might have saved Gerona, and, in all likelihood, have delivered Barcelona; it was with the greatest difficulty that the French could victual their garrison in that important city, so excellently did the Catalans perform their duty, making incessant war upon their convoys and detachments and outposts. About the middle of October, an attempt was made by the enemy to introduce supplies by sea. Lord Collingwood was on the watch for this, and, having obtained intelligence of their design, sailed from Minorca, and took his station a few leagues off Cape St Sebastian, on the coast of Catalonia. On the 23d, the enemy came in sight, consisting of three ships of the line, two frigates, two armed store ships, and a convoy of 16 sail. Rear-Admiral Martin was ordered to give chase; he fell in with the ships of war off the entrance of the Rhone, but they escaped him that night, because the wind blew directly on shore. The next morning he renewed the chase, and drove two of them, one of 80 guns, the other of 74, on shore, off Frontegnan, where they were set fire to by their own crews; the other ship of the line and one frigate ran on shore at the entrance of the port of Cette, where there was little probability that the

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former could be saved, but they were under protection of the batteries. The second frigate had hauled her wind during the night, and got into Marseilles road.

Two brigs, two bombards, and a ketch belonging to the convoy were burned by the Pomona while Admiral Martin was in chase. The other vessels made for the Bay of Rosas; a squadron of our fleet pursued them, and found them moored under the protection of the castle, Fort Trinidad, and several batteries newly erected by the French. Four of the vessels were armed, the largest one was of 600 tons, carrying 16 nine pounders, and 110 men; she was enclosed in boarding nettings, and perfectly prepared for action. Our boats, however, succeeded in boarding them all, though they were bravely defended, and though a constant fire was kept up from the forts and from the beach. Of the eleven ships, three had landed their cargoes, but all were taken or burnt; and of the whole convoy, there only escaped the frigate which put into Marseilles, and one of the store-ships, which, not having been heard of, probably succeeded in reaching Barcelona.

This success and the capture of Zante, Cephalonia, and Cerigo by an expedition from Sicily under General Oswald, were but as dust in the scale weighed against the great and numerous disasters of the year,—the lamentable issue of the continental war, the glorious victory of Talavera rendered fruitless, the wreck of the Spanish army at Ocana, which but too plainly laid Andalusia open, and the deadly expedition to the Scheldt. No former event ever depressed the spirit of the nation like this; an army which, if landed in the Elbe, might have delivered Europe, or, either in Catalonia or Biscay, would have given the enemy a mortal blow in Spain, had been wasted without necessity, without honour, without even the hope or the possibility of its atchieving any object equivalent to the expence of the armament, even if mere expenditure of money had been the only loss. An almost general despondency prevailed in England at the close of this disastrous year; all men knew that peace with Buonaparte was the worst of all dangers, yet the continuance of war appeared hopeless to all except the few who understood the character of the Spaniards and Portugueze, and judged rightly of the moral as well as physical strength of the peninsula. The ministers, grievously as they had erred in some respects, were of this number; but it was the known and avowed opinion of their antagonists, that the cause of Spain and Portugal was lost, and there was danger that the men who held this false and pernicious opinion, and would act upon it, would come into administration.

It had long been reported that there were divisions in the cabinet, and that a change in some of the higher offices of state would take place. These divisions became public in the latter end of September, when Lord Castlereagh sent a challenge to Mr Canning; a duel ensued, and at the second fire, Mr Canning received a ball in his right thigh. The practice of fighting political duels might well have been suffered to expire with the Irish parliament. Mr Pitt had given it the sanction of his example, and both in that instance and in the present, the nation, as well as the parties, seemed to overlook the offence committed against public decency, when men whose duty it was to maintain the laws acted thus openly in

violation of them. The cause of this duel was for a considerable time the chief topic of discussion for our political journalists. Lord Castlereagh's complaint was, that Mr Canning had applied clandestinely to get him removed from office, for the purpose of substituting Marquis Wellesley in his place; before Easter, it was affirmed, he made this application to the Duke of Portland, and obtained his promise that Lord Castlereagh should be dismissed from office. "Notwithstanding this promise," said Lord Castlereagh in the letter which contained the challenge, "by which I consider you pronounced it unfit that I should remain charged with the conduct of the war, and by which my situation as a minister of the crown was made dependent upon your will and pleasure, you continued to sit in the same cabinet with me, and leave me not only in the persuasion that I possessed your confidence and support as a colleague, but allowed me, in breach of every principle of good faith, both public and private, to originate and proceed in the execution of a new enterprize of the most arduous and important nature, (the Walcheren expedition,) with your apparent concurrence and ostensible approbation. You were fully aware, that if my situation in the government had been disclosed to me, I could not have submitted to remain one moment in office without the entire abandonment of my private honour and public duty: You knew I was deceived, and you continued to deceive me."

An accusation of injury to the public service was coupled with this charge of private wrong. Lord Castlereagh's friends affirmed that Marquis Wellesley had received a positive promise of succeeding to the war department, yet at this very time was appointed ambassador to Spain, and that, in expectation of taking possession of this office at home, he was either detained, or else designedly delayed setting off on his mission, till it was too late for him to be of any use in inducing the supreme junta to make those exertions, and provide those supplies, which were necessary for the success of our arms in Spain, and for want of which our best exertions had failed. Severe illness was said to have detained the marquis; whatever may have been the real cause, it is certain that no injury resulted from the delay; there can be no reason for supposing that he would have been more successful with the junta in June than he was in August, and while he remained in England, Mr Frere continued to act as ambassador; and it may be affirmed, without disparagement to his successor, that no man could have acted with greater zeal or greater ability.

The charge of private wrong towards Lord Castlereagh laid open a pitiful story, far more injurious, however, to the reputation of the cabinet as a body, than to Mr Canning as an individual member of it. He admitted that he had, as unquestionably he was entitled to do, required of the Duke of Portland, that a change should be made in the war department, declaring, at the same time, his intention of resigning as the alternative; the change proposed was agreed upon, but he had consented to its postponement till the rising of parliament, partly yielding to the representations which were made to him of the inconvenience of any change in the middle of a session, but principally from a consideration of the

particular circumstances under which Lord Castlereagh stood in the House of Commons, "circumstances," it was said, " which would have given to his removal, at that period of the session, a character, which it was certainly no part of Mr Canning's wish that it should bear."—Upon the case of Mr Quintin Dick it would have been highly unjust to have censured Lord Castlereagh; but in the case of Reding and the writership, there had been an undeniable, manifest, and admitted offence, and, in due respect to the laws of Parliament and the public opinion, he ought then to have retired; far better would it have been for himself so to have retired, than to have remained, and planned the miserable expedition to Walcheren; and far better for the ministry to have urged his dismissal upon proper grounds, than, by a system of finesse, to have exposed itself to the danger of a complete dissolution, accompanied with the loss of the good opinion of the country.

The question of the writership having been decided, the Duke of Portland communicated with Earl Camden, as being that member of the cabinet who was supposed to be more particularly Lord Castlereagh's friend, and he assented in thinking, " a change in Lord Castlereagh's situation in the government desirable, provided it could be effected honourably for Lord Castlereagh, and that it could be reconciled to Lord Castlereagh's feelings."—This is perhaps the first time that, when it has been thought expedient to dismiss a statesman from office, any consideration of his feelings has been suffered to interfere with the arrangements of government. In delicacy, however, to Lord Castlereagh's feelings, four different arrangements were suggested and abandoned:—time passed away, and no intimation of what was intended was made to him. Mr Canning expected Earl Camden would make the communication,—parliament broke up,—the result of the expedition was known,—that is, the ultimate success was known, but not the mortality which was to follow it, and, Mr Canning discovering then that Lord Castlereagh had still been kept in ignorance, and that no steps had been taken for making the purposed, or rather the promised changes, offered his own resignation to the Duke of Portland. Then, and not till then, Lord Castlereagh was informed of all that had taken place, and he thought proper to challenge Mr Canning, who had been at least as ill used as himself.

In consequence of these political squabbles, both Mr Canning and his lordship resigned; the Duke of Portland did the same, compelled by the state of his health, for he died almost immediately afterwards, and thus the administration was broken up. Lord Liverpool, the only remaining secretary of state, performed the business of the other two departments, while the remaining members of administration looked about in dismay, and almost in despair, for new colleagues and for a new head. Their situation appeared at first so forlorn, *Sept. 23.* that official letters were addressed to Earl Grey and Lord Grenville, informing them that his Majesty had authorised Earl Liverpool and Mr Perceval to communicate with their lordships for the purpose of forming an extended and combined administration, and requesting them to come to town, in order that as little time as possible might be lost in forwarding so important an object. Earl Grey replied, that had his

Majesty been pleased to signify that he had any commands for him personally, he should not have lost a moment in showing his duty by a prompt obedience to his royal pleasure; but when it was proposed to him to communicate with the existing ministers, for the purpose of forming a combined administration with them, he felt that he should be wanting in duty to the king, and in fairness to them, if he did not frankly and at once declare that such a union was, as far as it regarded him under the then circumstances, impossible; this being the answer which he was under the necessity of giving, his appearance in London could be of no advantage, and it might possibly be of detriment to the country, if, in consequence of a less decisive answer from him, any farther delay should take place in the formation of a settled government.

Lord Grenville, who was in Cornwall, replied, that he should lose no time in repairing to town, and begged leave to defer all observations upon the business till his arrival. The day after his arrival he sent an answer conformable to that of Earl Grey, declining the proposed communication, because it could not possibly be productive of any public advantage. "I trust," he added, "I need not say that this opinion is neither founded in any sentiment of personal hostility, nor in a desire of unnecessarily prolonging political differences. To compose, not to inflame, the divisions of the empire, has always been my anxious wish, and is now more than ever the duty of every loyal subject; but my accession to the existing administration could not, I am confident, in any respect contribute to this object, nor could it, I think, be considered in any other light than as a dereliction of public principle. This answer, which I must have given to any such proposal, if made while the government was yet entire, cannot be varied by the retreat of some of its members. My objections are not personal, they apply to the principle of the government itself, and to the circumstances which attended its appointment."

Nothing but extreme necessity could have induced the remaining ministers to make these overtures, and when their advances were thus rejected, great hopes were entertained by the adverse party, that they would not be able to keep their ground. So strongly did this opinion prevail, that it was affirmed and believed that some of the highest offices were offered to different persons, and none could be found to accept them. The only hope of the ministry rested upon Marquis Wellesley; hints were thrown out that he would not join any arrangement in which Mr Canning was not included; this opinion, however, proved erroneous, the Marquis accepted the office which Mr Canning vacated, the Earl of Liverpool was transferred from the home to the war department in place of Lord Castlereagh, and the situation which he had vacated was filled by Mr Ryder. Lord Palmerstone was made secretary at war in the room of Sir James Pulteney, and Mr Perceval took the place of the Duke of Portland, thus uniting in himself, as Mr Pitt and Mr Addington had done before him, the offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The loss of the Duke of Portland was only that of a name; that of Mr Canning was greatly regretted, as was also the secession of Mr Huskisson, who resigned his seat at the treasury at the same time; but though the ministry

was weakened by their departure, they were not considered as strengthening the opposition; and, on the whole, government was thought to have gained by these changes more than it had lost, in consequence of the high reputation of Marquis Wellesley as a statesman, and the almost general desire of the nation to see him in administration. His brother, Mr Henry Wellesley, was appointed to succeed him as ambassador to Spain.

These political events excited less attention than they would otherwise have done, because at this time the public were occupied in preparations for solemnizing the commencement of the fiftieth year of the King's reign,—an event which, under the name of the Jubilee, was celebrated over the whole kingdom with thanksgivings, feasts, illuminations, and setting the prisoners free. For three months also the main attention of the people of the metropolis was fixed upon a dispute concerning the prices of admission at Covent-Garden Theatre, in which the humours of a London audience, and the perseverance of both parties were curiously displayed. But the disputes in our cabinet, and the indecorous manner in which they had broken out, were matters of exultation to Buonaparte. "The English ministers," said he, "are fighting with each other; there is a revolution in the ministry, and all is perfect anarchy. The folly and absurdity of that cabinet are beyond description. They have recently occasioned the destruction of from 25 to 30,000 men in the most horrible country in the world: it would have been just as well to have thrown them into the sea, so pestilential are the marshes of Walcheren." These expressions were part of a letter to the Czar Alexander, in which Buonaparte alluded to the wish of the Poles to have their ancient independence restored: "Conformably to your wishes," said he, "the greater part of Gallicia will not change masters: I have managed your interests in the treaty as you would have done yourself, conciliating every thing with what honour required of me. The prosperity and welfare of the duchy of Warsaw require that it should possess the favourable regards of your Majesty, and your Majesty's subjects may rest assured that in no case, nor under any circumstances, have they to expect any protection from me." In this manner were the insidious promises of France to Poland performed,—promises by which the brave and injured Poles had been induced to shed their blood in fighting the battles of this deceitful tyrant.

There were reports before Buonaparte left Vienna, that he had been seized with fits, and was in a state of mental derangement; he returned, however, to Paris in perfect health. Numerous deputations were there waiting to receive him with flattering addresses. His reply to the Roman deputies contained new intimations of his intention of uniting France and Italy, in violation of his own constitutions, and of repeated pledges that the two countries should never again be subject to one ruler: "My mind," said he to the Roman deputies, "is filled with remembrances of your ancestors. The French emperors, my predecessors, had separated you from the territory of the empire, and assigned your country as a fief to your bishops; but the welfare of my people no longer admits of any division whatever. France and Italy must be completely united under the same system. Besides, you were in need of a

powerful hand. I feel a particular satisfaction in being your benefactor. But it is not my intention that there shall be any the least change made in the religion of our fathers. I, the eldest son of the church, will not depart from her bosom. Jesus Christ did not deem it necessary to invest St Peter with a secular supremacy. Your see, the first of Christendom, shall remain such. Your bishop is the spiritual head of the church, in like manner as I am its Cæsar. I give to God that which is God's, and to Cæsar that which is Cæsar's."

On the 3d of December, Buonaparte addressed the legislative body, recapitulating the successes of the year. "Since your last session," said he, "I have reduced Aragon and Castile to submission, and driven from Madrid the fallacious government formed by England. I was marching upon Cadiz and Lisbon, when I was under the necessity of treading back my steps, and of planting my eagles on the ramparts of Vienna. Three months have seen the rise and termination of this fourth Punic war. Accustomed to the devotedness and courage of my armies, I must nevertheless, under these circumstances, acknowledge the particular proofs of affection which my soldiers of Germany have given me. The genius of France conducted the English army: it has terminated its projects in the pestilential marshes of Walcheren. In that important period I remained 400 leagues distant, certain of the new glory which my people would acquire, and of the grand character they would display. My hopes have not been deceived. Frenchmen! every one that shall oppose you shall be conquered and reduced to submission. Your grandeur shall be increased by the hatred of your enemies. You have before you long years of glory and prosperity. You have the force and energy of the Hercules of the ancients.—I have united Tuscany to the empire. The Tuscans were worthy of it by the mildness of their character; by the attachment their ancestors have always shewn us; and by the services they have rendered to European civilization. History pointed out to me the conduct I ought to pursue towards Rome. The popes, become sovereigns of part of Italy, have constantly shewn themselves enemies of every preponderating power in the peninsula: they have employed their spiritual power to injure it. It was then demonstrated to me, that the spiritual influence exercised in states by a foreign sovereign was contrary to the independence of France, and to the dignity and safety of my throne. However, as I acknowledge the necessity of the spiritual influence of the descendants of the first of the pastors, I could not conciliate these grand interests, but by annulling the donative of the French emperors my predecessors, and by uniting the Roman states to France.—By the treaty of Vienna, all the kings and sovereigns, my allies, who have given me so many proofs of the constancy of their friendship, have acquired and shall acquire a fresh increase of territory. The Illyrian provinces stretch the frontiers of my great empire to the Saave. Contiguous to the empire of Constantinople, I shall find myself in a situation to watch over the first interests of my commerce in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Levant. I will protect the Porte, if the Porte withdraw herself from the fatal influence of England. I shall know how to punish her, if she suffer herself to be governed by cunning and perfidious counsels. I have

wished to give the Swiss nation a new proof of my esteem, by annexing to my titles that of their mediator, and thus putting an end to all the uneasiness endeavoured to be spread among that brave people. Holland, placed between England and France, is equally bruised by them: Yet she is the *debouche* of the principal arteries of my empire. Changes will become necessary; the safety of my frontiers, and the well-understood interests of the two countries, imperiously require them. Sweden has lost, by her alliance with England, after a disastrous war, the finest and most important of her provinces. Happy would it have been for that nation, if the wise prince that governs her now had ascended the throne some years sooner! This example proves anew to kings, that the alliance of England is the surest presage of ruin. My ally and friend, the Emperor of Russia, has united to his vast empire, Finland, Moldavia, Wallachia, and a district of Gallicia. I am not jealous of any thing that can produce good to that empire. My sentiments for its illustrious sovereign are in unison with my policy. When I shall shew myself beyond the Pyrenees, the frightened leopard will fly to the ocean, to avoid shame, defeat, and death. The triumph of my arms will be the triumph of the genius of good over that of evil; of moderation, order, and morality, over civil war, anarchy, and the bad passions. My friendship and protection will, I hope, restore tranquillity and happiness to the people of the Spains." He concluded by saying, that all the ideas which he had conceived for the amelioration of his people had been followed with the greatest activity, and that the finances were in so flourishing a state that he demanded of his people no new sacrifice, though circumstances had obliged him to double his military means.

Yet the close of so triumphant a war brought with it no relief to the French people. The war minister reported, that the French armies in Spain consisted of 300 battalions and 150 squadrons, and it would be sufficient, without sending any additional corps there, to keep them up at their full establishment: 30,000 men collected at Bayonne afforded the means of accomplishing this, and of repulsing any force which the English might send to that country. In this state of things no other levy was necessary than such as would supply the contingent indispensably requisite for replacing in the battalions of the interior the drafts which were daily made from them. There remained from the conscription of the years 1806, 7, 8, 9, 10, more than 80,000 men, who, though ballotted, had not been called into actual service; it was proposed to call out 36,000, and then to declare those classes entirely free from any future call. "By these means, sire," said the minister, "your armies will be maintained at their present strength, and a considerable number of your subjects will be definitively released from the conscription." There were also at the emperor's disposal 25,000 men, afforded by the conscription for 1811; but upon these it was not proposed to call, unless events should disappoint his pacific intentions.

Thirty thousand men stationed at Bayonne to supply the constant waste of his army in Spain, 36,000 to be raised for replacing the drafts from the interior, and 25,000 taken by anticipation, two years before the conscription in its regular course ought

to have reached them, held in readiness for farther demands of blood; this was the prospect held out at the conclusion of the Austrian war; these were the sacrifices which the French were called upon to make, not for defence, not for the interests, not for the honour of France, but to support a flagrant and execrable usurpation, which had no other cause than the wanton and impolitic ambition of Buonaparte, and no other object than the aggrandizement of his family. Had this man been like Washington, he might have been the greatest benefactor to the human race that ever did good by violent means: it was in his power to have established a free government in France; to have formed Italy into one great kingdom or commonwealth, according to the long-cherished hopes and designs of all the enlightened Italians; to have effected the reformation of Spain, and have diffused liberty, knowledge, and prosperity through the whole of Spanish America. All this might Buonaparte have accomplished without the expence of a single life: Let his admirers and flatterers compare it with what he has done, and if they then pronounce him great, their consciences will belie them. No man can be great whose heart is evil. At this time, when Buonaparte exulted in the accomplishment of his heart's chief desire, he was less powerful than he would have been had he chosen the better part. In that case all mankind would have been his friends,—now the wise and virtuous of all countries were his deadly enemies, and he was involved in a war which nothing but his own destruction could terminate.

He had assembled at Paris all the upstart sovereigns of his blood, except Joseph the intruder, and the greater part of his vassal princes. Some important scene was evidently to be enacted, and the prevailing opinion was, that he was about to assume the title of Emperor of the West. The mystery was disclosed when Cambaceres (Duke of Parma) the prince arch chancellor, received a letter, requiring him, attended by the civil secretary of state of the imperial family, to attend in the grand cabinet of the Thuilleries, to receive from the emperor, and from the empress his dear consort, a communication of great importance. In the grand cabinet the Buonaparte and Beauharnois families were assembled, and Napoleon addressed Cambaceres in these words:—"My cousin, prince arch-chancellor, I dispatched to you a private letter, dated this day, to direct you to repair to my cabinet, for the purpose of communicating to you the resolution which I and the empress, my dearest consort, have taken. It gives me pleasure that the kings, queens, and princesses, my brothers and sisters-in-law, my daughter-in-law, and my son-in-law, become my adopted son, as well as my mother, should witness what I am going to communicate to you. The politics of my monarchy, the interest and the wants of my people, which have constantly guided all my actions, require that after me, I should leave to children, inheritors of my love for my people, that throne on which Providence has placed me; notwithstanding, for several years past I have lost the hope of having children by my marriage with my well-beloved consort, the Empress Josephine. This it is which induces me to sacrifice the sweetest affections of my heart, to attend to nothing but the good of the state, and to wish the dissolution

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of my marriage. Arrived at the age of forty years, I may indulge the hope of living long enough to educate, in my views and sentiments, the children which it may please Providence to give me: God knows how much such a resolution has cost my heart; but there is no sacrifice beyond my courage, that I will not make, when it is proved to me to be necessary to the welfare of France. I should add, that far from ever having had reason to complain, on the contrary, I have had only to be satisfied with the attachment and the affection of my well-beloved consort. She has adorned 15 years of my life, the remembrance of which will ever remain engraven on my heart. She was crowned by my hand. I wish she should preserve the rank and title of empress, but, above all, that she should never doubt my sentiments, and that she should ever regard me as her best and dearest friend."

Josephine then performed her part. "By the permission," said she, "of our dear and august consort, I ought to declare, that not preserving any hope of having children, which may fulfil the wants of his policy and the interests of France, I am pleased to give him the greatest proof of attachment and devotion which has ever been given on earth. I possess all from his bounty, it was his hand which crowned me, and from the height of this throne I have received nothing but proofs of affection and love from the French people. I think I prove myself grateful in consenting to the dissolution of a marriage which heretofore was an obstacle to the welfare of France, which deprived it of the happiness of being one day governed by the descendants of a great man, evidently raised up by Providence to efface the evils of a terrible revolution, and to re-establish the altar, the throne, and social order. But the dissolution of my marriage will in no degree change the sentiments of my heart. The emperor will ever have in me his best friend. I know how much this act, demanded by policy and by interests so great, has chilled his heart; but both of us exult in the sacrifice which we make for the good of the country."

A process verbal of these declarations was then signed by all the members of both families who were present. Cambaceres laid this before the conservative senate. "What can we add to this solemn act," said the civil secretary, Count Regnault, "what words could we address to the senate of France, that would not be far below the affecting sounds received from the mouths of these two august consorts, whose generous resolutions your deliberation will consummate? Their hearts have coincided in making the noblest sacrifice to the greatest interests, they have coincided to make policy of sentiment speak language the most true, the most persuasive, the most adapted to move and to convince. As sovereigns and as consorts, the emperor and empress have done all; there only remains for us to love, to bless, and to admire them. 'Tis henceforth for the French nation to make themselves heard; their memory is faithful as their hearts; they will unite in their grateful thoughts the hope of the future with the remembrance of the past, and never will monarchs have received more respect, admiration, gratitude, and love, than Napoleon, in immolating the most sacred of his affections to the wants of his subjects: than Josephine in sacrificing her tenderness for the best of husbands, through devotion for the best

of kings; through attachment to the best of nations. Accept, gentlemen, in the name of all France—in the sight of astonished Europe, this sacrifice, the greatest ever made on earth; and, full of the profound emotion which you feel, hasten to carry to the foot of the throne, in the tribute of your sentiments, of the sentiments of all Frenchmen, the only praise that can be worthy of the fortitude of our sovereign, the only consolation that can be worthy of their hearts."

Eugene Beauharnois, the Viceroy of Italy, then addressed the senate, feeling it his duty, he said, to express the sentiments of his family. "My mother," said he, "my sister, and myself, owe all to the emperor: he has been to us a father; he will find in us, at all times, devoted children and obedient subjects. It is important to the happiness of France, that the founder of the fourth dynasty should in his old age be surrounded by direct descendants, who may prove a security to all, and a pledge of the glory of our country. When my mother was crowned, before the whole nation, by the hands of her august consort, she contracted an obligation to sacrifice all her affections to the interest of France. She has fulfilled with fortitude, nobleness, and dignity, this first of duties; her soul has often been moved at beholding exposed to painful struggles the heart of a man accustomed to conquer fortune, and advance with a firm step to the accomplishment of his great designs. The tears which this resolution has cost the emperor suffice for the glory of my mother. In the situation she will now fill, she will be no stranger by her wishes to the feeling of the new prosperities which await us; with a satisfaction mingled with pride, she will behold the happiness her sacrifices will produce to her country, and to her emperor."

A special commission of nine members was then appointed to report upon the act of divorce which was laid before them, and upon their report it was approved by ballot, and a decree passed for dissolving the marriage contract between the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Josephine. She was to preserve the title and rank of Empress Queen crowned; her dowry was fixed at an annual income of two millions of francs on the revenue of the state, and all the assignments which the emperor might make in her favour in the civil list were declared obligatory on his successors. Those wretched libellers, who act as panders for vulgar malignity, have heaped upon Josephine accusations not less false than they are foul. History will represent her not dishonourably; she was a gentle and benevolent woman, and had Buonaparte been equally worthy of the throne, the world might have honoured and blest the memory of both. It was not yet disclosed who was the empress elect; a princess of Saxony, or a sister of the czar was spoken of, the real object was never suspected, so improbable did such a degradation of the house of Austria appear. This divorce was the last of the numerous and important transactions of the year 1809.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

STATE PAPERS.

No. I.—*Mr Vansittart's Finance Resolutions.*

Resolved, (1.)—That the total amount of the public funded debt of Great Britain was, on the 1st February, 1803, 567,008,978l., of which 67,255,915l. had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, and 19,180,587l. had been transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed, leaving a funded debt unredeemed of 480,572,476l.; and that the amount of annuities charged on Great Britain (after deducting what had fallen in) was, on the 1st of February, 1803, in short annuities and annuities for lives, 539,979l., and in long annuities 1,015,410l.

(2.)—That the total amount of public funded debt created in Great Britain for account of Ireland was, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, 22,348,000l.; of which there had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, 1,123,415l.; leaving a funded debt unredeemed of 21,224,585l., together with long annuities to the amount of 9,794l.

(3.)—That the total amount of public funded debt created in Great Britain for account of the Emperor of Germany, was, on the 1st of February, 1803, 7,502,633l.; of which 375,137l. had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, leaving a funded debt unredeemed of 7,127,496l., together with annuities to the amount of 230,000l., which will expire in 1819.

(4.)—That the amount of the outstanding demands unprovided for on the 5th January, 1803, exclusive of unfunded debt, and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 592,630l. That the deficiency of ways and means for the year 1802 was 171,431l.; making the amount of demands unprovided for on the 5th January, 1803, 764,061l.

(5.)—That the unfunded debt, in exchequer bills unprovided for, or charged upon funds which proved insufficient, was, on the 5th Jan. 1803, 9,827,400l., including 3,000,000l. in the bank, which bore no interest, in consideration of the renewal of the charter.

That the unfunded debt in navy bills was, on the 5th January, 1803, 3,105,648l.

(6.)—That the total amount of the public funded debt of Great Britain, including therein the sum of 18,072,000l., charged upon the war

taxes in 1807, was, on the 1st of February, 1809, 701,229,514l.; whereof 141,808,116l. had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, and 23,214,395l. had been transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed, and 465,951l. by purchasers of life annuities, leaving a funded debt unredeemed of 535,741,052l. And that the amount of annuities charged on Great Britain (after deducting such as have fallen in) was, on the 1st of Feb. 1809, in short annuities and annuities for lives, 98,086l. including 32,514l. granted in consideration of stock transferred to the commissioners, and in long annuities 1,047,494l. And that a further debt, amounting to 21,278,122l. capital stock, and 51,233l. long annuities, has been created by the sums borrowed and exchequer bills funded in the present session of parliament, out of which 60,867l. five-per-cent. annuities of 1797 have been paid off.

(7.)—That the total amount of the public funded debt, created in Great Britain for account of Ireland, was, on the 1st Feb. 1809, 50,094,000l.; of which there had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt 5,580,389l., leaving a funded debt of 44,513,611l., together with long annuities to the amount of 91,208l. And that a further debt, amounting to 3,600,000l. capital stock, and 13,250l. long annuities, has been created by sums borrowed in the present session in Great Britain on account of Ireland.

(8.)—That the total amount of public funded debt created in Great Britain for account of the Emperor of Germany, was, on the 1st Feb. 1809, 7,502,633l.; of which 924,236l. had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, leaving a funded debt of 6,578,397l., together with annuities to the amount of 230,000l., which will expire in 1820.

(9.)—That the amount of outstanding demands unprovided for on the 5th Jan. 1809, exclusive of unfunded debt, and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 1,586,581l.; the whole of which has been paid off, or provided for, in the present session.

(10.)—That on the 5th Jan. 1809, there were 358,000l. in exchequer bills charged on the malt duties 1807, to the discharge of which those duties were insufficient; 17,659,700l. charged on the aids of 1809; 3,000,000l. held by the bank at 3 per cent. in consideration of the renewal of the charter, and 3,000,000l. on which an advance was made by the bank without interest in 1808, making a total of exchequer bills unprovided for, of 24,017,700l.; of which sum 7,932,100l. have been funded in the present session; and further issues to the amount of 7,5 0,700l. have been authorised by Parliament for the service of the year 1809.

That the unfunded debt in navy bills was on the 5th Jan. 1809, 7,221,167l.

(11.)—That the variations in the state of the public debt between the 1st of Feb. 1803, and the 1st Feb. 1810, being seven years of war, may be estimated as follows:—

The public funded debt of Great Britain, unredeemed, which, on the 1st Feb. 1803, was 480,572,476l. will amount to about 541,500,000l. after deducting about 14,500,000l. for the operation of the sinking fund, and the redemption of the land-tax during the current year; and about 1,000,000l. for stock transferred on account of life annuities, being an increase of capital stock of about 61,000,000l.

The public funded debt created in Great Britain for account of Ireland, unredeemed, which, on the 1st Feb. 1803, was 21,224,585l., will amount to 47,000,000l., after deducting 1,110,000l. for the operation of the sinking fund during the current year; being an increase of capital stock of 25,775,415l.

The long annuities of Great Britain, which, on the 1st Feb. 1803, were 1,015,410l. will amount to 1,098,727l., being an increase of annual charge of 83,317l.

The long annuities created in Great Britain for account of Ireland, which on the 1st of Feb. 1803, were 9,791l., will amount to 91,207l.; being an increase of annual charge of 81,416l.

The unfunded debt in exchequer bills, which, on the 5th of January, 1808, was 9,827,400l., will amount to 27,000,000l.; being an increase of 17,172,600l.

The unfunded debt in navy bills, which on the 5th of Jan. 1808, was 3,105,648l., will, supposing it to be the same as on the 5th of January, 1809, amount to 7,221,167l. being an increase of 4,115,519l.

The funded debt created in Great Britain for account of the Emperor of Germany, unredeemed, which, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, was 7,127,496l., will be reduced to 6,477,000l. after deducting 101,000l. for the operation of the sinking fund during the current year, being a diminution of capital stock of 650,496l.

The short annuities of Great Britain, and annuities for lives, which on the 1st of Feb. 1803, were 539,979l., will be reduced to about 170,000l. supposing 70,000l. to be further granted for stock transferred to the commissioners; being a diminution of annual charge of about 370,000l.

The sum applicable to the redemption of debt, which, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, was for the debt of Great Britain, 5,834,986l.; for debt created in Great Britain for account of Ireland, 258,434l.; for debt created in Great Britain for account of the Emperor of Germany, 47,947l.; making a total of 6,141,367l.; will amount to 10,524,000l. for the debt of Great Britain; 743,432l. for the debt created in Great Britain for account of Ireland; 67,318l. for the debt created in Great Britain for account of the Emperor of Germany,—making a total of 11,334,740l.; being an increase of 5,193,373l.

(12.)—That the annual charge on account of the public funded debt of Great Britain, after deducting the charges of management on loans redeemed by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, and the interest and charges of management on stock transferred for the redemption of the land-tax, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1803, 23,510,967l.; and on the 1st of Feb. 1809, 28,848,999l.; and that a further charge has been incurred on account of stock created in the present session, amounting to 1,143,566l.

(13.)—That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt of Great Britain, in pursuance of the several acts relating thereto, was, for the year 1803, 6,311,626l.; being about 1-77th part of the unredeemed debt existing in 1803; and may, for the year 1809, be estimated at 10,524,000l., being about 1-51st part of the unredeemed debt existing in 1809.

(14.)—That the total net produce of the permanent taxes in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, amounted to 28,246,681 l., including 715,323 l. paid for bounties on corn and rice imported in the year 1802; and on the

5th Jan. 1809, the total net produce of permanent taxes amounted to 32,380,212l.

(15.)—That the net produce of the war taxes was, in the year ending

5th April, 1804,		
Customs and excise,	£.3,377,442	
Property tax, -	363,877	
		3,741,319
5th April, 1805,		
Customs and excise,	7,868,078	
Property tax, -	3,919,108	
		11,787,186
5th April, 1806,		
Customs and excise,	8,496,550	
Property tax,	4,481,958	
		12,978,508
5th April, 1807,		
Customs and excise,	9,305,799	
Property tax, -	7,000,032	
		16,305,881
5th April, 1808,		
Customs and excise,	9,018,225	
Property tax, -	10,817,595	
		19,835,820
5th April, 1809,		
Customs and excise,	8,806,899	
Property tax, -	11,279,423	
		20,086,322

And that the net assessment of the property tax, on an average of the years 1806, 1807, and 1808, was - - 11,334,838

(16.)—That the net produce of the new and additional duties imposed each year, from the 5th of Jan. 1793 to the present year, on an average of the two years last past, or of the two last years, whereof a separate account has been laid before parliament, was respectively as follows: viz.

Year	Permanent Taxes.			War Taxes.	Total.
1793,	295,464				295,464
1794,	1,224,267				1,224,267
1795,	1,343,157				1,343,157
1796,	1,312,497				1,312,497
1797,	3,064,598				3,064,598
1798,	637,772	Aid and contributions collected in several years,		6,575,581	7,213,353
1799	128,093	Convoy duty on an average of two years	1,216,251	6,552,154	6,680,247
		Income duty on an average of three years	5,335,908		
1800,	946,362				946,362
1801,	1,993,627				1,993,627
1802,	4,817,333				4,817,333
1803,	536,641	Customs and excise,	7,391,954	12,046,619	12,583,260
		Property tax,	4,654,665		
1804,	1,101,236	Customs,		704,674	1,805,910
1805,	1,326,772	Property,		1,464,211	2,790,983
1806,	439,994	Customs and excise,	667,204	5,883,158	6,322,152
		Property,	5,215,954		
1807,	Nil.			Nil.	
1808, to 5 Jan. 1809,	274,080			35,025	309,105

(17.)—That the official value of all imports into Great Britain in the year ending 5th January, 1803, was 31,442,318l.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th Jan. 1803, was 28,419,626l.

That the official value of all imports into Great Britain in the year ending 5th Jan. 1809, supposing the imports from the East Indies (of which no account has yet been made up) to be the same as in the prece-

ding year, was 27,186,025l., and on an average of six years, ending the 5th Jan. 1809, was 28,735,862l.

(18.)—That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, was 26,993,129l.; and on an average of six years, ending 5th Jan. 1803, was 22,942,800l.:

That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain in the year ending 5th Jan. 1809, was 26,692,288l.; and on an average of six years, ending 5th Jan. 1809, was 25,076,425l.:

And, That the real value of British manufactures exported in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, may be estimated at 48,500,683l.; and in the year ending 5th January, 1809, at 40,881,671l.

(19.)—That the official value of foreign merchandise exported from Great Britain in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1803, was 14,418,837l., and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of January, 1803, was 11,651,333l.:

That the official value of Irish produce and manufactures exported from Great Britain in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1809, was 464,404l. and of foreign merchandise was 7,398,803l.; and on an average of three years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1809, the export of Irish produce was 362,952l., and of foreign merchandise, 8,431,332l.

(20.)—That in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1803, the number of British vessels entered inwards in Great Britain, was 13,622; their tonnage, 1,793,333; and the number of men employed in them 108,669:—That the number of British vessels cleared outwards was 13,012; their tonnage, 1,625,966; and the number of men employed in them 102,427:

That in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1803, the number of foreign vessels entered inwards in Great Britain was 3,733; their tonnage, 480,241; and the number of men employed in them 27,737:—And that the number of foreign vessels cleared outwards was 3,352; their tonnage, 461,823; and the number of men employed in them 26,749:

That in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1809, the number of British ships entered inwards in Great Britain was 11,305; their tonnage 1,311,966; and the number of men employed to navigate them 82,617:—That the number of British ships cleared outwards, was 11,917; their tonnage, 1,372,261; and the number of men employed to navigate them, 89,601:

That in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1809, the number of foreign ships entered inwards in Great Britain, was 1,926; their tonnage 283,657; and the number of men employed in them 15,540:—That the number of foreign ships cleared outwards was 1,892; their tonnage 282,145; and the number of men employed in them 15,671.

(21.)—That the number of British ships built and registered in the several ports of the British empire in the year ending

			Tonnage.
5th Jan. 1803, was	1,281	-	137,508
5th Jan. 1804, -	1,402	-	135,349
5th Jan. 1805, -	991	-	95,979
5th Jan. 1806, -	966	-	89,975
5th Jan. 1807, -	772	-	69,198
5th Jan. 1808, -	770	-	68,000
5th Jan. 1809, -	542	-	52,146

(22.)—That the total sum to be provided by Great Britain, within the year 1809, may be estimated as follows; viz.

Interest of public funded debt, charges of management and sinking fund on the 1st Feb. 1809, - - - - - - - - - -		£28,848,999
Interest, charges of management, &c., to be paid between the 1st of Feb. 1809 and 5th of Jan. 1810, on stock created in the present session, to the amount of 21,278,122l., after deducting interest on 5 per cent. 1797, paid off, about - - - - - - - - - - - - -		809,000
Interest of imperial loan - - - - - - - - - -		495,963
Civil government of Scotland, pensions on revenue, militia, and deserters' warrants, bounties for promoting fisheries, &c., estimated to be the same as in the year ending 5th Jan. 1809, - - - - - - -		1,301,139
Charges of collection and management of the revenue, estimated to be the same as in the year ending 5th Jan. 1809 - - - - - - -		2,816,568
Proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain of the civil list and other charges on the consolidated fund of Great Britain, estimated to be the same as in the year ending 5th of Jan. 1809, 15-17ths of 1,405,552l. - -		1,240,193
Supplies voted 1809 for Great Britain exclusively - -	1,927,078	
Supplies voted in 1809 for Great Britain and Ireland 51,934,212l. -		
Deduct proportion of supplies and civil list to be defrayed by Ireland, 2-17ths, 6,273,966 - - - - - -	45,660,246	
		47,587,324
Making in the whole the sum of - - - - - - - -		£. 83,099,186

(23.)—That the funds applicable to discharge the sum to be provided by Great Britain for the year 1809, may be estimated as follows; viz.

The gross receipt of the permanent revenue, including taxes annually voted, after deducting drawbacks, &c. estimated to be the same as in the year ended 5th Jan. 1809 - - - - - - - - -	£. 40,976,075
War Taxes, appropriated to the charge of loans, 1807 and 1809, -	2,240,000
Estimated further produce, to the 5th Jan. 1810, of taxes imposed in 1808,	350,000
Estimated produce, to the 5th Jan. 1810, of taxes imposed in the present session, - - - - - - - - - - - - -	52,500
Small branches of the hereditary revenue, and imprest monies repaid, estimated to be the same as in the year ended 5th Jan. 1809, - - -	208,715
Lottery, deducting the proportion for Ireland, - - - - -	300,000
War taxes, to the 5th April, 1810, - - - - - - -	19,000,000
Advance to Portugal, to be repaid, - - - - - - -	150,000
Loan, - - - - - - - - - - - - -	11,000,000
Surplus of ways and means 1808, - - - - - - -	2,757,352
Exchequer bills to be issued, - - - - - - - -	7,510,700
Total, - - - - - - - - - - - - -	£. 84,545,342

(24.)—That the total amount of the public funded debt of Ireland, on the 1st of February, 1803, including 26,268,667l. Irish currency, funded in Great Britain, was 39,541,258l. of which 2,146,794l. had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, leaving a funded debt unredeemed of 37,394,464l.; and that the amount of annuities payable by Ireland, after deducting what had fallen in was, in annuities for lives by survivorship, 48,900l. and in annuities for terms of years, 80,525l.

(25.)—That the amount of unfunded debt and demands outstanding in Ireland on the 5th Jan. 1803, was 1,492,687l.

(26.)—That the total amount of the public funded debt of Ireland, including 56,326,834l. funded in

Great Britain, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1809, 76,110,856l. Irish currency, of which 9,008,829l. had been purchased by the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, leaving a funded debt unredeemed of 67,102,027l.; and that the amount of annuities payable by Ireland on the 1st of Feb. 1809, was in annuities for lives by survivorship 48,900l., and in annuities for terms of years 168,726l.; and that a further debt will be created by loans raised in the present session of parliament, amounting to 5,400,000l. capital stock, and 14,354l. long annuity.

(27.)—That the amount of unfunded debt and demands outstanding in Ireland, on the 5th of Jan. 1809, was 570,744l.; and that a further unfunded debt will be created by loans raised in the present session of Parliament, amounting to 114,062l.

(28.)—That the annual charge on account of interest, management, and redemption of the public funded debt of Ireland, including 129,425l. for annuities, was on the 1st of Feb. 1803, 1,997,451l. and on the 1st of Feb. 1809, 3,663,321l. including 217,626l. for annuities; and that a further charge was incurred on account of the sums borrowed in the present session of Parliament, of 264,000l.

(29.)—That the variations in the state of the public debt of Ireland, between the 1st of Feb. 1803, and the 1st of Feb. 1810, being seven years of war, may be estimated as follows:

The public funded debt of Ireland unredeemed, which on the 1st of February, 1803, was 37,394,464l. Irish currency, will amount to about 70,700,000l. after deducting 1,800,000l. for the operation of the sinking fund during the current year; being an increase of the capital stock of about 33,300,000l.

The unfunded debts and demands outstanding, supposing such outstanding demands on the 5th of Jan. 1810 to be equal to what they were on the 5th of Jan. 1809, will amount to about 684,809l.; being a diminution of 807,878l.

(30.)—That the sum applicable to the redemption of the public funded debt of Ireland, which on the 1st of Feb. 1803, was 464,198l., being about 1-86th part of the unredeemed debt then existing, was on the 1st of Feb. 1809, 1,282,354l. being about 1-52d part of the unredeemed debt, and may be estimated to amount on the 1st of Feb. 1810, to about 1,396,000l.

(31.)—That the total net payments into the exchequer on account of the ordinary revenue of Ireland, in the year ending 5th of Jan. 1803, was 3,314,293l., and in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1809, 4,571,250l.

(32.)—That the official value of all imports into Ireland, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1803, was 6,087,741l.:—And,

That the official value of all imports into Ireland, in the year ending the 5th of January, 1809, was 7,129,507l.

(33.)—That the official value of Irish produce and manufactures exported from Ireland in the year ending the 5th of January, 1803, was 4,876,070l. and the real value thereof 2,876,817l.:—And,

That the official value of Irish produce and manufactures exported in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1809, was 5,696,897l. and the real value thereof 12,577,517l.

That the official value of foreign merchandise exported from Ireland

in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1803, was 212,203l.; and in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1809, 235,694l.

(34.)—That the number of Irish vessels which entered inwards in Ireland, in the year ending 5th Jan. 1803, was 1,408; their tonnage, 98,101; and their men, 7,001:—Of British vessels, 5,826; their tonnage, 535,819; and their men, 31,805:—And the number of foreign vessels, 366; their tonnage 58,560; and their men, 3,791.

That in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1809, the number of Irish vessels which entered inwards was ,583; their tonnage, 111,614; and heir men, 7,485:—The number of British vessels, 7,189; their tonnage, 696,403; and their men, 38,426:—And the number of foreign vessels, 159; their tonnage, 25,356; and their men 1,580.

(35.)—That the total amount of the public expenditure of Great Britain, exclusive of the charge of loan raised for the service of Ireland, for ten years ending the 5th of Jan. 1803, comprising the whole period of the war terminated by the peace of Amiens, may be stated at about 503,378,540l.; whereof 178,520,454l. arose from the charge of the public funded and unfunded debt, and 324,858,086l. from all other services; and that about 251,909,953l. was raised by the ordinary revenue and incidental payments of different kinds, about 32,679,000l. by extraordinary war taxes, 220,095,607l. by additions to the public funded debt, 3,000,000l. by an advance from the bank without interest, in consideration of the renewel of the charter, and an advance of 3,000,000l. from the bank in 1798, of which 1,500,000l. was repaid in 1803.

(36.)—That the total amount of the public expenditure of Great Britain, exclusive of the charge of loans raised for the service of Ireland, for six years ending the 5th Jan. 1809, being the six first years of the present war, may be stated at about 395,945,599l.; whereof 166,445,052l. arose from the charge of the public funded and unfunded debt, and 229,701,647l. from all other services; and that about 224,403,222l. has been raised by the ordinary revenue and incidental payments of various kinds, 92,240,000l. by extraordinary war taxes, 81,168,418l. by additions to the public funded debt, and 3,500,000l. by an advance without interest from the bank.

(37.)—That if the sum raised by war taxes previously to the peace of Amiens, had been added to the loans of each year, and raised at the same rate at which such loans were actually raised in each year respectively, a further charge would have been incurred, of 48,678,000l. capital stock, and 1,850,000l. annual charge to be raised by permanent taxes.

(38.)—That if the sum raised by war taxes during the first six years of the present war, had been added to the loan of each year, and raised at the same rate at which such loans were actually raised in each year, a further charge would have been incurred, of 132,969,000l. capital stock, and 6,755,000l. annual charge to be raised by permanent taxes.

No. II.

List of Public Acts passed in the Third Session of the Fourth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; 49th of George III.

Cap. I. An act for continuing to

his majesty certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain; and on pensions, offices, and personal estates in England, for the service of the year 1809.

2. An act for raising the sum of 10,500,000l. by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

3. An act for raising the sum of 1,500,000l. by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

4. An act to allow a certain proportion of the militia of Great Britain to enlist voluntarily into the regular forces.

5. An act to allow a certain proportion of the militia in Ireland voluntarily to enlist into his majesty's regular forces.

6. An act for the relief of prisoners in custody for non-payment of money pursuant to orders of courts of equity.

7. An act to prohibit the distillation of spirits from corn or grain, in the united kingdom, for a limited time.

8. An act to suspend the importation of British or Irish made spirits into Great Britain or Ireland respectively, until the 1st of June, 1809.

9. An act to grant bounties on the importation of flax seed into Ireland from Great Britain, until the 8th day of April, 1809; and to amend the laws for the regulation of the linen manufacture in Ireland, so far as relates to importers of flax seed.

10. An act to continue so much of an act of the 47th year of his present majesty, as allows a bounty upon double-refined sugar exported, until the 25th of March, 1811; and so much of the same act as allows a bounty on raw sugar exported until the 25th of March, 1810.

11. An act for further continuing, until the 25th of March, 1810, certain bounties and drawbacks on the exportation of sugar from Great Britain; and for suspending the countervailing duties and bounties on sugar, when the duties imposed by an act of the 46th year of his present majesty shall be suspended.

12. An act for punishing mutiny and desertion; and for the better payment of the army and their quarters.

13. An act for the more effectually preventing the forging of bank notes, bank bills of exchange, and bank post bills, and the negociation of forged and counterfeited bank notes, bank bills of exchange, and bank post bills, of the governor and company of the bank of Ireland.

14. An act for repealing an act of the Parliament of Scotland, relative to child murder; and for making other provisions in lieu thereof.

15. An act to indemnify such persons in the united kingdom as have omitted to qualify themselves for offices and employments, and for extending the times limited for those purposes respectively, until the 25th of March, 1810; and to permit such persons in Great Britain as have omitted to make and file affidavits of the execution of indentures of clerks to attornies and solicitors, to make and file the same on or before the 1st day of Hilary Term, 1810.

16. An act to allow the importation of rum and other spirits from the island of Bermuda into the province of Lower Canada, without payment of duty, on the same terms and conditions as such importation may be made directly from his majesty's sugar colonies in the West Indies.

17. An act to authorise his majesty, during the present war, to make regulations respecting the trade and commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

18. An act for continuing until the 25th day of March, 1814, several acts for the free importation of cochineal and indigo; and until the 25th of March, 1819, an act of the 46th year of his present majesty, to permit the exportation of wool from the British plantations in America.

19. An act for the regulation of his majesty's royal marine forces while on shore.

20. An act to make perpetual several laws relating to the encouragement of the silk manufactures; to the allowing the importation of rape seed, and other seeds used for extracting oil, whenever the prices of middling British rape seed shall be above a certain limit; to the encouraging the growth of coffee in his majesty's plantations in America; and for amending and making perpetual several laws relating to the preventing the clandestine running of goods, and the danger of infection thereby; and to the allowing the importation of seal skins cured with foreign salt free of duty.

21. An act for granting annuities to discharge certain exchequer bills.

22. An act for allowing the importation and exportation of certain goods and commodities into and from the port of Falmouth, in the island of Jamaica.

23. An act for further continuing until the 25th of March, 1810, an act made in the 39th year of his present majesty, for prohibiting the exportation from and permitting the importation to Great Britain of corn; and for allowing the importation of other articles of provision without payment of duty.

24. An act for charging with duty spent wash, re-distilled in Great Britain.

25. An act to permit, until the 25th of March, 1811, the importation of tobacco into Great Britain, from any place whatever.

26. An act for allowing until the 25th of March, 1810, the importation of certain fish from parts of the coast of his majesty's North American colonies; and for granting a bounty thereon.

27. An act for establishing courts of judicature in the island of Newfoundland and the islands adjacent; and for re-annexing part of the coast of Labrador and the islands lying on the said coast to the government of Newfoundland.

28. An act to enable the clerks of the king's coroner and attorney in the Court of King's Bench to be admitted as attornies.

29. An act for the appropriation of 20,000l. out of the consolidated fund of Ireland, toward the encouragement of the saving of flax seed for sowing in Ireland.

30. An act to continue until the 25th of March, 1810, certain acts for regulating the drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of sugar from Ireland, and for warehousing in Ireland rum or spirits of the British sugar plantations.

31. An act to continue until the 25th day of March, 1810, an act of the 41st year of his present majesty, for prohibiting the exportation from Ireland, and for permitting the importation into Ireland, duty free, of corn, and other provisions.

32. An act for continuing and making perpetual several duties of 1s.

6d., repealed by an act of the last session of Parliament, on offices and employments of profit, and on annuities, pensions, and stipends, and thereby granted for one year to the 25th of March, 1809.

33. An act to grant an excise duty on spirits made or distilled from sugar in Ireland, during the prohibition of distillation from corn or grain there, in lieu of the excise duty now chargeable thereon, and to allow a drawback on the export thereof to foreign parts.

34. An act to permit the registry at Malta of ships taken as prize.

35. An act for the more convenient payment of pensions to widows of officers of the navy.

36. An act to amend an act made in the 45th year of his present majesty, for amending and rendering more effectual an act of the Parliament of Ireland, for erecting and establishing public infirmaries or hospitals.

37. An act for increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to innkeepers and others on quartering soldiers.

38. An act for further continuing until the 25th of July, 1811, an act made in the 33d year of his present Majesty, for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

39. An act for making compensation to the proprietors of such lands and hereditaments as have been purchased for better securing his Majesty's docks, ships, and stores at Portsmouth; and for extending the lines and works at Dover; in pursuance of an act made in the 46th year of his present Majesty.

40. An act to amend and render more effectual an act, passed in the last session of parliament, for enabling his Majesty to establish a permanent local militia force, under certain restrictions, for the defence of the realm.

41. An act to amend an act made in the 48th year of his present Majesty, to provide that British ships captured by the enemy becoming the property of British subjects, shall not be entitled to the privilege of British ships.

42. An act for better regulating the public records of Scotland.

43. An act for regulating the mode in which the average price of brown or Muscovado sugar, exclusive of the duty thereon, is to be ascertained under the provisions of an act passed in the 46th year of his present Majesty.

44. An act to permit goods brought in as prize, and restored by the court of Admiralty, or which have been seized as droits, and so restored, to be sold or transferred within this kingdom, without paying the home-consumption duty.

45. An act for more conveniently paying of allowances on the compassionate list of the navy, and of half pay to officers of the royal marines.

46. An act to authorise the principal officers of the customs in the British colonies and plantations in America and the West Indies, to examine witnesses on oath.

47. An act to permit certain articles, the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, to be laden and shipped on board ships arriving with British North American produce, and fish taken by settlers in the British North American colonies, at any port of Europe, in order to be exported to the principal ports in the British colonies and plantations in North America.

48. An act to amend and render

more effectual an act, passed in the last session of Parliament, for enabling his Majesty to establish a permanent local militia force in Scotland, under certain restrictions, for the defence of the realm.

49. An act to authorise his Majesty to permit, until the 25th of March, 1812, any goods and commodities to be imported into and exported from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, in any ship or vessel whatsoever.

50. An act to amend so much of an act made in the 37th year of his present Majesty, for granting to his Majesty certain stamp duties, as relates to the limitation according to which the discount of newspapers is regulated.

51. An act to continue until the 1st of August, 1810, and amend certain acts for appointing commissioners to inquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments received in several public offices in Ireland; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same, and into the mode of receiving, collecting, issuing, and accounting for public money in Ireland.

52. An act for raising the sum of 6,000,000l. by exchequer bills, for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

53. An act for completing the militia of Great Britain.

54. An act for the relief of certain insolvent debtors in Ireland.

55. An act for rectifying mistakes in the names of the commissioners appointed by an act of the last session of parliament, for appointing commissioners for carrying into execution an act of this session of Parliament for granting to his Majesty a duty on pensions and offices in England, and an act made in the 38th year of his present Majesty, for granting an aid to his Majesty by a land-tax to be raised in Great Britain for the service of the year 1798, and for appointing other commissioners, together with those named in the first-mentioned act, to put in execution an act of this session of Parliament for continuing to his Majesty certain duties on malt, sugar, tobacco, and snuff, in Great Britain, and on pensions, offices, and personal estates in England, for the service of the year 1809, also the said act made in the 38th year of his present Majesty; and for indemnifying such persons as have acted as commissioners for executing the said acts.

56. An act for completing the militia of Ireland.

57. An act for improving the quality of beer in Ireland, by further preventing the use of unmalted corn, or of any deleterious or unwholesome ingredients therein, and for the better securing the collection of the malt duties in Ireland.

58. An act to explain and render more effectual an act, passed in the Parliament of Ireland in the 36th year of his present Majesty's reign, for the encouragement and relief of friendly societies.

59. An act to permit the trade between Great Britain and the United States of America to be carried on in ships or vessels belonging to the inhabitants of the said states.

60. An act for allowing the importation from any port in Europe, or Africa, of goods or commodities the growth or produce of any country, until six months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

61. An act for making sugar and coffee of Martinique and Mariegalante liable to duty on importation as

sugar and coffee not of the British plantations.

62. An act to amend several acts for the prevention of smuggling; for better securing the duties on coals, culm, and cinders; and for permitting the exportation of salt, pepper, and wine from Guernsey or Jersey to Sark, in small packages.

63. An act for repealing the duties on the materials used in making spread window glass and crown glass, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof, and for the better collection of the said duties.

64. An act to amend an act, passed in the last session of Parliament, for enabling the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt to grant life annuities.

65. An act for giving jurisdiction to justices of the peace to hear and determine prosecutions for penalties incurred by any offence against the laws relating to the revenue of customs; and also requiring all goods, customable and not exciseable, seized by any police or peace officer, to be brought to the custom-house warehouse in London within a certain period.

66. An act for the abolition of certain holidays, and for altering and extending the time for keeping open the chief office of excise.

67. An act to amend an act passed in the 46th year of his present Majesty, for the redemption and sale of the land-tax, and to make further provision for exonerating small livings and charitable institutions from the land-tax.

68. An act to explain and amend the law of bastardy, so far as relates to indemnifying parishes in respect thereof.

69. An act to indemnify persons who have inadvertently printed, published, or dispersed papers or books without a full description of the place of abode of the printers thereof, from penalties incurred under an act of the 39th year of his Majesty's reign.

70. An act to amend an act passed in the 48th year of his present Majesty, to enable his Majesty's postmaster-general of Ireland to purchase premises for the enlargement of the general post-office in the city of Dublin.

71. An act for raising the sum of 14,600,000l. by way of annuities.

72. An act to continue until the 25th of March, 1811, certain acts of the Parliament of Ireland, for the improvement of the city of Dublin, by making wide and convenient passages through the same, and for regulating the coal trade thereof, and for other purposes.

73. An act to grant to his Majesty duties upon spirits made or distilled in Ireland, and upon British spirits imported into Ireland, and upon licenses to sell spirituous liquors in Ireland in quantities not less than two gallons.

74. An act to continue until the 5th day of July, 1810, several acts for granting certain rates and duties, and for allowing certain drawbacks and bounties on goods, wares, and merchandise, imported into and exported from Ireland.

75. An act to provide for the better collection of the duties and taxes on carriages, servants, horses, and dogs, in Ireland.

76. An act for vesting in the lord lieutenant of Ireland, by advice of the privy council, the power of prohibiting the exportation and carrying coastwise of gunpowder, saltpetre, arms, ammunition, and naval stores.

77. An act to amend the several

acts for securing the duties on paper made in Ireland.

78. An act for raising the sum of 1,250,000l., by way of annuities and treasury bills for the service of Ireland.

79. An act for raising the sum of 500,000l., by treasury bills for the service of Ireland for the year 1809.

80. An act for allowing dealers to roast their own coffee on certain conditions.

81. An act to amend several laws of excise relating to paper, silks, and salt, and for authorising the seizure of utensils in cases where vessels used in excise manufactories are subject to forfeiture.

82. An act to amend several acts passed in the last and present sessions of Parliament relating to the local militia.

83. An act for the amendment of the laws now in force in Ireland, relative to persons entering into recognizances in criminal cases, in custody under any fine, or under such recognizance.

84. An act for amending the Irish road acts.

85. An act for defraying until the 25th day of March, 1810, the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Ireland; for holding courts martial on serjeant-majors, serjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time such militia shall not be embodied; and for making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the said militia during peace.

86. An act to make provision, in certain cases, for the wives and families of ballotted men, substitutes, and volunteers, serving in the militia of Ireland.

87. An act for defraying the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia and local militia in Great Britain for the year 1809.

88. An act for making allowances, in certain cases, to subaltern officers of the militia in Great Britain, while disembodied.

89. An act to revive and continue until 25th day of March, 1810, and to amend so much of an act made in the 39th and 40th year of his present Majesty, as grants certain allowances to adjutants and serjeant-majors of the militia of England, disembodied under an act of the same session of Parliament.

90. An act for providing relief for the wives and families of the militia-men in Scotland, when called into actual service.

91. An act to empower judges to try civil causes in their own counties in England.

92. An act for charging the sum of 11,000,000l. raised for the service of Great Britain for the year 1809, and the sum of 7,932,100l. in exchequer bills, funded, pursuant to an act of this session of Parliament, upon the duties granted to his Majesty during the continuance of the present war, and for certain periods after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

93. An act to enable the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury to issue exchequer bills, on the credit of such aids or supplies as have been or shall be granted by Parliament for the service of Great Britain, for the year 1809.

94. An act for granting to his Majesty a sum of money, to be raised by lotteries.

95. An act for further regulating the constitution of the board of commissioners for auditing the public accounts.

96. An act to provide for a durable allowance of superannuation to

the officers of excise, under certain restrictions.

97. An act for empowering the board of ordnance to exchange lands at Purfleet, in the county of Essex, for other lands in the said parish.

98. An act for repealing the several duties of customs chargeable in Great Britain, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

99. An act to amend the several acts for the regulating and securing the collection of the duties on spirits distilled in Ireland, and for the regulating the sale of such liquors by retail.

100. An act to amend the several acts for securing the collection of the duties on auctions in Ireland.

101. An act to regulate the fees payable by persons charged with treason, felony, and all other offences, at assizes and quarter-sessions in Ireland; and for amending an act of the Parliament of Ireland, made in the 36th year of his present Majesty, relating thereto.

102. An act to appoint commissioners to inquire and examine, until the 1st day of August, 1811, into the nature and extent of the several bogs in Ireland, and the practicability of draining and cultivating them, and the best means of effecting the same.

103. An act to amend an act, made in the last session of Parliament, for making provision for the building and rebuilding of churches, chapels, and glebe houses in Ireland.

104. An act to amend several acts, made in the Parliament of Ireland, for granting life annuities with benefit of survivorship.

105. An act to continue, until the 25th day of March, 1810, an act of this present session of Parliament, to suspend the importation of British or Irish made spirits into Great Britain or Ireland respectively.

106. An act for allowing further time for taking goods out of warehouse, and paying duties thereon.

107. An act for the more effectual recovery of penalties and forfeitures incurred in the British colonies and plantations in America.

108. An act to amend the several acts respecting the payment of wages and prize money, and allotment of wages, to persons serving in his Majesty's royal navy.

109. An act to repeal several acts respecting the woollen manufacture; and to amend other acts relating to the said manufacture; and for allowing persons employed in any branch of the woollen manufacture to set up trade in any place in Great Britain.

110. An act to rectify a mistake in an act, made in this session of Parliament, for continuing and making perpetual several duties of one shilling and six-pence on offices and employments.

111. An act to continue until the 25th day of March, 1811, an act of the 45th year of his present Majesty, for appointing commissioners to inquire into the public expenditure, and the conduct of the public business in the military departments therein mentioned.

112. An act to amend an act, passed in the 44th year of his present Majesty, to provide for the defence of the realm, with respect to the purchase of lands and hereditaments for the public service.

113. An act for better regulating the office of agent-general for volunteers and local militia.

114. An act for enabling his Majesty to raise the sum of 3,000,000l. for the service of Great Britain.

115. An act for the relief of certain insolvent debtors in England.

116. An act to make further provision for the execution of the several acts relating to the revenues, matters, and things, under the management of the commissioners of customs and port duties, and of the commissioners of inland excise and taxes, in Ireland.

117. An act for lowering the duty of excise on coffee, of the growth of his Majesty's dominions in Africa.

118. An act for better securing the independence and purity of Parliament, by preventing the procuring or obtaining of seats in Parliament by corrupt practices.

119. An act to give to the persons named by his Majesty, pursuant to an act, passed in the last session of Parliament, intituled, 'An Act concerning the Administration of Justice in Scotland, and concerning Appeals to the House of Lords,' further time for making their report or reports.

120. An act for amending and reducing into one act of Parliament the several laws for raising and training the militia of Ireland.

121. An act to alter and amend the laws relating to bankrupts.

122. An act for preventing frauds and depredations committed on merchants, ship-owners, and underwriters, by boatmen and others; and also for remedying certain defects relative to the adjustment of salvage in England, under an act made in the 12th year of Queen Anne.

123. An act to explain and amend an act, made in the 45th year of his present Majesty, for the encouragement of seamen, and for the better and more effectually manning his Majesty's navy during the present war; and for the further encouragement of seamen, and for the better and more effectually providing for the interest of the Royal Hospital for seamen at Greenwich, and the Royal Hospital for soldiers at Chelsea; and to extend the provisions of the said act to cases arising in consequence of hostilities commenced since the passing of the said act.

124. An act for altering, amending, and explaining certain acts relative to the removal of the poor, and for making regulations in certain cases touching the examination of paupers as to their settlement; and for extending to all parishes certain rules and orders in workhouses, under an act of the 22d year of his present Majesty, intituled, 'An Act for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor.'

125. An act to amend an act, made in the 33d year of his present Majesty, for the encouragement and relief of friendly societies.

126. An act for the further prevention of the sale and brokerage of offices.

127. An act for further augmenting the salaries of certain of the judges of the courts in Westminster Hall, and of the chief and second justice of Chester, and justices of the great sessions in Wales.

128. An act for granting to his Majesty certain sums of money out of the consolidated fund of Great Britain, and for applying certain monies therein mentioned for the service of the year 1809; and for further appropriating the supplies granted in this session of Parliament.

129. An act to prevent the enlisting of local militia-men into the regular militia of any other county or stewartry than the county or stewartry to which they belong.

No III.

"In the name of God—We Gustavus Adolphus, by the grace of God, King of Sweden, &c. make known, that having been proclaimed king this day seven years back, and ascended, with a bleeding heart, a throne stained with the blood of a beloved and revered father, we regret not being able to promote the true welfare and honour of this ancient realm, inseparable from the happiness of a free and independent people. Now, whereas we are convinced that we cannot any longer continue our royal functions, and preserve tranquillity and order in this kingdom, therefore we consider it as our sacred duty to abdicate our royal dignity and crown, which we do hereby, free and uncompelled, to pass our remaining days in the fear and worship of God, wishing that all our subjects and their descendants may enjoy more happiness and prosperity in future, through the mercy and blessing of God, and revere the king. In testimony and confirmation thereof we have personally written and signed the present, and corroborated it with our royal seal.

(L.S.) GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

"Gripsholm Castle, the 19th March, in the year of the nativity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, 1809."

No IV.

"We, the undersigned Grand Seneschal, Marshal and States, &c. of Sweden do hereby make known, for ourselves, and in our capacity as deputies of our fellow-citizens, lawfully elected and empowered, that in consequence of a meeting of the states having been called by his Royal Highness Charles, Hereditary Prince of Sweden, Duke of Sudermania, &c. Regent of Sweden, we have been convinced, by our own experience, as well as by explanation communicated to us in this place, of the calamitous state of the kingdom, both with regard to its domestic concern and its relation with foreign powers. We have found, with the deepest concern, that the peaceful situation in which our country was placed, with respect to all foreign courts and powers, was destroyed by his Majesty Gustavus Adolphus IV. and a war commenced and carried on several years, which was not occasioned by reasons connected with the interests of Sweden, which might have been easily avoided, which more than once might have been terminated without making any sacrifices, and which led at last to the most disastrous results; that the former prosperous condition of the kingdom was thereby converted into universal misery and distress; agriculture was deprived of the necessary arms to cultivate the ground, and the mines fell into decay; that the state was burthened with debts, amounting to several millions, and the subjects with oppressive taxes; that the military forces of the country, partly raised by illegal means, were sacrificed, without necessity or benefit, to the state; that first the German dominion, and soon after a valuable third part of Sweden, the Duchy of Finland, were lost in an unequal conflict with an enemy far superior in force; that, notwithstanding such severe misfortunes, and unquestionable proof of the dissolution of the empire, the king obstinately refused to enter into any negociations of peace, or any agreement with a power possessed of a decisive influence over the fate of the continent; that the whole country was thus exposed to the most imminent danger of utter destruction; and lastly, that the king made an arbitrary

attempt, not warranted by law, against the bank of the states, the sacred property of the whole nation. Considering all those painful circumstances, and being deeply impressed with a lively sense of our duty to save our native land, assert our national independence, and guard our safety both public and private, we have unanimously determined that the compact between the king and subjects is irrevocably dissolved, and that he has violated his oath and sacred duty. We have farther taken into consideration, that as the public welfare is and ought to be our supreme law, and that this imperiously demands the government of a king who has attained his full age, and that the present calamities of our country might in future times easily be renewed, under the influence of sentiments and principles inherited or impressed upon the mind by parental authority and the powerful suggestions of kindred: on those momentous grounds, supported by the voluntary act of abdication, personally signed by his Majesty, and this day read in the hall of the diet, we have unanimously made the following conclusion:—

"We hereby declare, that Gustavus Adolphus IV. who was hitherto our king and lord, King of Sweden, &c. has forfeited the crown of Sweden, and that not only for himself, but his issue, who, both born and not born, are hereby for ever excluded from the throne and government of Sweden.

SIGNED BY THE STATES.

"Stockholm, the 10th of May, in the year of our Lord, 1809."

No V.

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN SWEDEN AND RUSSIA.

Art. I. There shall henceforth be peace, friendship, and good understanding between his Majesty the King of Sweden and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias. The high contracting parties will make it their chief study to maintain a perfect harmony between themselves, their states, and subjects, and will carefully avoid whatever may hereafter disturb the union so happily re-established.

II. His majesty the Emperor of all the Russias having manifested the invariable resolution not to separate his interests from those of his allies, and his Swedish Majesty, wishing to give, in favour of his subjects, all the extent possible to the advantages of the peace, promises and engages, in the most solemn and binding manner, to neglect nothing which, on his part, may tend to the prompt conclusion of peace between him and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his Majesty the King of Denmark and Norway; by the means of the direct negociations already commenced with these powers.

III. His Majesty the King of Sweden, in order to give an evident proof of his desire to renew the most intimate relations with the august allies of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, promises to adhere to the continental system, with such modifications as shall be more particularly stipulated in the negociation which is about to be opened between Sweden, France, and Denmark.

Meanwhile, his Swedish Majesty engages, from the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, to order that the ports of the kingdom of Sweden shall be closed, both to the ships of war and merchantmen of Great Britain, with the exception of the importation of salt and colonial productions, which habit has rendered necessary to the people of Sweden.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias promises before hand, to consent to every modification which his allies may consider just and fit to be admitted in favour of Sweden, with respect to commerce and mercantile navigation.

IV. His Majesty the King of Sweden, as well for himself as for his successors to the throne and kingdom of Sweden, renounces irrevocably and in perpetuity, in favour of his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and his successors to the throne and empire of Russia, all his rights and titles to the governments hereafter specified, which have been conquered from the crown of Sweden by the arms of his imperial Majesty in the present war, namely—

The governments of Kymenagard, Nyland and Tavastchus, Abo and Bjorneborg, with the isles Aland, Savolax and Corelia, Wasa-Uleaborg, and part of West Bothnia extending to the river of Tornea, as shall be fixed in the subsequent article in the demarkation of the frontiers.

These governments, with all the inhabitants, towns, ports, fortresses, villages, and islands, as well as all the dependencies, prerogatives, rights, and emoluments, shall henceforth belong in full property and sovereignty to the empire of Russia, and shall remain incorporated with it.

To this effect his Majesty the King of Sweden promises, in the most solemn and obligatory manner, as well for himself as for his successors, and all the kingdom of Sweden, never to make any claim, direct or indirect, on the said governments, provinces, islands, and territories, all the inhabitants of which shall, in virtue of this renunciation, be relieved from the homage and oath of fidelity by which they are bound to the crown of Sweden.

V. The sea of Aland, (Alands Haf) the gulph of Bothnia, and the rivers of Tornea and Muonio, shall hereafter form the frontier between Russia and the kingdom of Sweden.

The nearest islands at an equal distance from the main-land of Aland and Finland shall belong to Russia, and those which are nearest to the Swedish coast shall belong to Sweden.

The most advanced points of the Russian territory at the mouth of the river of Tornea, shall be the isle of Bjorken, the port of Rentehamo, and the peninsula on which the town of Tornea stands. The frontier shall then be extended along the river Tornea to the confluence of the two branches of that river near Kengis. It shall then follow the course of the river Muonio, passing in the front of Muonioniska, Muonio Ofreby, Palajocus, Rultane, Enontelis, Kelottijorfo, Paitiko, Nuimaka, Raunula, and Kilpisjaure to Norway.

In the course of the rivers Tornea and Muonio, such as it has been described, the islands situated to the east of the Thalwag shall belong to Russia, and those to the west of the Thalwag to Sweden.

Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, engineers shall be appointed on each side, who shall proceed to the before-mentioned places to fix the limits along the rivers Tornea and Muonio according to the above-described line.

VI. His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias having already given the most manifest proofs of the clemency and justice with which he has resolved to govern the inhabitants of the countries which he has acquired, by generously and of his own spon-

taneous act, assuring to them the free exercise of their religion, rights, property, and privileges, his Swedish Majesty considers himself thereby dispensed from performing the otherwise sacred duty of making reservations in the above respects in favour of his former subjects.

VII. On the signature of the present treaty, information thereof shall be transmitted immediately, and with the greatest celerity, to the generals of the respective armies, and hostilities shall entirely cease on both sides, both by sea and land. Those acts of hostility which may in the mean time be committed, shall be regarded as null, and shall not infringe this treaty. Whatever may be, during the intervening period, taken or conquered on the one side or the other, shall be faithfully restored.

VIII. Within four weeks after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, the troops of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia shall evacuate West Bothnia, and repass the river Tornea.

During the said four weeks, there shall be made no requisition of any kind whatever on the inhabitants; and the Russian army shall draw its supplies and subsistence from its own magazines established in the towns of West Bothnia.

If during the negociations the imperial troops have penetrated in any other direction into the kingdom of Sweden, they shall evacuate the countries they have occupied in virtue of the before-stipulated conditions.

IX. All the prisoners of war made on either side, by sea or land, and all the hostages delivered during the war, shall be restored in mass, and without ransom, as speedily as possible; but at the latest within three months, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications; but if any prisoners may be prevented by sickness or other cause from returning into their country within the period specified, they shall not thereby be considered as having forfeited the right stipulated above. They shall be obliged to discharge or to give security for the debts they may have contracted during their captivity with the inhabitants of the country in which they may have been detained.

The expences which may have be[en] incurred by the high contracting pa[r]ties for all subsistence and maint[e]nance of the prisoners shall be recipr[o]cally renounced, and provision sha[ll] respectively be made for their su[b]sistence, and the expence of their jou[r]ney to the frontiers of both place[s] where commisioners from their sov[e]reigns shall be directed to recei[ve] them.

The Finland soldiers and seam[en] are, on the part of his Majesty th[e] Emperor of Russia, excepted fro[m] this restitution, with reference to th[e] capitulations which have taken plac[e] if they grant them a different righ[t]. The military and other officers, n[a]tives of Finland, who may wish t[o] remain, shall enjoy that privilege, an[d] the full exercise of all their righ[ts] over their property, debts, and effec[ts] which they have now, or may her[e]after have, in the kingdom of Swede[n] on the footing of the 10th article [of] the present treaty.

X. The Fins now in Sweden, [as] well as the Swedes now in Finlan[d] shall be at full liberty to return int[o] their respective countries, and to dispose of their property, moveable and immoveable, without paying any duty of removal, or any other impost due on the like occasions.

The subjects of the two high powers established in either country,

Sweden or Finland, shall have full liberty to establish themselves in the other during the space of three years, from the date of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty; but shall be held to sell or alienate during the said period, to any subject of the power whose dominions they desire to quit.

The property of those who, at the expiration of the above term, have not complied with this regulation, shall be sold at a public sale by authority of the magistrate, and the produce thereof delivered to the owners.

During the three years above fixed, it shall be allowable to all to make such use as they may please of their property, the peaceable enjoyment of which is formally secured and guaranteed to them.

They may themselves, or their agents, pass freely from one state to the other in order to manage their affairs, without experiencing any obstacle whatever, in consequence of their quality of subjects of the other power.

XI. There shall henceforth be a perpetual oblivion of the past, and a general amnesty for the respective subjects, whose opinions, in favour of one or the other of the high contracting parties during the present war, may have rendered them suspected or liable to punishment. No trial shall hereafter be instituted against them on such grounds. If any process have been commenced, it shall be annulled and superseded, and no new proceeding shall be commenced. All sequestrations of property or revenues shall in consequence be immediately removed, and the property shall be reserved to the owners; it being well understood, that such as become subjects of either of the two powers, in virtue of the preceding article, shall have no right to claim from the sovereign of whom they have ceased to be a subject, the annuities or pensions which may have been obtained in virtue of acts of grace, concessions, or appointments for preceding services.

XII. The titles, domains, archives, and other documents, public and private, the plans and charts of fortresses, towns, and territories, devolved by the present treaty to his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, including the charts and papers which may be deposited in the surveyor's office, shall be faithfully delivered up within the space of six months: or, if that period should be found too short, at the latest within one year.

XIII. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, the high contracting parties shall remove all sequestrations which may have been placed on the property or revenues of the respective inhabitants of the two countries, and the public establishments therein situated.

XIV. The debts, both public and private, contracted by the Fins in Sweden, and, *vice versa*, by the Swedes in Finland, shall be discharged on the terms and conditions stipulated.

XV. The subjects of either of the high contracting parties, to whom inheritance may fall in the states of one or the other, may, without obstacle, take possession of the same, and enjoy it under the protection of the laws. The exercise of this right, however, in Finland, is subject to the stipulations of article X. in virtue of which the proprietor shall either fix his residence in the country, or sell the inheritance within three years.

XVI. The duration of the treaty of commerce between the high contracting parties being limited to the 17th (29th) October, 1811, his Majesty the Emperor of Russia consents not to reckon its interruption during the war: and that the said treaty

shall continue in force until the 1st (13th) of February, 1813, with respect to every thing not contrary to the dispositions of the commercial manifesto issued at St Petersburgh, January 1st, 1809.

XVII. The territories incorporated with the Russian empire in virtue of this treaty, being attached to Sweden by commercial relations, which long intercourse, neighbourhood, and reciprocal wants have rendered almost indispensable, the high contracting parties, desirous of preserving to their subjects these means of mutual advantage, agree to make such arrangements as may be necessary for consolidating them. In the mean time, until they come to an understanding on this subject, the Fins shall have the power of importing from Sweden ore, smelted iron, lime, stones for building, smelting furnaces, and in general all the other productions of the soil of Sweden.

In return the Swedes may export from Finland, cattle, fish, corn, cloth, pitch, planks, wooden utensils of all kinds, wood for building, and, in general, all the other productions of the soil of the Grand Duchy.

This traffic shall be re-established and maintained to the 1st (13th) of October, 1811, precisely on the same footing as it was before the war, and shall be liable to no interruption or burthen, with the reservation of such restrictions as the political relations of the two states may render necessary.

XVIII. The annual exportation of 50,000 tschetwerts of corn purchased in the ports of the Gulph of Finland, or of the Baltic, belonging to Russia, is granted to his Majesty the King of Sweden, free of the export duty, on proof being shewn that the purchase has been made on his account, or in virtue of his authority.

Years of scarcity, in which the exportation shall be prohibited, are excepted, but the quantity in arrear in consequence of such order may be made up when the prohibition shall be removed.

XIX. With respect to salutes at sea, the two high contracting parties agree to regulate them on the footing of the most perfect equality between the two crowns. When their vessels of war meet at sea, the salutes shall take place in conformity to the rank of the commanders, in such manner that he who holds the superior rank shall receive the first salute, which shall be returned gun for gun. If the commanders are of equal rank, no salute shall take place on either side; before castles, fortresses, and at the entrance of ports, the party arriving shall salute first, and the salute shall be returned gun for gun.

XX. Difficulties which may arise on points not determined by this treaty, shall be discussed and settled by Ambassadors, or Ministers Plenipotentiary respectively appointed, who shall be guided by the spirit of conciliation which has dictated the treaty.

XXI. This treaty shall be ratified by the two contracting powers, and the ratifications exchanged in proper and due form within four weeks, or sooner if possible, reckoning from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In faith of which we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty of peace, and have thereto affixed our seals.

Done at Friedsicksham, this 5-17th of September, in the year of Grace, 1809.

Count NICHOLAS DE ROMANZOFF.
DAVID ALOPEUS.
Count STEDINCK.
A. F. SKJOLDEBRAND.

No VI.

Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Alliance, between his Britannic Majesty and his Catholic Majesty, Ferdinand the 7th, signed at London, the 14th day of January, 1809.

In the name of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity.—The events which have taken place in Spain having terminated the state of hostility which unfortunately subsisted between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, and united the arms of both against the common enemy, it seems good that the new relations which have been produced between two nations, now connected by common interest, should be regularly established and confirmed by a formal Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Alliance: wherefore, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Supreme and Central Junta of Spain and the Indies, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand 7th, have constituted and appointed; that is to say, his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable George Canning, one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, and his principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs; and the Supreme and Central Junta of government of Spain and the Indies, acting in the name and on the behalf of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand 7th, Don Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, commander of Vallaga and Algarga in the military order of Calatrava, rear admiral of the royal navy, named by the Supremé and Central Junta of government of Spain and the Indies, as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand 7th, to his Britannic Majesty; their plenipotentiaries, to conclude and sign a treaty of peace, friendship and alliance; who, having communicated their respective full powers, have agreed to and concluded the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be between his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand 7th, King of Spain and of the Indies thereunto appertaining, and between all their kingdoms, states, dominions, and subjects, a Christian, stable, and inviolable peace, and a perpetual and sincere amity, and a strict alliance during the war against France; together with an entire and lasting oblivion of all acts of hostility done on either side in the course of the late wars, in which they have been engaged against each other.

Art. II. To obviate all complaints and disputes which might arise on the subject of prizes, captured posterior to the declaration published by his Britannic Majesty on the 4th of July of the last year, it has been mutually agreed, that the vessels and property taken posterior to the date of the said declaration, in any seas or ports of the world, without any exception and without any regard either to time or place, shall be restored by both parties. And, as the accidental occupation of any of the ports of the peninsula by the common enemy might occasion disputes respecting any vessels, which in ignorance of such occupation might direct their course to those ports from any other harbour, either of the peninsula or the colonies; and as cases may occur in which Spanish inhabitants of the said ports or provinces so occupied by the enemy, may, with their property, endeavour to escape from his grasp, the high contracting parties

have agreed that Spanish vessels, not aware of the enemy's occupation of any harbour which they are desirous to enter, or such as may succeed in making their escape from any harbour so occupied, shall not be captured, nor themselves nor their cargo be considered as a good prize; but, on the contrary, that they shall meet with every help and assistance from the naval power of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. III. His Britannic Majesty engages to continue to assist, to the utmost of his power, the Spanish nation in their struggle against the tyranny and usurpation of France, and promises not to acknowledge any other King of Spain and of the Indies thereunto appertaining, than his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand 7th, his heirs, or such lawful successor as the Spanish nation shall acknowledge: and the Spanish government, in the name and on the behalf of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand 7th, engages never in any case to cede to France, any part of the territories or possessions of the Spanish monarchy, in any part of the world.

Art. IV. The high contracting parties agree to make common cause against France; and not to make peace with that power except by common consent.

Art. V. The present treaty shall be ratified by both parties, and the exchange of the ratifications shall be made in the space of two months (or sooner if it can be done) in London.

In witness thereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have signed, in virtue of our respective full powers, the present treaty of peace, friendship and alliance, and have sealed it with the seals of our arms.

Done at London 14th January, 1809.

(L. S.) GEORGE CANNING.
(L. S.) JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA.

Art. I. (Separate.) The Spanish government engages to take the most effectual measures for the preventing of the Spanish squadrons in all the ports of Spain, as well as of the French squadron taken in the month of June, and now in the harbour of Cadiz, from falling into the power of France. For which purpose his Britannic Majesty engages to co-operate by all means in his power.—The present separate Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted, word for word, in the treaty of peace, friendship and alliance signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time. In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have signed, in virtue of our respective full powers, the present separate Article, and have sealed it with the seals of our arms.

Done at London 14th January, 1809.

(L. S.) GEORGE CANNING.
(L. S.) JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA.

Art. II. (Separate.) A treaty shall forthwith be negociated, stipulating the amount and description of succours to be afforded by his Britannic Majesty, agreeable to the third Article of the present treaty.—The present separate Article shall have the same force and validity, as if it were inserted, word for word, in the treaty of peace, friendship and alliance signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have signed, in virtue of our respective full powers, the present separate Article, and have sealed it with the seals of our arms.

Done at London 14th January, 1809.

(L. S.) GEORGE CANNING.
(L. S.) JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA.

Additional Article.—The present circumstances not admitting of the regular negociation of a treaty of

commerce between the two countries, with all the care and consideration due to so important a subject, the high contracting parties mutually engage to proceed to such negociation as soon as it shall be practicable so to do; affording, in the mean time, mutual facilities to the commerce of the subjects of each other, by temporary regulations founded on principles of reciprocal utility.—The present additional Article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted, word for word, in the treaty of peace, friendship and alliance signed at London the 14th day of January, 1809.—In witness whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have signed, in virtue of our respective full powers, the present additional Article, and have sealed it with the seals of our arms.

Done at London, 21st March, 1809.

(L. S.) GEORGE CANNING.
(L. S.) JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA.

No. VII.

TREATY OF PEACE.

Napoleon by the grace of God, and the constitution of the empire, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, &c.

Having seen and considered the treaty concluded, determined, and signed at Vienna, on the 14th of this month, by the Sieur Nompere de Champagny, our minister for foreign affairs, in virtue of the full powers to that end given him by us, and the Prince John of Lichtenstein, Marshal of the armies of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, equally provided with full powers—which treaty is of the following tenor:—

"His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, Mediator of the League of Switzerland, and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, being equally animated with the desire of putting an end to the war which has arisen between them, have resolved to negociate forthwith a definitive treaty of peace, and for that purpose have appointed as their plenipotentiaries, namely,—

"His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, the Sieur Jean Baptiste Nompere, Count de Champagny, Duke of Cadore, grand eagle-bearer of the legion of honour, commander of the order of the iron crown, knight of the order of St Andrew of Russia, grand dignitary of that of the two Sicilies, grand cross of the orders of the black and red eagles of Prussia, of the order of St Joseph of Wurtzburg, of the order of fidelity of Baden, of the order of Hesse Darmstadt, his said Majesty's minister for foreign affairs; and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Sieur Prince John of Lichtenstein, knight of the order of the golden fleece, grand cross of the order of Maria Theresa, chamberlain, marshal of the armies of his said Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and proprietary commander of a regiment of horse in his service,—

"Who, having previously exchanged their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:—

"Art. I. There shall, from the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, be peace and friendship between his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, and his Majesty the Emperor

of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, their heirs and successors, their states and subjects respectively, for ever.

"II. The present peace is also declared to be common to his Majesty the King of Spain, his Majesty the King of Holland, his Majesty the King of Naples, his Majesty the King of Bavaria, his Majesty the King of Wirtemberg, his Majesty the King of Saxony, and his Majesty the King of Westphalia, his most eminent Highness the Prince Primate, their Royal Highnessess the Grand Duke of Baden, the Grand Duke of Berg, the Grand Duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, the Grand Duke of Wurtzburg, and all the princes and members of the League of the Rhine, the allies, in the present war, of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine.

"III. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, cedes, as well for himself, his heirs and successors, as for the princes of his house, their heirs and respective successors, the principalities, lordships, domains, and territories, herein-after-mentioned, and also all titles which may accrue from the possession of the same; and all properties, whether manorial or held by them under an especial title, lying within the said territories.

"I. He cedes and transfers to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, to form a part of the League of the Rhine, and to be placed at his disposition for the interest of the sovereigns of the league:—

"The territories of Saltzburg and Berchtolsgaden; that part of Upper Austria, situate on the further side of a line running from the Danube, at the village of Straas, therein comprehending Weissenkirch, Wedersdorff, Michelbach, Greist, Muckenhoffen, Helst and Jedina: thence in the direction of Schwandstadt, the town of Schwandstadt on the Aller, and thence ascending along the bank of that river, and the lake of the same name, to the point where the lake touches upon the territory of Saltzburg.

"His Majesty the Emperor of Austria shall only retain in property the woods, belonging to the Salz-Cammer-Gut, and forming part of the manor of Mondsee, with liberty to cut and carry thence the brushwood, but without enjoying any right of sovereignty upon that territory.

"II. He also cedes to his Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, the County of Goritia, the Manor of Montefalcone, the government and city of Trieste, Carniola, with its dependencies on the Gulf of Trieste, the circle of Willach, in Carinthia, and all the territories lying on the right bank of the Saave, from the point where that river leaves Carniola, along its course to where it touches the frontiers of Bosnia; namely, a part of Provincial Croatia, six districts of Military Croatia, Fiume, and the Hungarian Littorale, Austrian Istria, or the district of Castua, the islands depending on the ceded territories, and all other territories, howsoever named, upon the right bank of the Saave—the middle streams of the said river serving as the boundary between the two states.

"Lastly, the lordship of Radzuns lying in the Graubunderland.

"III. He cedes and makes over to his Majesty the King of Saxony, the territory of Bohemia depending upon and included in the territory of the kingdom of Saxony, namely, the parishes and villages of Guntersdorff, Tanbantranke, Gerlochsheim, Lengersdorff, Schirgiswald, Winkel, &c.

"IV. He cedes and makes over to the King of Saxony, to be united to the Duchy of Warsaw, the whole of Wester or new Gallicia, a district round Cracow, on the right bank of the Vistula, to be hereafter ascertained, and the circle of Zamosc, in Eastern Gallicia.

"The district round Cracow, upon the right bank of the Vistula, shall, in the direction of Podgorze, have for its circumference the distance from Podgorze to Wieliczka. The line of demarkation shall

pass through Wieliczka, and to the westward touch upon Scawina, and to the eastward upon the Beek, which falls into the Vistula at Bradegy.

"Wieliczka and the whole of the territory of the salt-pits shall belong in common to the Emperor of Austria and the King of Saxony. Justice shall be administered therein in the name of the municipal power; there shall be quartered there only the troops necessary for the support of the police, and they shall consist of equal numbers of those of both nations. The Austrian salt from Wieliczka, in its conveyance over the Vistula, and through the Duchy of Warsaw, shall not be subject to any toll-duties. Corn of all kinds, raised in Austrian Gallicia, may also be freely exported across the Vistula.

"His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and his Majesty the King of Saxony, may form such an arrangement with regard to these boundaries, as that the sun, from the point where it touches upon the circle of Zamosc, to its confluence with the Vistula, shall serve as the line of demarkation between both states.

"V. He cedes and makes over to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in the easternmost part of Gallicia, a tract of territory containing a population of 400,000 souls, the city of Bradi being, nevertheless, not therein included. This territory shall be amicably ascertained by commissioners on the part of both Empires.

"The Teutonic order having been abolished in the states of the League of the Rhine, his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, in the name of his Imperial Highness the Archduke Anthony, abdicates the grand mastership of that order in his states, and recognizes the dispositions taken with regard to the property of the order, locally situated out of the Austrian territory. Pensions shall be assigned to those who have been on the civil establishment of the order.

"V. The debts funded upon the territory of the ceded provinces, and allowed by the states of the said provinces, or accruing from expences incurred for their administration, shall alone follow the fate of those provinces.

"VI. The provinces which are to be restored to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria shall be administered for his behoof by the Austrian constituted authorities, from the day of exchanging the ratification of the present treaty, and the Imperial domains, wheresoever situated, from the 1st of November next. It is nevertheless understood, that the French army in this country shall take for their use whatever articles cannot be supplied by their magazines for the subsistence of the troops and the wants of the hospitals; and also whatever shall be necessary for the conveyance of their sick, and the evacuation of the magazines.

"An arrangement shall be made between the high contracting parties respecting all war contributions, of whatever denomination, previously imposed on the Austrian provinces occupied by the French and allied troops; in consequence of which arrangement the levying of the said contributions shall cease from the day of the exchange of the ratification.

VII. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, engages to give no obstruction to the importation or exportation of merchandize into and from Austria, by way of the port of Fiume; this, nevertheless, not being construed to include English goods or manufactures. The transit duties on the goods thus imported or exported shall be lower than upon those of all other nations, the kingdom of Italy excepted.

"An inquiry shall be instituted, to ascertain whether any advantages can be allowed to the Austrian trade, in the other ports ceded by this treaty.

"VIII. The titles of domains, archives, plans and maps of the countries, towns, and fortresses ceded, shall be given up within two months after the period of the ratification.

"IX. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, engages to discharge the yearly interest, arrears, and capitals, invested in securities of the government, states, bank, lottery, or other public establishments, by subjects, companies, or corporate bodies in France, the Kingdom of Italy, and the Grand Duchy of Berg.

"Measures shall also be taken to completely liquidate the sum due to Mont St Theresa, now Mont Napoleon, at Milan.

"X. His Majesty the Emperor of the French engages to procure a full and complete pardon for the inhabitants of the Tyrol and Voralberg, who have taken a part in the insurrection; so that they shall not be prosecuted either in person or property.

"His Majesty the Emperor of Austria equally engages to grant a full and complete pardon to those inhabitants of the territories of Gallicia, of which he returns into possession, whether civil or military, public officers, or private individuals, who have taken part in the levying of troops, or the formation of judicial or municipal administrations, or in any other proceeding whatsoever, during the war, which inhabitants shall not be prosecuted in their persons or property.

"They shall have permission, during a period of six years, to dispose of their properties, of whatever description they may be: to sell their estates, even those that have been considered inalienable, such as *fidei commissa* and *majoratus*; to leave the country, and to carry with them the produce of these sales, in specie, or effects of any other description, without paying any duty for the same, or experiencing any difficulty or obstruction.

"The same permission, and for the same period, shall be reciprocally allowed to the inhabitants and landholders in the territories ceded by the present treaty.

"The inhabitants of the Duchy of Warsaw, possessing landed estates in Austrian Gallicia, whether public officers or private individuals, shall enjoy the revenues thereof, without paying any duty thereon, or experiencing any obstruction.

"XI. Within six weeks from the exchange of the present treaty, posts shall be erected, to mark the boundaries of Cracow, upon the right bank of the Vistula. For this purpose there shall be nominated Austrian, French, and Saxon commissioners.

"The same measures shall be adopted within the same period upon the frontiers of Upper Austria, Saltzburg, Willach, and Carniola, as far as the Saave. The *Thulwig* (stream) of the Saave shall determine what islands of that river shall belong to each power. For this purpose French and Austrian commissaries shall be nominated.

"XII. A military convention shall be forthwith entered into, to regulate the respective periods within which the various provinces restored to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria shall be evacuated. The said convention shall be adjusted on the basis, that Moravia shall be evacuated in fourteen days; that part of Gallicia which remains in possession of Austria, the city and district of Vienna, in one month; Lower Austria in two months; and the remaining districts

and territories not ceded by this treaty shall be evacuated by the French troops, and those of their allies, in two months and a half, or earlier, if possible, from the exchange of the ratifications.

"This convention shall regulate all that relates to the evacuation of the hospitals and magazines of the French army, and the entrance of the Austrian troops into the territories evacuated by the French or their allies; and also the evacuation of that part of Croatia ceded by the present treaty to his Majesty the emperor of the French.

"XIII. The prisoners of war taken by France and her allies from Austria, and by Austria from France and her allies, that have not yet been released, shall be given up within fourteen days after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

"XIV. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the League of the Rhine, guarantees the inviolability of the possessions of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, in the state in which they shall be, in consequence of the present treaty.

"XV. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria recognizes all the alterations which have taken place, or may subsequently take place in Spain, Portugal, and Italy.

"XVI. His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, desirous to co-operate in the restoration of a maritime peace, accedes to the prohibitory system with respect to England, adopted by France and Russia, during the present maritime war. His Imperial Majesty shall break off all intercourse with Great Britain, and with respect to the English government place himself in the situation he stood in previous to the present war.

"XVII. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and his Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, shall observe, with respect to each other, the same ceremonial in regard to rank and other points of etiquette, as before the present war.

"XVIII. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged within six days, or sooner, if possible.

"Done and signed at Vienna, October 14, 1809.

(Signed)

"J. B. NOMPERE DE CHAMPAGNY.

"JOHN Prince of LICHTENSTEIN.

"We have ratified, and hereby ratify the above treaty in all and every of the articles therein contained; declare the same to be adopted, confirmed, and established; and engage that the same shall be maintained inviolable.

"In confirmation whereof we have hereto affixed our signature, with our own hand, being countersigned and sealed with our Imperial seal.

"Given at our Imperial Camp at Schoenbrunn, October 15, 1809.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

By the Emperor,

CHAMPAGNY, Minister for foreign affairs.

H. B. MARET, Minister Secretary of State.

Certified by us,

The Arch Chancellor of State,

EUGENE NAPOLEON."

END OF VOLUME II. PART I.

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